

HOME, NEIGHBORHOOD, AND RENEWAL:
RESIDENT PERCEPTIONS OF FORCED RELOCATION

by

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Abstract

Given the ongoing incidence of housing displacement related to the commercial redevelopment of neighborhoods, and its implications for the health and quality of life of affected households and communities, there is a need for insight into what factors influence the quality of a move and movers' chances of successful post-move adjustment. In this study, qualitative analysis of in-depth interviews with 26 men and women representing 18 households from three redeveloped eastern Kansas neighborhoods was employed to examine residents' experiences of displacement. Five factors were examined: attachment to home and neighborhood, community social ties, relative sense of control and mastery over the circumstances of relocation, opinions of the amount of monetary compensation or relocation assistance received, and support for a redevelopment project.

The results show that attachment to home influenced feelings about having to move, although it did not preclude contentment with a post-move dwelling. Attachment to neighborhood had both social and environmental components. Neighborhood social ties were difficult to replicate for many residents in their post-move neighborhoods. Perceptions of control over the circumstances of a move were negatively affected by problems with communication and information-sharing between residents and relocation authorities, causing stress and difficulties finding replacement housing. Satisfaction with compensation was tied to perceptions of upward housing mobility, while dissatisfaction was influenced by perceptions of having been a victim of official graft. Expressed support for redevelopment projects was in the main grudging, and support for a project did not appear to greatly influence a positive disposition toward moving.

Experiences connected with displacement are not monolithic, and neither are its outcomes. Householders forced to move may concede that relocation has had at once negative repercussions and benefits. Having achieved upward housing mobility or experienced improved quality of life subsequent to moving did not eradicate residents' wish to have been 'treated better,' monetarily or otherwise, by relocation officials. This oft-expressed desire calls attention to the need for greater awareness of, and sensitivity to, the nature of residential place attachment and the special problems of those forced to move.

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Dedication

This research study is dedicated to the men, women and children of Wyandotte County and Johnson County, Kansas obliged to move for neighborhood commercial redevelopment—and with special gratitude to those who graciously shared their thoughts and feelings about their experiences of moving, so that others may learn.

In my beginning is my end. In succession
Houses rise and fall, crumble, are extended,
Are removed, destroyed, restored, or in their place
Is an open field, or a factory, or a by-pass.
Old stone to new building, old timber to new fires,
Old fires to ashes, and ashes to the earth
Which is already flesh, fur and fæces,
Bone of man and beast, cornstalk and leaf.
Houses live and die: there is a time for building
And a time for living and for generation
And a time for the wind to break the loosened pane
And to shake the wainscot where the field-mouse trots
And to shake the tattered arras woven with a silent motto.

T. S. Eliot—'Four Quartets'

Chapter One: Introduction

Even when it occurs under optimum circumstances, moving can be a daunting task. Planning, preparing for, and undertaking a move, whether down the street, across town, or out of state, place demands on householders' reserves of time, energy, and finances. Leave-taking of familiar places and loosening or severing of community social ties may present substantial emotional challenges (Gotfredson 1986; Brown and Perkins 1992; Ekström 1994; Fullilove 1996). The awareness of being compelled to relocate, even if a mover has some choice in the matter—for example, relocation occasioned by a job transfer—may introduce additional strain. This is especially true for spouses and dependents of career movers (Anderson and Stark 1988; Shanasarian 1991; Frame and Shehan 1994).

But what of movers who have, essentially, no choice in the matter—who must relocate because the home and neighborhood in which they live is slated for demolition? How does the involuntary nature of a move influence feelings about relocation? In what ways do place and social attachments, feelings about a redevelopment project, and evaluations of monetary relocation assistance or property compensation shape perceptions of housing displacement? The current study ventures to shed light on these questions via qualitative analysis of in-depth interviews with 26 men and women who were forced to move for redevelopment projects. These movers represent 18 households from three eastern Kansas neighborhoods razed for the construction of commercial

redevelopment projects: the Kansas International Speedway in the former Piper neighborhood and Delaware Ridge Acres, Western Wyandotte County, and Merriam Town Center and Merriam Village in, respectively, Sharum and Grandview Subdivisions, Merriam (Johnson County).

There is a need for insight into what factors influence the quality of a move and the chances of successful post-move adjustment for residents who must relocate involuntarily, for several reasons. First, involuntary movers may be at economic and social risk. Moderate- and low-income movers particularly may face significant challenges in locating replacement housing that is acceptable, safe, and affordable. Rising housing costs, unemployment for those who must relocate beyond the radius of a work commute, and relocation into a home and/or neighborhood that does not meet expectations are possible sequelae of forced relocation with negative implications for quality of life (Goldstein and Zimmer 1960; House 1970; Goetz 2002; Gotham 2002; Brooks *et al.* 2005). In addition, some studies have suggested a link between involuntary relocation and declines in mental health (Gotfredson 1986; Dimond *et al.* 1987; Fullilove 1986). As such, housing displacement is also a public health problem.

This project was undertaken in the belief that insight into the experiences and perceptions of displacees can help public officials to craft relocation policies and procedures that better serve members of their constituencies who must move for community economic redevelopment projects: practices that demonstrate respect for residents' place and social attachments, that help maintain open lines of communication

between public officials and residents, and that assist residents in finding suitable and affordable replacement housing. While such practices cannot entirely eradicate the hardships of having to move, they empower residents to make informed choices that serve their best interests, to relocate with less stress, and to achieve success in their new homes and communities.

Structure of the Research Report

Following this introductory chapter, Chapter 2 reviews the literature on housing displacement and on the factors examined in this study that shape the experience of relocation for displacees. How displacees experience involuntary relocation is shaped in large part by their pre-move perceptions of conditions within their communities, as well as the nature of redevelopment itself—how it is presented by officials, the content and tone of media coverage, and public discourse related to it. Chapter 3 gives a broad overview of the three neighborhoods from which study participants were forced to move: their economic and sociodemographic characteristics; the nature of the redevelopment projects undertaken, the rationale advanced for them, and community-wide responses to redevelopment plans. The five hypotheses guiding the research are presented in Chapter 4; a discussion of the use of in-depth qualitative interviewing and multiple case-study analysis follows. Next, the manner in which study participants were located, recruited, and interviewed, and how data from interviews was analyzed,

are explained. The chapter ends with a look at individual and household characteristics of study participants at the time they were displaced, and a brief overview of participant attitudes toward relocation.

The rich repository of data obtained from interviews with study participants forms the subject of Chapters 5 through 9. Each chapter examines study participant orientations toward relocation and their perceptions of the experience of displacement relative to, successively, home and neighborhood attachment; neighborhood social ties; sense of control over the circumstances of relocation; feelings about monetary relocation assistance or property compensation received; and level of support for the redevelopment project occasioning the move. These five factors form the core of the hypotheses guiding the research project. Finally, Chapter 11 summarizes the main trends in study participant perceptions of housing displacement: which of the five factors examined in the study had the greatest impact on feelings about and experiences of having to move. Recommendations for relocation officials based on these trends, and for future study of housing displacement-related perception, are offered in closing.

Chapter Two: Review of the Literature

In order to understand the ways in which involuntary movers react to and experience their predicament, it is first necessary to grasp the nature of housing displacement—what it is and what causes it. The review of literature relevant to the questions explored in this research project begins with a formal definition of housing displacement, then relates the phenomenon of displacement to the use of eminent domain within the context of community economic redevelopment projects.

Movers' experiences of relocation, and the meanings it holds for them, are intelligible only within the context of their pre-move circumstances—how householders experience, and situate themselves within, their homes and communities. These experiences are multi-dimensional in nature—phenomenological, environmental, interpersonal—forming a web of relationships and meanings between and among family members, friends and neighbors, the skeins of which form linkages across space and time. Thus, subsequent sections of this chapter lay the theoretical foundations of the five hypotheses advanced within this research project: about attachment to home and neighborhood; community social ties; relative sense of control over the circumstances of a move; feelings about the amount of property compensation or monetary assistance received from relocation authorities; and degree of support for a redevelopment project.

Housing Displacement

Koss (1993) offered a good working definition of housing displacement:

Housing displacement occurs when a household is forced to move because the housing unit it occupies is no longer available to it, for one or more of the following reasons:

- 1. The unit is uninhabitable.*
- 2. The unit is unaffordable.*
- 3. Agents that control the unit require the household to leave.*

Displacement may be direct, as when people are compelled to move by direct force or authority as a result of natural disasters (Belk 1992; Silove 2000), large-scale public safety programs such as dam construction (Adler and Jansen 1978), or joint publicly/privately planned and financed urban revitalization projects that involve residential condemnation and demolition (McGraw 1963; Gelfand 1975; Wylie 1990; Gotham 2002). Indirect causes of displacement may be somewhat more gradual and subtle (if only to outside observers). Following gentrification of traditionally poor and working-class neighborhoods, prohibitive rises in the cost of housing and neighborhood services, and demographic turnover in favor of more affluent in-movers, create economic and social barriers that force out lower-income residents and prevent their influx (Lee and Hodge 1986; Smith 1996; Newman and Wyly 2006). Neighborhood disinvestment on the part of landlords, banks, and municipalities results in substandard housing, infrastructure, and services over time. Neighborhood social disorder, property crime, landlord-tenant harassment, and illegal evictions also occur in tandem with disinvestment. All reflect a

process of linkage between neighborhood decline and subsequent revitalization, both of which contribute directly and indirectly to displacement (Marcuse 1986).

Newman and Owen (1982) maintained that individual motivations and behaviors bear on the likelihood of displacement: '[T]he incidence of displacement [in part] depends on the strength of a family's attachment to its current dwelling and its tenacity in remaining there.' However most studies recognize that displacement happens regardless of how people feel about their housing and neighborhood; degree of residential satisfaction and strength of community attachment are among a complex of factors that impinge on how residents experience displacement, how successfully they navigate through the process, and how well they are able to adjust in their new homes and communities (Gans 1959; Goldstein and Zimmer 1960; Fried 1963; Gotfredson 1986; Ekström 1994; Fullilove 1996; Goetz 2002; Kleinhans 2003).

Eminent Domain, Economic Redevelopment, and Housing Displacement

The June 23, 2005 Supreme Court decision in *Kelo vs. City of New London, Connecticut*, upholding the city's right to seize 15 homes in the ageing Fort Trumbull neighborhood for a mix of industrial, commercial and residential development, brought to the awareness of millions of Americans words with which they had little or no previous acquaintance: *eminent domain, public purpose, just compensation*. Even without an understanding of their precise definitions or the historical context in which they had

been shaped, these terms as reiterated in the blaze of media coverage following *Kelo* stirred the public imagination and evoked a deep collective emotional response. For many the Supreme Court ruling was emblematic of the combined power of public and private entities to thwart the basic purposes of rank-and-file Americans, who lack the political clout to fight them and win, and represented an assault on the cherished American value of private property rights (Berliner 2003; Liles 2006; Carpenter and Ross 2007).

The plaintiff (with 14 other affected property owners) in the New London case, Susette Kelo, had argued that 'economic development does not qualify as a public use' under federal and state statutes, which bar the use of eminent domain to transfer private property from one party to another for the recipient's personal gain. However, the Supreme Court decision in *Kelo* upheld the argument advanced by the City of New London that the greater public benefit accruing from commercial redevelopment justified the taking of private residential properties, because such benefits served the public purpose. Justice John Paul Stevens, writing for the majority, provided a broad definition of the term in finding that 'there is no basis for exempting economic development from our traditionally broad understanding of public purpose' (Greenhouse 2005):

The city's determination that the area at issue was sufficiently distressed to justify a program of economic rejuvenation is entitled to deference. The city has carefully formulated a development plan that it believes will provide appreciable tax benefits to the community, including, but not limited to, new jobs and increased tax revenue. As with other exercises in urban planning and development, the city is trying to coordinate a variety of commercial, residential, and recreational land uses... To effectuate this plan, the city has invoked a state statute that specifically authorizes the use of eminent domain to promote economic development.

The City of New London, working with private developer New London Development Corporation, had acquired 100 of 115 residences slated for demolition in the Fort Trumbull neighborhood, which was planned for redevelopment as a mix of upscale office and retail space adjacent to a pharmaceutical conference center. Pfizer Corporation's construction of a multi-million dollar research complex adjacent to Fort Trumbull had sparked the idea, but population loss and an eroding tax base provided the incentive for redevelopment. The rationale offered by the City of New London for large-scale redevelopment that leads to residential displacement has been echoed by a number of ageing municipalities, including those examined in the current study.

The use of the term 'eminent domain' to refer to state prerogative over seizure of private property is thought to originate with Huig de Groot (1583-1645), a Dutch philosopher of natural law known commonly under his latinized appellation, Hugo Grotius (Wright 1994). However a reference to property takings appears much earlier in the Bible (Jewish Publication Society 1985):

*Ah, those who plan iniquity
And design evil on their beds;
When morning dawns, they do it,
For they have the power.
They covet fields, and seize them;
Houses, and take them away.
They defraud men of their homes,
And people of their land.
(Micah 2: 1-2)*

The 'Takings Clause' of the Fifth Amendment to the United States Constitution specifies the limitations of the state power of eminent domain:

No person shall be... deprived of life, liberty or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

The first part of the clause, which has guided federal eminent domain law since it was penned in 1791, and since the nineteenth century (under the Fourteenth Amendment) individual state takings laws as well, specifies that government may not deprive individual citizens of private property without 'due process,' i.e., without serving notice and convening a public hearing. The second clause treats of two distinct issues. The first section of the clause specifies that the state is empowered to take private property only for public use; the second section specifies that property owners so affected must be paid a fair and equitable amount for what has been taken.

The state's authority of eminent domain is implicit within the Fifth Amendment; the framers of the Constitution did not lay out the basis of state authority because they, and the public at large, were familiar with the practice of takings and took it for granted (Ely 1992). The founders of the original thirteen colonies had inherited the principle of

just compensation from England, where it makes its first appearance in the Magna Charta (1215), a document wrung from King John by his restless barons which delimited the scope of the royal authority and which evidences the practice of eminent domain at that early date. Article 39 of the charter held that 'no freeman shall be... deprived of his freehold... unless by the lawful judgment of his peers and by the law of the land' (Wright 1994) while Article 28 specified the payment of an indemnity (Ely 1992): 'No constable or other of our bailiffs shall take corn or other chattels of any man without immediate payment, unless the seller voluntarily consents to postponement of payment.'

Thus from the earliest times the colonial governments had taken improved and unimproved landholdings, buildings and other privately-owned resources for the construction and upgrading of public areas and buildings—common pasturelands, lighthouses, forts, storehouses, and prisons among many other uses. Takings had also facilitated the layout of new towns, and local or regional public improvements such as the construction of streets and highways, gutters and drains, and canals. During the Revolutionary War military officials were empowered to impound foodstuffs and other goods from local farmers. Private property was also sometimes taken and given to a non-governmental private entity such as a mill or foundry to further economic development. By and large, colonial statutes that authorized the use of eminent domain also provided for the payment of reasonable compensation to the owner, with certain notable exceptions (Ely 1992). In the nineteenth and on into the twentieth centuries, with the advent of the Industrial Revolution and westward territorial expansion,

eminent domain was widely used to acquire land and resources, including private waterways, and to build canals, bridges and railroads. In Western states after the mid-nineteenth century the use of eminent domain, invoking the principle of public benefit, made possible large-scale and privately financed mining ventures (Scheiber 1973).

It must be stressed that many of the public and industrial land uses briefly catalogued in the preceding paragraphs involved partial or regulatory takings, and as such did not displace businesses or households. In a *partial taking*, while only a portion of a parcel is expropriated, its owner must be additionally compensated for the damage accruing to the remaining land as a result. In a *regulatory taking* the landowner retains possession but may sue for compensation from any decline in value resulting either from highly restrictive government land use regulations, or from use of the land by a public entity or its proxy. Property condemnation leading to widescale residential displacement began largely in the twentieth century.

In the several decades before 1970, federally sponsored economic development, taking place primarily in older core neighborhoods of U.S. cities, was responsible for most residential displacement. Title I of the U. S. Housing Act of 1949 granted the right of eminent domain to municipalities and quasi-public redevelopment authorities for demolition, land clearance and redevelopment of slums and 'blighted areas.' Guarantees of federal funding for individual projects were predicated on municipal assurances that a sufficient number and quality of replacement housing units would be constructed for displaced populations (Gelfand 1975; Gotham 2002). President Harry Truman,

introducing the legislation, promised the construction of 810,000 units of affordable replacement housing for those displaced, in fulfillment of the program's ostensible moral impetus: 'the prospect of [providing] decent homes in wholesome surroundings for low-income families... living in the squalor of slums.'

The Housing Act of 1954 extended the scope of urban renewal from housing construction to commercial revitalization. Over time, the focus of renewal efforts shifted more toward commercial development in economically blighted central business districts, and building replacement housing was put on the back burner. By 1960, in the 41 cities hosting urban renewal projects, only some 250,000 replacement units had been constructed (Gotham 2002). Beginning in 1956, urban and rural land clearance for road construction under the provisions of the Federal Highway Act of 1956 swelled the ranks of the displaced.

It is difficult to estimate the number of persons displaced by these programs from mid-century to the 1970s, although Gans (1991) put the number at some 735,000 households, plus an estimated additional '25 to 33 percent' compelled to move precipitously by 'misinformation, fear, and other reasons between the time an area was scheduled for renewal and official displacement got underway.' In Kansas City, Missouri, between 1953 and 1972 nearly 4500 residents of neighborhoods in and adjacent to the central business district were displaced for downtown renewal; nearly 8700 were displaced to build parts of I-70, I-29, I-35, the South-Midtown freeway, and the Central Business District loop (Gotham 2002). In Topeka, Kansas, between the late 1950s and

early 1960s 590 mostly low-income households lost their homes in the Keyway urban renewal and highway construction project (McGraw 1963).

As exemplified by the *Kelo* case, eminent domain has played a role in projects financed using state tax and revenue bonds, tax increment financing, and private funds advanced by developers. These projects typically are the fruit of collaboration between public and private entities, so-called 'public-private partnerships.' One of the more well-known projects of this type is the case of Poletown, a working-class Detroit neighborhood razed in 1981 for construction of a General Motors plant (Nolan 2001; Sandefur 2005). Most of Poletown's 3438 residents accepted compensation and relocation assistance, which included up to an additional \$15,000 differential between the value of their old and their new homes, and \$3500 in incentive money. However several households went to eminent domain proceedings, backed by a local priest and consumer activist Ralph Nader. Nonetheless in March 1981 the Michigan Supreme Court, voting 5-2, authorized the cities of Detroit and Hamtramck to move forward with condemnation—a decision the Court reversed in 2004 in *Wayne County v. Hathcock*, long after the neighborhood was gone.

The State of Kansas was one of nearly 40 states to legislate significant restrictions on their powers of eminent domain in the wake of *Kelo*, although a bid to amend the Kansas constitution as well was tabled (National Conference of State Legislatures 2007). Effective July 1, 2007, Kansas legislation prohibits the 'transfer of real property from one private owner to another,' stringently catalogs conditions accepted as constituting public

use, and specifies that '[w]henever an attempt is made to take private real property for a use alleged to be public, the burden of establishing that the contemplated use is public shall be by clear and convincing evidence and shall remain on the condemner of the property.' In cases of condemnation for economic development projects the legislation directs that property owners be compensated at 200 percent of fair market value (Kansas Legislature 2007).

Eminent domain litigation, when used, is a tool of last resort—land and property owners typically are first approached by acquisition specialists who, in principle, work with the owner and/or an agent designated by the owner to reach an agreed compensation amount. The terms of an acquisition contract may grant a government or private entity outright possession, or alternately an option to buy may tie up the property for a specified period of time, during which its owner may not sell to another party; if the holder of the option does not purchase the property by its expiration date, the contract is void and full possession reverts to the owner. While property owners have varying degrees of leverage regarding the amount of their compensation, most often they lack the power to prevent being displaced. Thus the threat of eminent domain, explicit or tacit, may motivate property owners to come to an agreement with acquisition authorities, whether or not others in the neighborhood are involved in legal arbitration (Aguirre and Vu 2006).

Home and Neighborhood Attachment

Perceptions of home and neighborhood ultimately are bound up in the meanings that their residents attach to them. At a primordial level, home may be thought of as a space which offers its inhabitants sufficient shelter, privacy and security to carry out basic functions that perpetuate well-being and life: eating, sleeping, grooming and procreating. The satisfaction of needs for privacy and security home offers is psychic as well as physical. Tuan (1975) envisioned home as a cornucopia of tactile, olfactory and gustatory sensations experienced directly, largely beyond the reach of active cognition, and calling forth ineffable emotions: 'What one feels about home can never be made fully explicit and public.' Unreflective experience of home fosters the experience of rootedness, a sense of identification with one's community constituted by 'a sense of extended time and genealogical depth.' (Tuan 1980)

For its human occupants, home satisfies a 'territorial triad' of ethological needs (identity, security, stimulation) identified by Porteous (1976). Residents express individual self-identity and gain psychic stimulation and security through manipulation of interior and exterior components of the home—decorating and furnishing, gardening and emplacing yard figurines and so on, in the process of personalization of space. Personalization serves the additional function of presenting household identity to outsiders, establishing boundaries in the service of territorial security. Physical structures (fences, doors, walls) and rituals (ringing the doorbell, knocking) reinforce

psychic and territorial security through the defense of space. Stimulation, fostered by the development of security and identity, is requisite to carrying out basic functions (sexual and economic reproduction) that ensure survival. Satisfying both physical and psychic needs, then, 'home is thus a major fixed reference point for the structuring of reality.'

Housing quality and tenure serve as visual markers of household identity. Through such media as exterior home improvement, landscaping and gardening, yard markers and outdoor furnishings, householders with access to the requisite capital create representations of their values, group allegiances, and class status to the world outside (Adams 1984). For householders with financial means the neighborhood, protected by zoning laws or a housing covenant, serves as an 'environment of exclusion,' a declaration of racial, ethnic and/or socioeconomic homogeneity. To the extent that low income level and rental tenure restrict household access to the capital and personal latitude needed to create self-representational displays, this lack of opportunity itself serves as a visible expression of class status to outside observers (Saunders and Williams 1988).

Dupuis and Thorns (1996), in their qualitative study of 53 middle-aged and senior New Zealand homeowners, saw home attachment as being grounded in a dual need for economic and psychic security as individuals respond to historical and social change. Participants were queried regarding attitudes and experiences related to home ownership. New Zealand resembles the United States in its ethos of property ownership

as a foundation for enfranchisement and in its long history of private tenure. Like many in the United States, most of the participants in their study represented lower- or middle-income households who had made the transition from rental to ownership tenure with the aid of low-interest home loans and other government inducements following the Second World War.

These elderly residents, recalling the privations of economic recession in the 1930s, viewed rental tenure as uncertain and unprofitable. Home ownership was for them a bulwark against external forces of economic failure, although some worried about diminished financial or physical ability to maintain or remain in their homes as they aged. Home was also seen as conferring personal security in its role as a site 'where family reassembled for the rites and rituals of their collective life.' Female respondents tended to see the home, in its role as a repository of accumulated family history, as a guarantor of the continuity of family myths and values; male respondents viewed the home's legacy in financial terms, as property to be passed down to children and grandchildren.

For many within affluent western societies such as Britain and the United States ownership tenure carries significant cultural and personal meanings. For the householders in Dupuis and Thorns' study (1996) it signified maturity and competence, where acquiring one's first home is 'a rite of passage; anybody who reaches 40 without buying a house is decidedly suspect.' Saunders and Williams (1988) described the 'cultural significance of tenure' as having three components: status, 'enhanced control

over the immediate home environment,' and 'most important of all, the intangible yet crucial significance of possession.' Guest and Lee (1983b) found that owner residents of 'low-valued' dwellings reported greater residential satisfaction than renters, reflecting 'personal involvement in territory resulting from ownership itself.' As an expression of resistance to state control, home ownership affirms individualism and autonomy. Where the ownership ethos prevails, rental tenure carries negative connotations (Saunders and Williams 1988; Dupuis and Thorns 1996).

Bond formation with home is multi-dimensional, incorporating attachment to familiar household objects, particular rooms and spaces, natural and built elements of yard and street, and (for some) the surrounding neighborhood. Giuliani (1991) defined attachment to home as at once 'the state of psychological well-being' afforded its inhabitants and 'the state of distress' caused by its threatened or actual loss; attachment behaviors—home maintenance, formation of social bonds, continued occupancy—function to preserve access to the home. Giuliani's research into the origins of home attachment assumed that it rests on the meanings attached by the dweller to such tangible and non-tangible elements of home as its aesthetic qualities, life events experienced within it, and social bonds formed with neighbors. These meanings, in turn, are shaped by the dweller's self-representations, or images of self, as they are projected onto these elements of home.

According to Giuliani self-identity throughout the life course is malleable to the moderating influences of significant life-cycle events—marrying, bearing and raising

children, growing older, surviving the demise of family members. Life-cycle influences intersect with spatial and temporal orientations unique to each dweller's psyche in shaping attachment. Time orientation may be directed toward the future or the past: orientation toward the past predisposes a dweller toward increased attachment to home, but may foster resistance to attachment to a new dwelling; orientation toward the future reverses these trends. Rootedness and nomadism are oppositional spatial orientations, embedded within an individual's personality early in life. At midlife and beyond an individual's deep repository of lived experiences, internalized as self-images imprinted upon familiar home spaces, reinforce attachment to home, particularly in the face of dramatic or sudden life change such as death of a spouse.

Affinity for particular domestic objects is an additional component of home attachment. Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton (1981) regarded attachment to domestic objects as an investment of psychic energy functioning to affirm one's personal agency and thereby, one's personhood. Within the process of this transaction

the things one uses [become] part of one's self; not in any mystical or metaphorical sense but in cold, concrete actuality. My old living-room chair with its worn velvet fabric, musty smell, creaking springs, and warm support has often shaped signs in my awareness. These signs are part of what organizes my consciousness, and because my self is inseparable from the sign process that constitutes consciousness, that chair is as much a part of my self as anything can possibly be.

Creation, control over, familiarity with, or habitual use of an object results in attachment when the object is regarded as an extension of oneself in time and in space. The process requires emotional investment. Object attachment may become a

mechanism for reifying significant persons, events or circumstances lost to the past (Belk 1992). Particular objects represent cherished places as well; thus they impart a sense of spatial control in individuals experiencing decreased ambulation and mobility (Rubinstein and Parmelee 1992). Hence, the loss or destruction of such an item may be traumatic (Ekström 1994) and 'is thought to play a role in the high mortality from uprooting when old people are involuntarily separated from their possessions.' (Belk 1992) In his study of involuntary movers in three Dutch towns, Kleinhans (2003) found that residents who had been highly satisfied with material features of their homes tended to report higher levels of displacement-related stress than those who had been dissatisfied and had considered moving previous to their displacement, or who viewed the impending relocation as an opportunity to find something better.

For 11 elderly residents displaced from three Swedish neighborhoods undergoing revitalization in Ekström's (1994) study, degree of home attachment greatly influenced perceptions of displacement and post-relocation adjustment strategies. A sense of spatial control within the home, feelings of stability and continuity, and the perception of shared values with others in the community all promoted trust and security. The ability to reproduce these conditions in their new dwellings and communities influenced the degree of post-move well-being.

Whether owned or rented, for these residents the home served as an outlet of personal self-expression. This was particularly important for residents who had limited latitude for self-expression in other facets of their lives, for example those who had been

homemakers or workers in low-status occupations with little decision-making power. Ekström found relocation was highly disruptive to residents' connection with their personal history as imprinted on their dwellings. Some responded to this perceived loss with emptiness and depression. Some movers strove to re-establish personal identity in their new dwellings through emplacement of familiar furnishings and other household objects, as in the example of one man who sought to replicate in his new flat the spatial arrangement of his former surroundings. For other residents the break with the past meant that they could recreate their life and move on, as in the case of a grieving widow who saw the move as an opportunity to get rid of her husband's belongings and create a living space free of emotional association with the past.

Landscape features form a transition zone between many single- and multi-family homes and the world outside in the form of lawns and yards, gardens, hedges, and even solitary bushes or trees. Within the yard wildlife and neighborhood pets (birds, rabbits and squirrels, dogs and cats) are elements of the natural landscape. Familiar features of the natural environment near one's dwelling may be an element of attachment to home. Whether in apartment or single-family housing tracts the presence of vegetation, particularly arboreal and landscaped, appears to promote home and neighborhood attachment. This appears to hold true across the class spectrum, although more affluent homebuyers have access to more highly valued, mature vegetation, an amenity for which they are willing to pay (Dombrow *et al.* 2000).

Kaplan (2001) in her survey of 188 Ann Arbor apartment residents found that being able to view greenery from their windows was highly significant for neighborhood and residential satisfaction and for mental health, the latter gauged as feelings of being efficacious, at peace and 'not distracted.' Views of landscaped settings such as gardens had the greatest effect on satisfaction; trees promoted feelings of serenity; fields and farms reduced feelings of distraction. Interestingly, having a view of the local park decreased apartment dwellers' feelings of peace and neighborhood satisfaction, perhaps because of fears about criminal activities taking place within.

Kearney (2006) similarly found that being able to view a forested or landscaped setting from one's window enhanced residential satisfaction. Moreover, within the upscale suburban tract that formed her study setting, views of trails and paths within the suburban tract heightened residents' sense of community. Kweon *et al.* (1998) found that urban greenspace, particularly when trees are present, promote social interaction and foster sense of community and neighborhood attachment among low-income, elderly African American residents. These findings were echoed by Kuo *et al.* (1998) who found in their study of Chicago low-income neighborhoods that access to shared open spaces dense with grass and trees encouraged the development of social bonds and led to increased feelings of safety and well-being.

[T]he more vegetation in a common space, the stronger the neighborhood social ties near that space—compared to residents living adjacent to relatively barren spaces, individuals living adjacent to greener common spaces had more social activities and more visitors, knew more of their neighbors, reported their neighbors were more concerned with helping and supporting one another, and had stronger feelings of belonging.

Elements of the built environment within the neighborhood may also bear on attachment. For example, residences that face at least partly toward others and have yards open to the street encourage neighboring behaviors (Fried 1982; Guest and Lee 1983b). Monuments and public spaces reflect the shared identity of community members (Belk 1992). For many of 1642 Seattle residents surveyed by Guest and Lee (1983b) parks and recreation centers, schools, and landmarks unique to the neighborhood promoted sentimental attachment to their neighborhood.

Familiarity with a certain territory or space is an important component of neighborhood attachment. Representations of the home space, unique to each dweller, may encompass an area as small as a room or as large as a neighborhood or a city. The expansion of home space outside the dwelling fosters the formation of friendship and kinship networks (Giuliani 1991). Residents aged 30 or older are especially likely to consider their neighborhood or town an integral part of their personal identity (Belk 1992). For psychiatrist Fullilove (1996) 'the sense of belonging, which is necessary for psychological well-being, depends on strong, well-developed relationships with nurturing places... disturbance in these essential place relationships leads to psychological disorders.' According to Fullilove sense of belonging to a place has three components: familiarity with features of the tangible environment, attachment to home as a repository of relationships and history, and self-identification with place. The disruptions of housing and community displacement threaten individual orientation, sense of self, and capacity for subsequent place attachment. Ekström (1994) found that

prior familiarity with, or at least the sense that one will be able to acclimate to, one's new surroundings is an essential component of successful integration into a new home and community following involuntary relocation.

Fried and Gleicher (1961) spoke of the 'considerable meaning' that Boston's working-class West End neighborhood held for its denizens 'as an extension of home, in which various parts are delineated and structured on the basis of a sense of belonging.' Fried (1963) considered the profound grief experienced by many Boston residents displaced by urban renewal projects as being rooted in disruption of individuals' sense of continuity, 'which is ordinarily a taken-for-granted framework for functioning in a universe which has temporal, social and spatial dimensions.' Spatial identity was strongly developed in these working-class residents, for whom 'feelings of being at home and of belonging [were]... integrally tied to a specific place.' For these residents, strong grief reaction following displacement was linked to degree of attachment to their neighborhood, particularly for those who described it (instead of their rented flat) as being 'home.' In turn, strength of place attachment was a function of scope of familiarity with neighborhood space; the wider the area known, the greater the expressed attachment. Following displacement some households moved to areas close by their demolished neighborhood, even in the relative absence of relocated relatives and neighbors.

Fried observed that middle- and upper-income residents have more tenuous ties to their neighborhoods, partly because they rely less on social networks outside the

nuclear family unit, are less likely to have extended family within the neighborhood, and are more mobile. However, identification with one's neighborhood may reflect not so much a condition of attachment than one of necessity. Saunders and Williams (1988) found that 'the extension of the home space to encompass the street and immediate neighborhood does reflect the fact that many families are inadequately housed and thus have little choice but to live in this extensive way.'

Kasarda and Janowitz (1974) contrasted two divergent views of community development and neighborhood attachment. The *linear development model* postulates that as population numbers and density within a community rise and it becomes more heterogeneous as a result of urbanization and industrial development, social bonds become weaker and more superficial, and community involvement declines. By contrast, the *systemic attachment model* holds that affective social bonds are the natural outgrowth of interactions between community members over time, although individuals within a community are differentially inclined toward involvement depending on factors such as socioeconomic status and 'life cycle stage.' Kasarda and Janowitz advocated for a middle way, the *community of limited liability model*, which 'emphasizes that in a highly mobile society people may participate extensively in local institutions and develop community attachments yet be prepared to leave these communities if local conditions fail to satisfy their immediate needs or aspirations.'

Kasarda and Janowitz viewed community, or neighborhood, attachment as having attitudinal and behavioral components. Attitudes were measured as feelings of

belonging, level of interest in the neighborhood, and how glad or sorry residents anticipated they would feel to leave it; behaviors encompassed formal and informal group memberships, civil encounters with neighbors, and friendships within the neighborhood. Their survey of 100 British neighborhoods (1974) revealed that length of residence exerts a positive effect on all three attitudinal variables. Neighborhood attachment was strongest in older residents, possibly because of greater accumulated social and financial investment. Friendship networks were more significant than those of kinship. Memberships in formal and informal groups in the neighborhood did not correlate strongly with attachment. Individuals in higher social strata tended to be more involved in formal organizations, yet had fewer friends and extended family members within the community; the opposite held true for lower-class individuals. Friendship and kinship networks were far more strongly tied with reluctance to leave the neighborhood than formal or informal group membership. Viewed together these results suggest that while social bonds are a strong component of neighborhood attachment, dissatisfaction with specific conditions may override community loyalties, particularly where personal social bonds are thin and households have the means to relocate to a more desirable neighborhood.

Guest and Lee (1983a; 1983b) viewed attitudinal attachment as having both critical and emotive dimensions. Evaluation functions as a barometer of a neighborhood's perceived ability to serve economic and social aspirations, while sentiment reflects the degree to which the neighborhood meets emotional and

psychological needs. These researchers explored the relationships between these two attitudinal measures and objective characteristics of 20 Seattle-area neighborhoods (1983b). Residents were queried on 'what they liked or disliked' and about their level of satisfaction with their neighborhood (evaluation), as well as whether 'they would prefer to live elsewhere' and how much they would miss their neighborhood if they moved (sentiment).

Several key findings emerged from the research. First, while sociodemographic features of the neighborhood environment (perceived quality of residents, relations with neighbors and friends) positively affected both evaluation and sentiment, objective physical features such as perceived quality of housing, shopping and public services affected evaluation alone. Put another way, sentimental attachment to the neighborhood is strongly influenced by social bonding, whether or not residents judge environmental features, public facilities and services in a favorable light. In other studies (Gans 1959; Fried 1963; Guest and Lee 1983b; Fullilove 1996; Woldoff 2002) lower-income, less-educated and minority residents similarly were found to have higher levels of sentiment, but lower levels of evaluation, for their neighborhoods than those with higher income and educational levels. However the data may reflect more an adjustment of expectations on the part of those who lack the wherewithal to leave an unsatisfactory neighborhood, than attachment per se. Objective evaluation of one's neighborhood influences thoughts of moving away, but how far one would move depends primarily on sentiment, a finding in keeping with Fried (1963).

Bolan (1997), analyzing the relative impacts of various facets of the relocation experience and prior mobility history on post-move evaluation and sentiment and on level of community participation in 20 Seattle-area neighborhoods, found that residents obliged to relocate under economic duress had formed fewer social bonds in their new neighborhoods two years after moving. Bolan reasoned that persons who moved for economic reasons might experience ongoing hardships that stand in the way of community involvement, a finding that may shed light on post-move difficulties with social integration experienced by some displacees. However, these movers resembled others in how they evaluated their new neighborhood and in their level of sentiment (measured as how sorry they would feel to leave).

The importance of social bonds to formation of neighborhood attachments is reflected in relocatees' emotional reactions to the loss of familiar neighbors and friends and in their adjustment behaviors following housing displacement (Fried 1963; Ekström 1994; Goetz 2002). For the displaced West Enders in Fried's (1963) study group identity, 'an integrated sense of shared human qualities [or] sense of communality with other people... essential to meaningful social functioning,' was 'integrally tied to a specific place.' Many residents attempted to recreate a semblance of their former community by relocating to areas where displaced neighbors or relatives from the old neighborhood had also moved. Relocatees who were not able to do so appeared to compensate for lost neighborhood ties by placing heightened emphasis on bonds between household members. Goetz's (2002) study of over 600 households in the Twin Cities area revealed

that involuntary movers, compared to those who moved by choice, fared worse overall in terms of 'problems in relocation' and post-move 'improvements in living conditions.' Their children tended to fare worse in school, have fewer friends, and play with neighboring children less often. Because they tended to have to move farther than those who moved by choice, involuntary relocatees lacked proximity to familiar places and social supports.

For the 11 elderly Swedish residents displaced for building renovations studied by Ekström (1994) successful post-move adjustment depended on their ability to re-establish a sense of security and stability in their new homes and communities. While recreation of aspects of the physical environment was important, just as crucial was finding a 'fit' with new neighbors in terms of shared norms and values. For these residents, home as situated within the familiar community was a place in which 'values and notions concerning reality [were] reproduced' through interaction with like-minded family members, neighbors and friends. Post-relocation social adjustment also depended in part on the perception that the new neighbors were reliable and could be trusted.

When residents perceive that social or environmental aspects of the neighborhood are in decline or are less than satisfactory, they may withdraw from community life—everyday neighboring behaviors, civic involvement, and so on—to varying degrees. Alternately, residents may attempt to better neighborhood conditions informally—e.g., by information-sharing or vigilance (giving one's neighbor a 'heads-up'

or 'keeping an eye out' for trouble)—or formally in neighborhood associations, task forces, etc. Woldoff (2002) described community problem-solving as a component of behavioral attachment related to, but distinct from, neighboring and friendship-formation. Drawing on survey data from 767 primarily low-income, renter, and/or Black Nashville residents for her analysis, Woldoff measured the influence of individual perceptions of four types of neighborhood detractors on problem-solving behavior: social disorder—public inebriation or urination, prostitution, etc.; physical disorder—deteriorated building exteriors and streets, litter, vacant lots; perceived crime within the neighborhood; and having survived a crime within the confines of one's home or within the neighborhood.

Woldoff found that while both unsatisfactory environmental and social conditions decreased resident evaluations of their neighborhood, social disorder alone discouraged casual neighboring behaviors and formation of friendship ties, especially among elderly and more affluent, better-educated residents. Social problems also depressed both formal and informal problem-solving activities. On the other hand, negative evaluations of the neighborhood environs tended to promote formal problem-solving behaviors, particularly among African American, better educated, and elderly residents. Residents were more likely to employ informal than formal problem-solving in response to perceived violent or property crime in the neighborhood; having survived a crime (burglary, assault) increased the likelihood of engaging in formal problem-solving.

Desiring, thinking of, or actively planning to relocate has been viewed as an index of diminished satisfaction with or attachment to one's neighborhood; in this case actual relocation represents an extreme form of affective withdrawal. For example, Guest and Lee (1983b) used 'preference to live elsewhere' as a gauge of diminished community evaluation and sentiment, although diminished satisfaction was a more significant predictor than sentiment of planning a move. However, as Lu (1998, 1999) demonstrated the intention to move in and of itself is an insufficient predictor of whether a household actually will, being the outcome not only of residential and neighborhood satisfaction, but of sociodemographic and household factors that bear upon the ability to do so.

Disaffected residents who desire to move, or have contemplated it, may view displacement as an opportunity to improve their living situation. Data collected by Kleinhans (2003) from focus groups with Dutch apartment dwellers being displaced for housing renewal indicated that movers who had wished to leave, or who viewed the move as an opportunity to obtain better housing, had more confidence in their ability to land suitable housing and felt less of a time constraint than those who expressed attachment. However, under Dutch social housing regulations these movers had priority over voluntary movers in obtaining replacement rental housing, and residents from two of the three study sites had the option of moving into newly constructed apartments at below-market rents. When movers feel they lack adequate resources to

improve their housing, previous thoughts about moving help little in promoting confidence (Goldstein and Zimmer 1960; Gotfredson 1986; Ekström 1994).

Sense of Control

Housing displacement is stressful. Many displacees exhibit symptoms of anxiety and sadness to varying degrees before and after relocation (Goldstein and Zimmer 1960; Fried 1963; Hartman 1979, 2003; Gotfredson 1986; Ekström 1994; Bowie *et al.* 2005). For some, displacement and its aftermath are associated with development of anxiety disorders, clinical depression, and acute or post-traumatic stress disorder (Belk 1992; Fullilove 1996). Elderly persons, who often must cope with chronic health problems, may be particularly vulnerable if they have little in the way of financial and social buffers to help them through the process (Gotfredson 1986; Dimond *et al.* 1987; Castle 2001).

Review of case studies of households displaced for urban revitalization (Gans 1959; Adler and Jansen 1978; Gotfredson 1986; Ekström 1994; Kleinhans 2003) reveals the importance of a having a 'sense of control' in reducing emotional distress and effectively coping with relocation. Within the context of displacement, 'sense of control' may be defined in two basic ways. First, it may be defined as an overall ability to cope emotionally with the reality of impending displacement itself: loss of the familiar tangible and social environment, uncertainty regarding the future, and the inevitability of displacement or personal inability to prevent it. Sense of control also relates to

perceived ability to plan, coordinate and execute various relocation-related tasks: communicating with relocation authorities, negotiating compensation, securing housing and moving. Regardless of how 'control' is defined it rests on many factors, including individual life circumstances (health, financial resources, social supports), personality traits, and conditions beyond individual control (access to information, relocation timeframe, availability of housing).

Prior to relocation, through participation in leave-taking rituals (farewell parties, promises to write), voluntary movers habituate themselves to the reality of their impending loss by way of an active and gradual loosening of affective bonds for particular people, places and objects in the home and neighborhood they will leave behind. At the same time they may actively cultivate incipient social or environmental attachments in the home and neighborhood to which they intend to move. Such enactments may occur at the communal as well as individual scale (Brown and Perkins 1992). Those compelled to move due to redevelopment projects may not command sufficient resources of time, money, and social support needed to complete the affective transition described above. Relocation authorities who display insensitivity toward residents' disrupted attachments further undermine their sense of stability and control (Gans 1963; Dimond 1987; Brown and Perkins 1992; Ekström 1994; Fullilove 1996).

Goetz (2002) felt that for the involuntary Twin Cities movers he interviewed, recognition of their lack of choice in the matter in and of itself was a key contributor to 'post-move problems.' In her study of elderly Kansas City apartment renters facing

displacement for condominium conversion, Gotfredson (1986) considered the degree to which individuals felt they were being forced to move to be a pivotal influence on perceptions of displacement. Residents who stated they did not want to move were at greater risk for 'adverse social or psychological impact[s],' as were those who 'view[ed] their present residence as their home.'

Ekström (1994), who studied relocation-related stress and adjustment among elderly Swedish displacees, noted: 'Home is for certain people an essential part of who they are. An assault on their home is taken as an assault on themselves.' Among Ekström's study participants uncertainty as to when they would be moving, where they would be relocated, and the rules regulating disposal of items they would not be taking with them diminished their sense of personal control. Ekström's study highlighted the role of quality communication in enhancing residents' ability to plan for and implement relocation effectively. Clear information regarding relocation timetables and policies, delivered consistently and in a timely manner, was key to alleviating stress. Renters whose landlord had not implemented an organized plan and who were not regularly updated about schedule and policy changes were more likely to report feelings of stress and impeded ability to make and carry out relocation plans. At the same time, individual disposition influenced experiences of displacement. Assertive residents who contacted relocation authorities to request needed information reported less stress than diffident residents, who waited for information that sometimes never arrived. Tenants

who resisted relocation altogether, refusing to make plans and decisions, faced increased stress when they finally had to relocate.

For residents displaced by housing renewal in the Netherlands, possessing a sense of 'control over the process and their own feelings' was crucial in dealing with problems of relocation (Kleinhans 2003). Like Ekström (1994), Kleinhans saw this as being partly rooted in individual personality factors, but noted that objective factors such as availability of suitable replacement housing, time constraints in finding and moving into a new dwelling, and financial resources shaped movers' 'perceived freedom of choice' regarding their relocation options. While written communications from the authorities were well regarded, many residents reported a pattern of evasions, incomplete or misleading information, and broken promises from informational community meetings. Moreover, housing authorities failed to inform tenants that, although they had been given a year in which to relocate, by law they could not be forcibly evicted from their units after the deadline until they had secured a new residence. These breaches in communication diminished residents' sense of personal agency and limited their options.

The difficulties faced by displaced West Enders in Boston, documented by Gans (1959), well illustrate that quality planning and communication on the part of officials must take into account the unique characteristics of a community. The 7500 residents (2800 households) in the neighborhood slated for demolition resided mostly in low-rent flats dating from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Redevelopment

authorities considered these flats blighted, failing to recognize that West Enders' value system attached nominal importance to building conditions or aesthetics, instead emphasizing the presence of neighbors, friends and relatives living in close proximity. Public replacement housing figured largely in the relocation plan; over half of residents qualified for it. However, most relocatees found the idea of public housing unacceptable: they would be unable to have friends and relatives from their old neighborhood nearby, they did not want the regulatory restrictions it would impose, and in their view public housing tenants occupied an inferior social status to which they did not wish to sink.

Written communications from officials were infrequent, terse and cryptic; many residents had difficulty in deciphering them and assumed their abstruseness was an attempt to control and intimidate them. Uncertainties regarding the relocation timetable exacerbated residents' anxiety. Eight years elapsed between announcement of the redevelopment and final taking of the property; many residents, recalling previous redevelopment schemes for their neighborhood that had never materialized, assumed the project would go the way of its predecessors. Opposition therefore was muted; authorities assumed that it did not exist. In sum, poor quality communication between residents and officials eroded residents' confidence and trust; ill-considered relocation policies created roadblocks in the search for satisfactory replacement housing.

Perception of Property Compensation and Relocation Assistance

Few studies have addressed the issue of what factors influence displaced residents' perceptions of the adequacy or fairness of compensation received for their property, or of monetary and non-monetary relocation assistance. Surveys conducted among rural Kentucky householders displaced by reservoir construction (Korsching *et al.* 1980) suggest that dissatisfaction with monetary compensation stems from the perception of differential treatment by acquisition authorities. Study researchers were able to compare the amounts of compensation offered, as reported by participants, against the assessed fair market value of each land parcel as recorded by the Army Corps of Engineers. Nearly 82 (81.6) percent of residents reported receiving an initial offer lower than fair market value; 86.8 percent of residents were extended a final offer in excess of fair market value. Slightly over 13 percent (13.2) received an initial offer higher than, and 9.7 percent a final offer lower than, fair market value. Fewest in number were those residents who received initial and final offers (5.2 and 3.5 percent, respectively) equivalent to assessed value.

Remarkably, none of these residents had been advised of the fair market value of their property, in itself perhaps a source of dissatisfaction or stress, although the researchers did not address this issue. However, some property owners had brought in private appraisers. Only 10 of 185 owners had accepted the Corps' initial offer. Over two-thirds (68.3 percent) expressed dissatisfaction with the amount of their offer. Asked

how they felt their offer compared with those of their neighbors, 54 percent felt they had fared worse; 38.1 percent felt their offer was comparable, and only 7.7 percent felt they had fared better. Among residents it was common knowledge that the Corps had employed different appraisers to evaluate various land parcels, leading to the perception that the rules of assessment had been unevenly applied. Comparison of the discrepancy between private appraisals and the amount of the Corps' final offer also generated discontent with compensation.

In the case of the Hill, New Hampshire community moved for construction of a dam (Adler and Jansen 1978), 73 percent of the 88 households reported having accepted the first offer made to them for their property. Only 40 percent of study participants were willing to report whether they believed their compensation to have been fair; of these 78 percent felt it had been, and the remainder did not. Again, only 44 percent of residents responded to a query about whether they believed they had 'done as well' as others; of these, roughly half felt their compensation was on a par with others', and half did not. The researchers were unable to account for the reticence of so many regarding their satisfaction with compensation, although they speculated that it was either a natural desire for privacy or, alternately, 'harsh feelings which remain toward the settlement received.' Of these relocatees, 43 percent had been 'upset by the way the Corps of Engineers handled the relocation,' 26 percent had not, and the remainder did not respond to that questionnaire item.

Perception of Redevelopment Project

There is a paucity of research on resident attitudes toward the economic redevelopment projects for which they have been displaced, and the effects of such attitudes on pre- and post-displacement experiences and perceptions. Kleinhans (2003) listed 'residents' support for and understanding of urban renewal measures that require forced relocation' among the key factors shaping attitudes toward impending displacement and ability to cope, but offered little evidence to substantiate his claim.

In 1941, the village of Hill, New Hampshire was relocated in its entirety for construction of a dam intended to reduce the hazard of catastrophic downstream flooding by the Merrimack River (Adler and Jansen 1978). Severe flooding in the region of the Connecticut and Merrimack River Valleys in previous years had resulted in millions of dollars of damage to crops, livestock and buildings; while Hill itself suffered little damage from the 1938 flood, over 8000 New Hampshire households were displaced, 12 dams were destroyed and 60 damaged, and economic losses including lost work days amounted to nearly \$2.8 million. Yet retrospective interviews revealed that while 56 percent of displacees who chose to relocate to 'new Hill' understood the purpose for building a new dam (flood control and public safety), only 57 percent felt that 'they were contributing to the region's well-being,' 30 percent were not sure, and 13 percent responded negatively. Residents who had relocated to the new village constructed for them tended to evaluate the benefits from flood control projects less

positively than those who had moved elsewhere, and to see them as more of an inconvenience.

What made the difference in attitudes? Fifty-seven percent of 'new Hill' relocatees said they had supported the move for the dam. However, only one-fifth felt they had benefited financially from the move, and only one-third felt the new town was better. Forty-three percent were upset by the way authorities had handled relocation issues, and a mere nine percent stated definitively that they had received a fair price for their property. 'New Hill' relocatees expressed great attachment to their former town. Sixty-five percent of this group 'felt that life in the old village was more enjoyable than in the new village'; 87 percent felt that in the old village 'there were more social events and gatherings.' However, data on all questions was not gathered from residents who had relocated elsewhere, and in any event no analysis was applied. The intriguing question remains whether degree of attachment to their home or neighborhood, or alternately unfavorable assessments of the move and its aftermath, affected resident perceptions of a redevelopment project.

Among Kansas City residents displaced by urban renewal and freeway construction, over half of whom were Black, the opinion that they were the target of institutionalized racism was common. These householders were relocated from 18 neighborhoods into public housing projects located in close proximity with one another. Until 1964 replacement housing was racially segregated. Among Black residents the

perception of being singled out for 'Black removal' was common (Gotham 2002). As one expressed it:

I remember many people called the urban renewal years urban removal years, because what occurred was large-scale removal of neighborhoods that were abolished under the guise of economic development and the core fabric of those communities was forever changed... when urban renewal, compounded with the introduction of the freeway system, came about little did many people realize the resulting impact and effect it would have on the destruction of core communities.

On reflection it seems likely that perceptions of a redevelopment project, and of the displacement it engenders, exert a mutual effect upon one another. That is, feelings that a project are not worthwhile; will not benefit oneself or one's community; or will benefit only groups of people from which one is excluded, are not likely to assuage the anguish of forced relocation. At the same time, negative experiences with relocation, and post-relocation problems (dissatisfaction with replacement housing and/or neighborhood, etc.) may well cast a pall over any benefits accruing from redevelopment, if indeed there are benefits.

Chapter Three: Study Area Characteristics and Redevelopment Plans

Overview of Study Areas

The 26 individuals that took part in this study represent 18 residential households that formerly resided within one of three eastern Kansas neighborhoods demolished to make way for commercial redevelopment projects. (Sociodemographic details of the participants are given in Chapter 4.) Two neighborhoods were located in Merriam, and one in Kansas City, Kansas. Merriam and Kansas City, Kansas, located respectively in Johnson and Wyandotte Counties, are both part of the bi-state Kansas City metropolitan area.

As discussed more fully in the sections to follow, the two Merriam neighborhoods on the one hand, and that in western Wyandotte County on the other, differed with respect to their sociodemographic characteristics and land use mix. However they shared the key characteristic of proximity to several interstate thoroughfares, ease of access making them especially attractive as potential sites for redevelopment (Figure 3-1).

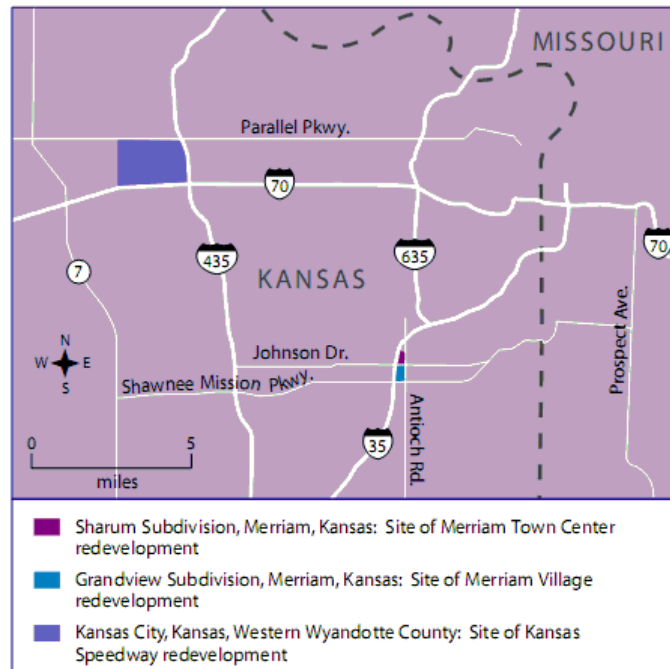


Figure 3-1. Location of redeveloped sites within the Kansas City metropolitan area

In this chapter geographic and sociodemographic characteristics of each neighborhood prior to redevelopment and residential displacement are first examined, followed by a discussion of the nature and scope of each redevelopment project, the rationale advanced for its implementation, and its timeline. With the realization that resident perceptions of displacement occur within a community-wide context, each discussion section concludes with a look at local attitudes regarding redevelopment and impending displacement of affected residents as reflected by minutes of public hearings, opinion columns and letters to the editor in local and regional newspapers.

Western Wyandotte County, Kansas

Geographic and sociodemographic aspects of the site prior to displacement

The Kansas City, Kansas neighborhood in Wyandotte County razed for development of the Kansas Speedway sat at the county's western edge. The area was sparsely populated, with a mix of agricultural and residential land uses and several small retail establishments. One hundred forty-six residences and four businesses, as well as agricultural and ranching concerns, were distributed over 170 land tracts on slightly over 1600 acres. Residential settlement was generally dispersed, with several properties sitting on lots large enough to permit agriculture and ranching. A single concentration of 70 single-family homes occupying one-acre lots, the Delaware Ridge Acres Subdivision, had been developed in 1947 on reclaimed farmland. The area sat adjacent to several major roadways. Interstate Highway 435 ran north-south on its eastern boundary; Interstate Highway 70, running east-west, formed its southern boundary. Parallel Parkway and 118th Street formed the area's northern and western borders, respectively. The neighborhood sat within the southern two-thirds of census tract 447.03, populated in 1990 by 1562 persons (Figure 3-2).

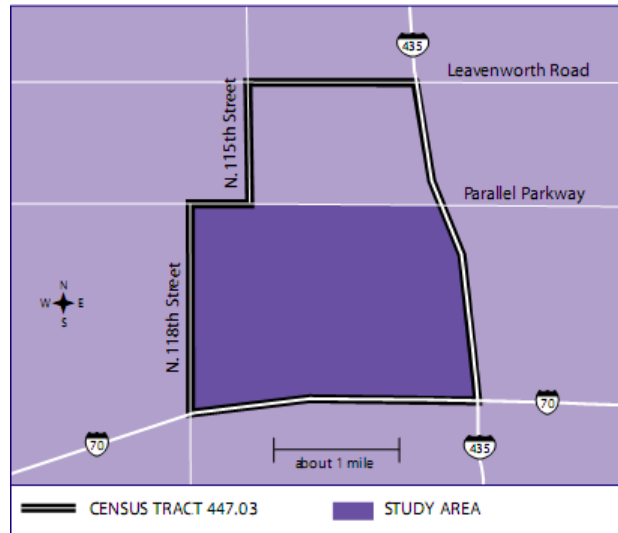


Figure 3-2. Census tract 447.03, Wyandotte County, Kansas 1990

Table 3-1 compares sociodemographic characteristics of census tract 447.03 with those for Wyandotte County overall in the early 1990s. There were proportionately more persons age 65 or older living within the census tract than in Wyandotte County as a whole. In terms of race the census tract was predominantly White, with a lower proportion of its residents identifying themselves as Hispanic than for the county as a whole. Compared to the county, more homes were owner occupied and more households were families. Housing values were higher in tract 447.03 than for the county as a whole, as were per capita and median monthly income.

| Sociodemographic characteristics | Census tract 447.03 | Wyandotte County, Kansas |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------------|
| AGE (%) | | |
| Age 18 or younger | 30.5 | 28.4 |
| Age 65 or older | 8.0 | 13.0 |
| RACE/ETHNICITY (%) | | |
| White | 95.5 | 67.1 |
| Black | 4.2 | 27.5 |
| Native American/Alaskan Native | 0.3 | 0.7 |
| Asian/Pacific Islander | 0.0 | 1.7 |
| Other | 0.1 | 5.3 |
| Hispanic (any race) | 2.8 | 6.8 |
| HOUSEHOLD TYPE (%) | | |
| Family | 88.8 | 68.3 |
| Non-family | 11.2 | 31.7 |
| HOUSING TENURE (%) | | |
| Owner occupied | 88.8 | 62.9 |
| Renter occupied | 11.2 | 37.1 |
| VALUE OF OWNER-OCCUPIED HOMES (%) | | |
| Less than \$50,000 | 12.8 | 63.4 |
| \$50,000-\$99,999 | 79.3 | 34.1 |
| \$100,000-\$149,999 | 6.6 | 2.0 |
| \$150,000-\$199,999 | 1.3 | 0.2 |
| \$200,000-\$299,999 | 0.0 | 0.2 |
| \$300,000 or more | 0.0 | 0.1 |
| MEDIAN OWNER-OCCUPIED HOME VALUE | \$69,400 | \$41,800 |
| MEDIAN HOUSEHOLD INCOME | \$38,214 | \$23,780 |
| PER CAPITA INCOME | \$10,434 | \$8,036 |

Table 3-1. Sociodemographic characteristics of Census tract 447.03 and Wyandotte County, 1990
Source: United States Census Bureau

Objectives of area redevelopment

The idea of constructing an auto raceway in Wyandotte County had its inception sometime in 1997, when representatives of Daytona Beach, Florida based International Speedway Corporation and officials of the Unified Government began discussing the possibility. In an April 1 election that year voters had called for the unification of the separate governments of Wyandotte County and the City of Kansas City, Kansas, and the Unified Government began operating on October 1. Geographically, over 80 per cent of Wyandotte County belonged to Kansas City, and over 90 per cent of County

residents lived within City limits (Sigman 1997). Consolidating the City and County governments was seen as a way to pool resources and cut costs, enabling officials to deal with several troubling issues faced jointly by the City and County. One of the gravest of these was a slide in the city's population over several decades, from 161,148 in 1980 to 151,521 in 1990 and 142,654 in 1996, a figure which placed Kansas City 'among the nation's top ten biggest population losers since 1990' according to the Census Bureau (Nicely 1997a). Wyandotte County similarly lost population, from 172,335 persons in 1980 to 161,973 in 1990 and 157,858 in 1997. Unemployment figures were higher in Wyandotte County than in any of the neighboring counties within the bi-state area (Nicely 1998). Of the 105 Kansas counties, Wyandotte had the highest property tax rate in the state, a fact cited as a prime reason for residential flight into neighboring counties and across the state line.

Mayor Carol Marinovich, who had been elected into office in 1995 on a platform of support for consolidation, cited crime, neighborhood blight, and the city's generally unfavorable image to outsiders as additional factors contributing to population loss and impeding economic investment in the area (Wiebe 2001). In a column in a local newspaper (Marinovich 1998) the Mayor opined:

The speedway will serve as a catalyst for major economic development in Kansas City, Kan., and Wyandotte County. Developers are currently seriously considering proposals for major development in Wyandotte County, including hotels and retail shopping. There are other commercial developers examining the possibilities of bringing their respective businesses to our community. These potential developments hinge on the construction of the speedway.

In converting the area from primarily residential and agricultural to commercial by building an auto racetrack, the Unified Government had three primary aims, summarized in the redevelopment plan (Prairie-Delaware Redevelopment Project A Tax Increment Finance Redevelopment Plan, 5/11/98):

- 1. To preserve and enhance the tax base of the Unified Government and other taxing districts by developing the area to its highest and best use, encouraging private investment in the surrounding area, and increasing employment opportunities.*
- 2. To increase employment and housing opportunities within the jurisdictional boundaries of the Unified Government.*
- 3. To stimulate development which would not occur without assistance available under the Act.*

The Redevelopment Plan was the outcome of amendments to the Prairie-Delaware Master Plan which made speedway development possible in the area (designated the Prairie-Delaware Redevelopment District). The 'Act' referred to in the third item is the Kansas Tax Increment Financing Statute, KSA 12-1770 *et seq.*, which empowers municipalities to finance redevelopment projects in any site designated as a Major Tourism Area (an area slated for capital improvements of \$100 million or higher) by using TIF. Under TIF, the additional property tax revenue resulting from site improvements is used to repay the bonds issued to finance the development. While traditionally under Kansas law annual TIF payments were scheduled over a 20-year period, in 1998 the Legislature approved extending the period to 30 years for the Speedway project. In the same year the Prairie-Delaware Redevelopment District was designated as a Major Tourism Area.

The Urban Land Institute defines 'highest and best use' in economic terms (Miles *et al.* 2000): 'The property use that, at a given time, is deemed likely to produce the greatest net return in the foreseeable future, whether or not such use is the current use of the property.' Economic benefits from the Speedway were forecast for its construction and operational phases, with benefits accruing to area businesses as well. In its first seven years of construction the project (Speedway plus any adjacent commercial ventures) would bring in over 1700 jobs and \$170 million in workers' income, \$4.75 million in local taxes, and \$6.5 million in state taxes (income, sales, and property combined) from construction-related worker earnings. Over a ten-year period, Speedway facility employment would raise \$1.7 million in local and \$2.25 million in state taxes. Over the same period, expenditures at the Speedway were projected to bring in \$4.6 million in local taxes, and \$11.2 million in state taxes; those at area businesses would bring in an additional \$25 million in local and \$62 million in state taxes (Fine Research and Marketing, Inc. 1998).

In addition to taxes and other revenues, Coopers and Lybrand in their economic impact report (1998) summarized certain 'non-quantifiable impacts' of the Speedway on the local area and region, among them 'enhanced economic growth and ancillary private sector development; diversified, affordable entertainment alternatives for families in the local area; new advertising opportunities for local businesses; [and] enhanced community pride, self-image, exposure and reputation.'

Although other, even more sparsely populated large land tracts within Wyandotte County were available, the area was chosen chiefly for its proximity to Interstate Highways 70 and 435 and State Highway 24 (Kansas International Speedway Corporation 1998). As the Prairie-Delaware Redevelopment Project Area, approximately 1600 acres were apportioned into three sections under the terms of the redevelopment plan. The bulk of the land to be acquired for redevelopment, and the site of the Speedway itself—a total of 1153 acres, on which nearly all of the residences to be cleared were located—was designated as Redevelopment Project Area A. One housing subdivision, Delaware Ridge Acres, containing 70 of the 146 total area residences, sat on the western-central portion of Area A. An additional 449 acres of land north of Area A, mostly agricultural with several residences, was designated as Area B and slated for traffic right-of-ways and future commercial development. (Area B now houses a shopping mall with several large anchor stores and other retail shops, a movie theater and a baseball stadium, restaurants, and lodgings.) Area C, at the southwest of the redevelopment area, contained six acres total. Figure 3-3 shows the total area slated for redevelopment, including Area A (shaded). The outline of the racetrack is superimposed on the land parcels.

Most of the residents displaced by the Kansas Speedway began moving from their homes over the spring and summer of 1998; demolition of homes began while residents were moving out, and groundbreaking began in the fall. The Kansas Speedway held its first race on June 2, 2001.

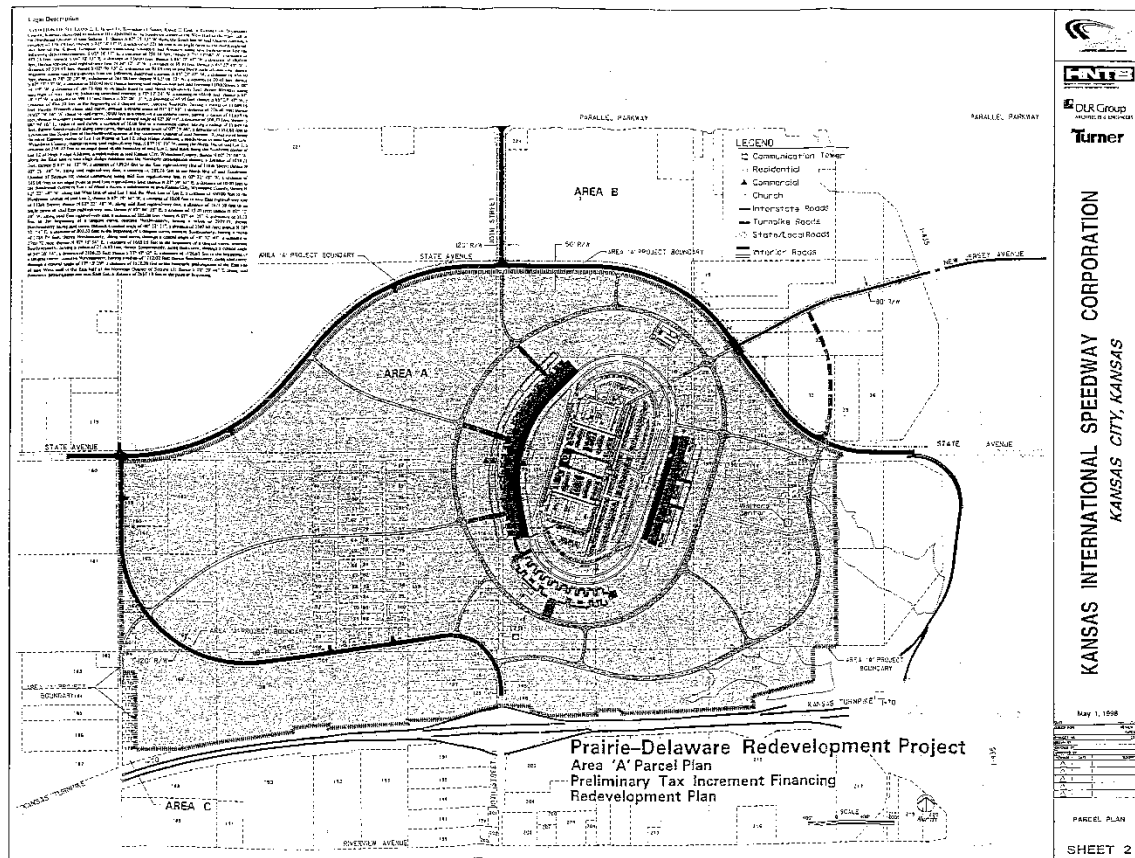


Figure 3-3. The area as a prospective redevelopment site: Delaware Ridge Acres is the block of parcels west of the racetrack bowl

Source: Kansas International Speedway Corporation

The public record: Community attitudes toward Speedway construction

Kansas City, Kansas was not the only location to be considered by International Speedway Corporation, nor was it the first. Chicago was an early candidate; within the Kansas City metro area, the area north of downtown Kansas City, Missouri (popularly called 'the Northland' or the 'I-29 corridor' for the north-south Interstate highway that

runs through it), northeast of Kansas City International Airport, was also considered. In 1996 the idea of building the Speedway in the Northland was championed by the Kansas City Area Development Council, but as expressed by Bill Graham in the *Kansas City Star* (12/19/96), Missouri's I-29 corridor had better prospects than Wyandotte County, Kansas:

Airport land is going to develop quite nicely with light industry, commercial shops and landscaped residential subdivisions. That blend has a lot more balance, environmental quality and long-term economic value on 1,200 to 2,000 acres than something from the capricious and bloated world of professional sports. We don't need a jumbo concrete stadium with miles upon miles of asphalt parking lots, noise pollution from roaring auto engines and traffic jams when 120,000 hard-partying race fans drive away from the arena... It's difficult to pass on projects when big dollars and flashy promotions are on the table. But remember, the same transportation, location and undeveloped land amenities that would attract a racetrack are going to lure other developers, too. We're already in a growth boom cycle in the Northland. Unemployment is low. Why bite on a potential eyesore with a nebulous economic future?

On the Kansas side, community sentiment, given voice in letters to the *Kansas City Kansan*, in *Kansas City Star* news articles, and in person at public hearings hosted by the Unified Government, centered primarily around two issues. The first of these was the question of whether the Speedway would bring long-term economic and fiscal benefits to the community, or whether it would prove a high-risk gamble ending in disastrous failure. The Woodlands, a combined greyhound and horse racing facility constructed at a cost of \$68 million, had opened with great fanfare in September 1989. At the time hopes for future revenues were high: 1.2 million attendees were expected to bring in over \$100 million per year (Spencer 1989a). Yet despite the dog track's formal

blessing by a local priest using Kansas River water and bets of over \$600,000 on opening night, fortunes for the pari-mutuel track declined within several years. The principal cause of the Woodlands' failure was the advent of the riverboat casino, replete with slot machines, across the state line in 1994. By state law the racetrack was not permitted to install slot machines. By early 1995 Kansas Racing Commission statistics showed a 45.9 percent decline in dog betting and 33.1 percent fewer race attendees from January 1994 to January 1995. To forestall bankruptcy the track's operating company pleaded with the Kansas Legislature to put the question of amending Kansas law in order to allow the racetrack to construct a privately owned casino with electronic slot machines to Kansas voters. Despite the support of then-Governor Bill Graves, three attempts to move State lawmakers failed, and by 1997 the Woodlands was financially insolvent.

Comments from letters to the *Kansas City Kansan* expressed suspicion on the part of many about the motives of racetrack developers and fears that taxpayers would absorb the costs of another failed venture. As one writer put it (Yunghans 1998):

Woodlands: Two wheeler-dealers from Wichita told us this project was the "salvation for Wyandotte County." Sound familiar right now? Ran out after the good first three or four years in which they made millions of dollars. The Woodlands has filed for bankruptcy. The little Piper School District had to sell CDs early, which cost the district early withdrawal penalties, just to pay their bills.

An equal number in the community felt the need for an ambitious venture for Wyandotte County and believed the racetrack would be successful. Writers to the *Kansan* (Creten 1998; Harbor 1998) described the proposed track as 'capable of

generating untold opportunity' and declared that 'it would be something short of criminal for us to turn [it] down.'

An issue of equal concern to many in the community was the impending displacement of 146 households for the project. Local minister Blaine Fye, writing to the *Kansan* (2/4/1998), expressed concern that homeowners receive fair treatment from Unified Government authorities:

Most of our citizens are in favor of the new race track but we are all watching how you treat and deal with the families that are being asked to move. May I suggest that anything else you do in the remainder of your terms will pale in comparison with how you treat these good citizens. Why is this so important? Because we realize that whatever you do to them you can also do to us.

On December 16, 1997, the Unified Board of Commissioners hosted a public hearing on extending tax abatements for Speedway construction to a 30-year period. According to the *Kansas City Star* (Nicely 1997b), community members who spoke out at the meeting shared several concerns. One feeling shared by both residents to be displaced and those in the wider community was the feeling that they were not being given 'enough time to learn the details of the agreement' [between the Unified Government and Kansas International Speedway Corporation; a 44-page document delivered in person to residents on December 12]. Residents of the neighborhood complained that they were not being given sufficient time to relocate. Some residents were unable to find replacement housing. There was also a common perception that the amount of compensation offered was not adequate. One resident drew applause by suggesting that the term 'fair market value' be redefined, adding, 'Fair market price is

whatever it takes to put me in another place comparable to what I have.' According to the *Star* article, 'Most who said they would be displaced by the track opposed the speedway or elements of the agreement.'

The *Star* reporter covering the meeting several days earlier had interviewed several households to be displaced (Nicely 1997c). Responses to impending displacement ranged from sadness and unwillingness to leave the home, to mixed feelings on the part of several who perceived it as an 'adventure' or 'exciting opportunity,' to people like one man who couldn't wait to leave: 'I want out of this high-tax sucker.'

In a lecture given at the University of Missouri, Kansas City, former Mayor Carol Marinovich recalled the public hearing (Marinovich 2005):

I will never forget the five-hour public meeting held in December of that year [1997]. Only one item was on the agenda: a \$252 million dollar development agreement with International Speedway Corporation. We held the meeting at the Reardon Center instead of City Hall to accommodate what we knew would be a large number of people attending. Emotions understandably ran very high that night. At least 400 people were in attendance, and the majority of the speakers had very negative comments to make. As a governing body, we did not know at the beginning of the meeting if a motion would be made that night. What would be in the best interests of the public? Toward the end of the meeting it became obviously clear that another meeting would only accomplish one thing: people becoming emotionally upset one more time. No testimony was provided that changed the opinion of the governing body. A motion was made for approval of the agreement. The vote was 10-0 in favor of the motion.

Perhaps the only point of agreement between many residents and the mayor was the emotionally charged atmosphere of the meeting. Resident perceptions of the public

hearing itself, as reported in the course of interviews for the study, are discussed in a later chapter.

Residents were mailed a letter dated April 17, 1998 inviting them to attend a public hearing originally scheduled for May 11, but held over until June 25 when Speedway officials from Florida were unable to attend. A legal description of the property, including its range and township designation and boundaries, was attached to the letter, which informed residents that

The consideration of a petition for special permit to use the property described on the reverse side of this notice has been authorized by the Board of Commissioners of the Unified Government of Wyandotte County-Kansas City, Kansas. Such a change would permit the use of the property as an auto race track facility and facilities directly related and necessary to the operation of an auto race track facility... A public hearing will be held by the City Planning Commission in the Commission Chamber of the Municipal Office Building on May 11, 1998 at 7 pm. You may appear, as may any other person, to ask questions or to be heard in support or opposition.

According to minutes from the June 8 meeting (Staff Review Summary, June 8, 1998), the Planning Commission Chairman 'requested that the audience keep their comments confined to the special use permit... [The Commission] cannot consider the issues of acquisition of property, pricing for property, and TIF program. The Commission has no authority to consider these items in their decision-making process.' The minutes state that 11 individuals at the meeting opposed the permit. One idea expressed repeatedly by those who spoke was that neither the Unified Government nor Kansas International Speedway Corporation owned any of the property, so they did not have the right to condemn it. One resident expressed the opinion that it was both illegal

and unethical for the City to take property that belonged to someone else. Joseph Borich, an eminent domain attorney speaking for 30 residents who had filed suit against the Unified Government, asked that the decision on obtaining the permit be postponed pending review. Among the five issues presented by the plaintiffs was the question of whether Speedway construction was 'a valid public use or purpose.' Another issue concerned the nature of the compensation amount mandated by Kansas law, namely 125 percent of fair market value.

Several residents also wanted to know why their area, and not an alternate that had been considered, had been selected as the Speedway site. (What reply they received, if any, is not recorded in the minutes.) One resident expressed that 'No one has taken the property owners seriously. They have been made promises. [They] do not want to move out of their homes.' The Deputy Chief Counsel for the Unified Government informed meeting attendees that 'The Unified Government has the authority to initiate the consideration of a special use permit for property it does not own. It can rezone any property in the city that it so chooses; it may result in a lawsuit, but that is their right.'

Sharum Subdivision, Merriam, Kansas

Geographic and sociodemographic aspects of the site prior to displacement

The area razed to build Merriam Town Center Mall was originally platted in 1922 as Sharum Subdivision. Sharum was bordered to the north by 55th Street, to the east by Antioch Road, to the south by Johnson Drive, and to the west by Interstate Highway 35. With the exception of 55th Street, all of these are busy thoroughfares carrying thousands of commuters daily, particularly I-35. Ninety-two properties, including 50 single-family residences, three duplex and three multi-family residential buildings, a lumber yard, several small businesses including a convenience store and a liquor store, and a few vacant lots sat on 65 acres of land. In contrast to the semi-rural feel and sparse population distribution characteristic of Western Wyandotte County, Sharum was typical of many Merriam subdivisions in being fairly densely populated, with modest homes dotting small lots. In 1990 Sharum Subdivision occupied the northern half of block group 1 of census tract 521.01; altogether 854 persons lived in the block group. Figure 3-4 shows the boundaries of the former neighborhood; Sharum Subdivision is the portion of block group 1 north of Johnson Drive and east of Interstate-35.

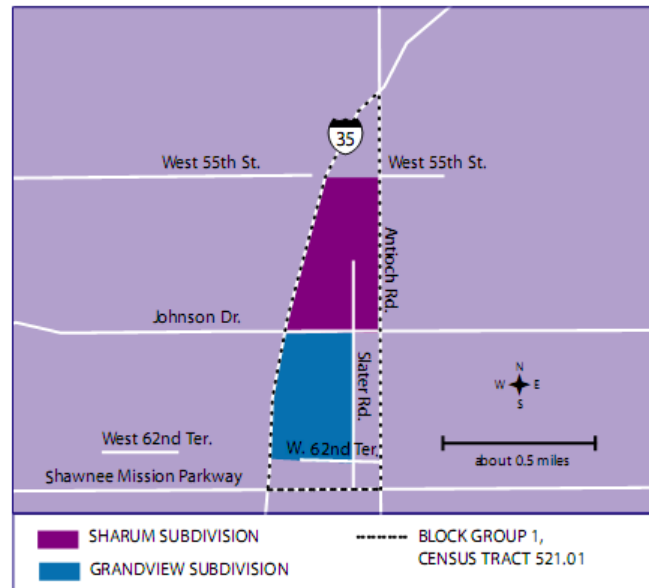


Figure 3-4. Block group 1, Census tract 521.01, Johnson County, Kansas 1990

Table 3-2 compares sociodemographic characteristics of block group 1, census tract 521.01 with those for Merriam and for Johnson County overall in 1990. There were proportionately fewer persons age 65 or older living within the block group than in both Merriam and Johnson County as a whole. There were proportionately more minors (under age 18) living in the block group than in Merriam overall. In terms of race the block group was predominantly White, with a higher proportion of its residents identifying themselves as Hispanic than for Johnson County overall. Compared to both Merriam and the county, proportionately fewer homes were owner occupied and fewer households were families. Housing values were more modest in block group 1, tract 521.01 than in Merriam and in the county as a whole. Per capita and median monthly

income were also lower within block group 1 than for both Merriam and for Johnson County.

| Sociodemographic characteristics | Block group 1, Census tract | | |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------|---------------------------|
| | 521.01 | Merriam, Kansas | Johnson County, Kansas |
| AGE (%) | | | |
| Age 17 or younger | 27.4 | 23.0 | 26.8 |
| Age 65 or older | 7.7 | 10.7 | 9.4 |
| RACE/ETHNICITY (%) | | | |
| White | 90.9 | 92.6 | 95.4 |
| Black | 2.9 | 3.7 | 1.9 |
| Native American/Alaskan Native | 2.9 | 0.4 | 0.4 |
| Asian/Pacific Islander | 0.3 | 1.7 | 1.6 |
| Other | 1.0 | 1.6 | 0.6 |
| Hispanic (any race) | 2.9 | 2.9 | 2.0 |
| HOUSEHOLD TYPE (%) | | | |
| Family | 58.6 | 63.1 | 71.9 |
| Non-family | 41.4 | 36.9 | 28.1 |
| HOUSING TENURE (%) | | | |
| Owner occupied | 36.2 | 59.5 | 69.4 |
| Renter occupied | 63.8 | 40.5 | 30.6 |
| VALUE OF OWNER-OCCUPIED HOMES (%) | | | |
| Less than \$50,000 | 13.6 | 10.3 | 5.0 |
| \$50,000-\$99,999 | 81.6 | 82.2 | 55.2 |
| \$100,000-\$149,999 | 0.0 | 6.5 | 24.0 |
| \$150,000-\$199,999 | 4.8 | 0.7 | 8.3 |
| \$200,000-\$299,999 | 0.0 | 0.2 | 4.9 |
| \$300,000 or more | 0.0 | 0.0 | 2.6 |
| MEDIAN OWNER-OCCUPIED HOME VALUE | \$69,000 | \$74,100 | \$91,200 |
| MEDIAN HOUSEHOLD INCOME | \$23,661 | \$34,013 | \$42,741 |
| PER CAPITA INCOME | \$10,903 | \$16,901 | \$20,592 |

Table 3-2. Sociodemographic characteristics of block group 1, Merriam, and Johnson County, Kansas 1990
Source: United States Census Bureau

Objectives of area redevelopment

The problems that led from Sharum Subdivision to the creation of the Merriam Town Center Mall, as well as the origins of the idea for redevelopment, differed from the experience in Wyandotte County. While crime, blight and economic instability had been cited as factors necessitating redevelopment within Wyandotte County, no claims were made that these conditions actually existed *within* the redevelopment area; indeed, property values and household income were higher within the Prairie-Delaware area than outside it, and it was chosen largely for its proximity to interstate freeways.

However, blight, crime and decline were all cited as significant problems of long standing within Sharum Subdivision that made its continued existence as a residential neighborhood untenable from the point of view of municipal authorities. As shown in Table 3-2, most owner-occupied residences in the neighborhood and in Merriam were appraised at the low end of the spectrum of values—i.e., below \$100,000—in 1990, a couple years before the idea of building the mall surfaced. These homes and the neighborhood they sat in typified the 'post-World War II suburbs of small, modest single-family houses sinking into disrepair amid expanses of similar deteriorating dwellings' located adjacent to core urban areas, described by Lucy and Phillips (2000) in their analysis of uneven patterns of prosperity in American suburbia. They referred to the period beginning in 1980 as the 'postsuburban era,' a time of suburban decline: uneven patterns of income distribution, infrastructure improvement, and overall quality

of life among the various suburban communities within a metropolitan area. Inner suburbs are particularly vulnerable to decline compared to suburbs located farther from the urban core.

According to Lucy and Phillips, the deterioration of these disadvantaged suburbs is linked to the process of residential succession. As households leave their ageing homes and neighborhoods for whatever reason, these locales must compete with more advantaged areas for middle and upper income in-movers. But in the face of changed work and commuter patterns that make proximity to core urban areas irrelevant, as well as shifts in housing and lifestyle preferences, amenity-rich revitalized urban cores and affluent edge cities become the magnets that attract higher-end residential consumption. In-movers to these ageing residences in inner suburbs tend to be less well-off than their predecessors, with fewer resources to undertake residential improvements that maintain or increase housing values. Without sufficient public reinvestment, over time the end result is significant erosion of neighborhood stability. The link between residential stability or mobility and household financial resources means that differentials in median household income are the best gauge of patterns of decline among suburban communities:

Income of residents is the variable that reveals the most useful information... about movers and stayers. Tracking residents' income in jurisdictions and neighborhoods over time identifies the results of moving behavior. It indirectly reveals preferences and opportunities as well as judgments about quality of life in neighborhoods and local governments... Income of residents in neighborhoods and jurisdictions demonstrates ability to pay taxes... and to pay for housing and to maintain and improve it.

The data for median household income within Sharum Subdivision fits well with Lucy and Phillips' model of inner suburban economic disadvantage. Figure 3-5 shows that median household income within census tract 521.01, within which the neighborhood sat, was comparatively less than that of Merriam and Johnson County from 1960 to 1990.

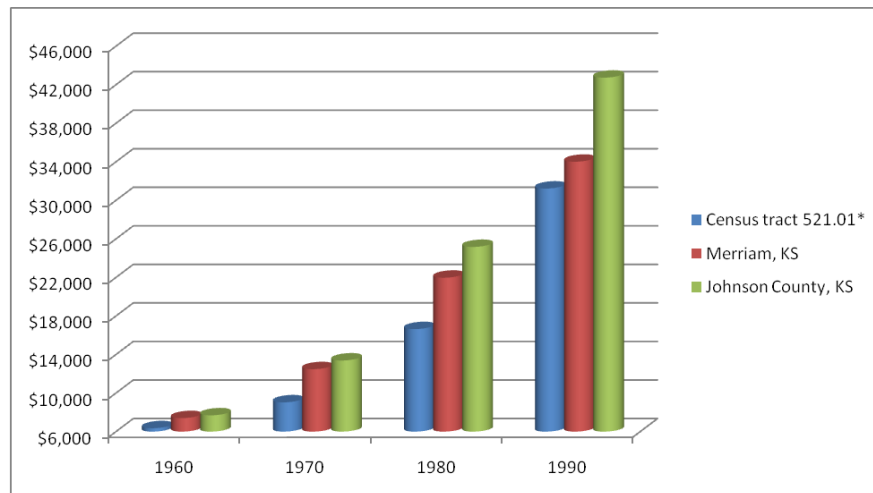


Figure 3-5. Median household income for Census tract 521.01, Merriam, and Johnson County, 1960-1990

The acknowledged lack of consumer appeal of neighborhoods like Sharum Subdivision, combined with scarcity of undeveloped land, meant that by the 1990s Merriam had few alternatives to infill development, i.e., rezoning and redevelopment of already developed land (Northeast Johnson County Housing Study 1997). Between 1990 and 1992, 128 permits were issued for new home construction in several large subdivisions, but between 1993 and August 1997 all 42 construction permits issued were for commercial redevelopment.

Public perceptions of decline within Sharum Subdivision were shared by some—though by no means all—of its residents, a topic explored in the results discussion. Sometime in 1992 one of these, Edna Tennis, a homemaker who had studied at Georgetown University Law School, composed a petition and began circulating it door-to-door within the neighborhood. By Mrs. Tennis' own description, the petition informed residents that the City of Merriam had long-range plans to redesignate Sharum as an Enterprise Zone (an area slated for redevelopment) and condemn properties. As she saw the matter, since their properties were slated for acquisition some five years down the road, local citizens needed to exert some control over the outcome in order to protect their interests. According to Mrs. Tennis, some 95 percent of neighborhood residents signed the petition. Opposition came mainly from residents east of Antioch Road, who would not be displaced by the development. Some neighborhood residents refused because they felt they should be paid the commercial (redevelopment) value for their land, a provision apparently not specified by the petition. Subsequently she carried the petition to the City Administrator, its Finance Committee and the City Council.

Mrs. Tennis described her rationale for making what some might view as an unusual request—the acquisition and demolition of her home and neighborhood. The neighborhood had been in decline for some time, a phenomenon she attributed partly to low-income rental housing built several decades earlier, which she had opposed. Visible signs of social decay included prostitution, drug houses, and public urination. Code

enforcement of building violations by the City of Merriam and police response to complaints were inconsistent. Neighborhood deterioration was linked to the City's plans to condemn it for future development. 'The infrastructure was terrible,' she stated. 'We were redlined... it was a very bad situation for everybody.' While redlining can be defined in various ways, on a broad level it refers to strategic housing disinvestment in selected urban areas on the part of banks, insurers and other financial institutions. Residents of redlined neighborhoods have difficulty obtaining home improvement loans and obtaining insurance and mortgage services. According to a 'fact sheet' which summarizes costs and benefits of Merriam Town Center construction, on the eve of redevelopment only 23 percent of residences within the subdivision were owner-occupied, although it is not clear whether this figure applies to a percentage of all housing or of single-family residences only. Seventeen houses sat vacant (Playter and Bennion 2004).

The City of Merriam employed Trkla, Pettigrew, Allen and Payne, a Chicago-based development consulting firm, to evaluate Sharum Subdivision's eligibility for TIF financing. The results of their 1994 study are summarized in the Sharum Subdivision Tax Increment Financing Redevelopment District Plan and Project (August 1, 1995). According to this document, the Kansas Tax Increment Financing Statute, *KSA 12-1770 et seq.* (1979) defines a 'blighted area' as one in which a preponderance of 10 possible debilitating conditions 'impairs or arrests the sound development and growth of a municipality or constitutes an economic or social liability or is a menace to the public

health, morals or welfare.' The consultants found eight of the 10 factors 'reasonably distributed throughout the Redevelopment District.' These eight included 'deteriorated or deteriorating structures... defective or inadequate street layout... unsanitary or unsafe conditions...' and conditions which 'endanger life or property [and] which create economic obsolescence.' Physical deterioration of residences included cracked and settling foundations, porches and stoops, and rooflines; boarded-up windows; 'defective' paint and siding; and missing handrails. The term 'inadequate street layout' referred to the fact that east-west trending streets had originally been continuous with streets to the west of the subdivision, but development of Interstate-35 in the 1960s bifurcated them, leading to a number of abrupt dead-ends along its west edge. As a result street layout violated Fire Department codes, which specified that dead-end streets have a design capable of accommodating emergency vehicles; this and 'excessive noise and exhaust fumes from heavy automobile and truck traffic on I-35' constituted hazardous conditions. Proximity to I-35, the age and condition of residences, and commercial use of residential structures combined to discourage new residential construction and reinvestment, promoting 'economic obsolescence.'

In 1993 the City of Merriam began seeking bids for a redevelopment firm. Edna Tennis, the author of the neighborhood petition, had approached local developer Fishman Company, based in Overland Park, as a prospective site developer. Fishman teamed with Kansas City-based Block and Company to form Merriam Redevelopment LLC, which competed with Chicago-based Homart Corporation for the contract. While

Homart was initially chosen, by 1996 Developers Diversified Realty had taken over the project. In 1994, in an amendment to the City of Merriam's Comprehensive Plan (October 5, 1994), the area was redesignated as a Planned Commercial Redevelopment District (Figure 3-6).

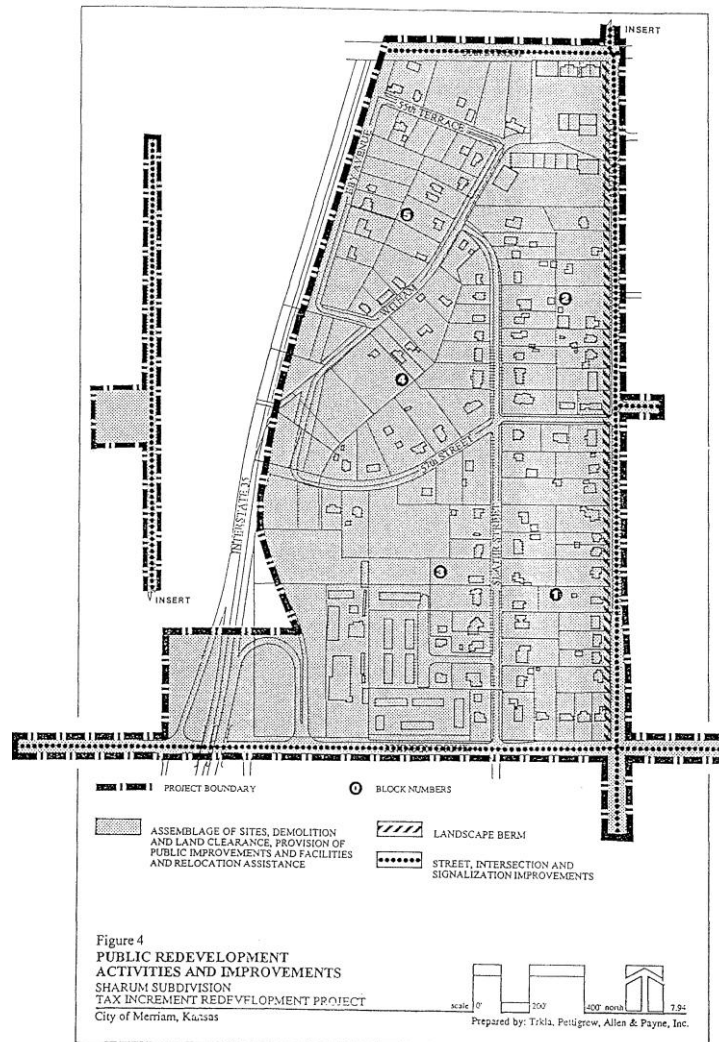


Figure 3-6. Sharum Subdivision as a prospective redevelopment site
Source: Trkla, Pettigrew, Allen and Payne, Inc.

Noting that 'development, revitalization, retention, and expansion is a key component of the City's strategy for economic development,' the Sharum Subdivision

Tax Increment Financing Redevelopment District Plan and Project (August 1, 1995) declared: 'The future use of the Sharum Subdivision is intended to complement, support and extend the existing central business district area of the community... Successful implementation of the Redevelopment Project will result in substantial new investment in the Redevelopment District and serve as a catalyst for additional private investment in the central business district.' Among its predicted benefits to the community were increased tax revenues, decreased costs of public improvements, addition of jobs, and 'elimination of blighted conditions [and] improved physical conditions and overall attractiveness of the Redevelopment District and surrounding area.'

The redevelopment plan called for the construction of 585,000 square feet of commercial space at an estimated cost of \$23,168,000, including \$14.5 million for acquisition, demolition and land clearance. Several large anchor stores, a multiplex theater, and miscellaneous shops and restaurants would draw shoppers from adjacent Interstate-35 and from local thoroughfares Johnson Drive and Antioch Road. Twenty-year TIF bonds provided \$9,675,450 in funding, while \$2,100,000 in General Obligation bonds partially financed street widening and improvements related to mall construction.

Residents of Sharum Subdivision began moving out over the spring and summer of 1996. Demolition of homes began while residents were moving out, and construction of the shopping center began in May 1997. Most of the shops located in Merriam Town Center, including an 18-theater cineplex, opened their doors in December 1998.

The public record: Community attitudes toward Merriam Town Center construction

As with the Speedway, community perceptions and opinions regarding commercial redevelopment of Sharum Subdivision were mixed. In compliance with Kansas law, the City of Merriam mailed a notice of public hearing dated March 15, 1995 to all business and rental property owners and resident and non-resident property owners of the area to be razed, plus property owners within 200 feet of its boundaries. The cover letter attached to the notice read in part:

The City of Merriam is proceeding with the consideration of the redevelopment of the Sharum Subdivision area for a large-scale shopping center redevelopment project. One of the many steps in the process will be the rezoning of the area to Planned Unit Development zoning and the consideration of a preliminary plan and later a final plan for the Planned Unit Development... The Planning Commission will hold a public hearing at 7:00 p.m. on Wednesday, April 5, regarding the rezoning of this redevelopment area to Planned Unit Development zoning and to consider the preliminary plan...

The *Johnson County Sun*, a local newspaper, reported an attendance of nearly 100 at the hearing, residents and non-residents (Dewar 1995). Meeting minutes taken for the Merriam Planning Commission paraphrased attendees' comments. Non-resident concerns about the possible impacts of a mall, chiefly from those living directly adjacent to the redevelopment site, were focused on increased crime, noise and traffic. A woman who had lived in Merriam for 46 years recalled that 'deterioration' and loss of commercial amenities—a bank, post office and grocery—had followed the widening of a

downtown Merriam street, and was quoted in the *Shawnee Journal Herald* (Roberts 1995): 'And now you want to displace everyone... with this grandiose megalomania. God help you all if you don't stop this.'

There were also concerns about a negative impact on adjacent residential property values. Several non-residents wondered whether displaced Sharum residents would be able to remain in Merriam. The director of Homart, the developer whose plans were then under consideration, announced that 89 percent of Sharum property owners had already signed their acquisition contracts; one non-resident expressed concern that those displaced would receive enough compensation, adding that the fact that not all had signed acquisition contracts showed they were not satisfied with their offers. Concerns were also voiced about how much control community members had over the redevelopment. Several at the meeting asked whether under Kansas law people could vote for or against redeveloping Sharum (the answer was 'No') and how they could go about filing a protest petition against it. Others questioned how much effort had been expended to inform the public about the meeting and were informed that public notices had been mailed out and posted in local newspapers several weeks prior to the meeting.

Interestingly, only several comments from actual residents of Sharum Subdivision are recorded. Of these, one resident questioned how long he would have to prepare for relocation, and was informed that 'following closing on the bonds, a certified letter [would] be sent to property owners and they [would] have three months or 90

days to move.' Two other residents spoke out in favor of the project. One of these was a woman who stated that she had already signed her acquisition contract and that 'she urged acceptance of the rezoning and moving ahead of the plan.' The other resident was Edna Tennis, author of the community petition urging redevelopment, who stated that '[s]he believed that there [was] no choice' over moving for residents. The *Shawnee Herald Journal* (Roberts 1995) noted that 'some residents of the proposed center site said that they didn't want to be uprooted... Most of the opposition was voiced by residents [outside Sharum Subdivision].' Resident perceptions of the public hearing itself, as reported in the course of interviews for the study, are discussed in a later chapter.

Grandview Subdivision, Merriam, Kansas

Geographic and sociodemographic aspects of the site prior to displacement

Eby's Neighborhood, the segment of Grandview Subdivision razed for construction of Merriam Village, lay just south of Sharum Subdivision, separated from it by Johnson Drive. Bounded to the east by Slater Road, to the south by West 62nd Terrace, and to the west by Interstate-35, the neighborhood was platted for residential development in 1887. Slightly over 35 acres was home to 84 single-family residences, 45 multi-family and four duplex housing units, plus a filling station, drugstore, daycare center and other small businesses. Most single-family residences dated from the 1930s through the 1950s, while apartments and duplexes had been built in the 1960s through the 1980s (Merriam

Comprehensive Plan 2000). A decade lay between demolition of Sharum Subdivision to the north, in 1996, and Grandview in 2005. But in many respects the two neighborhoods were similar. Together they made up the southern and northern portions, respectively, of block group 1, census tract 521.01 (Figure 3-4). Table 3-3 compares sociodemographics for block group 1, census tract 521.01 relative to those for Merriam and for Johnson County overall in 2000.

| Sociodemographic characteristics | Block group 1, Census tract 521.01 | Merriam, Kansas | Johnson County, Kansas |
|-----------------------------------|--|-----------------|---------------------------|
| AGE (%) | | | |
| Age 17 or younger | 12.9 | 21.7 | 27.1 |
| Age 65 or older | 14.5 | 12.2 | 10.0 |
| RACE/ETHNICITY (%) | | | |
| White | 89.4 | 89.2 | 91.1 |
| Black | 0.4 | 4.0 | 2.6 |
| Native American/Alaskan Native | 0.8 | 0.4 | 0.3 |
| Asian/Pacific Islander | 2.4 | 2.1 | 2.8 |
| Other | 7.0 | 4.3 | 3.2 |
| Hispanic (any race) | 7.8 | 5.4 | 4.0 |
| HOUSEHOLD TYPE (%) | | | |
| Family | 45.2 | 60.0 | 69.7 |
| Non-family | 54.8 | 40.0 | 30.3 |
| HOUSING TENURE (%) | | | |
| Owner occupied | 48.9 | 63.6 | 72.3 |
| Renter occupied | 51.1 | 36.4 | 27.7 |
| VALUE OF OWNER-OCCUPIED HOMES (%) | | | |
| Less than \$50,000 | 0.0 | 2.9 | 1.3 |
| \$50,000-\$99,999 | 34.8 | 27.4 | 14.5 |
| \$100,000-\$149,999 | 57.6 | 61.3 | 34.7 |
| \$150,000-\$199,999 | 0.0 | 6.6 | 23.2 |
| \$200,000-\$299,999 | 7.6 | 1.4 | 16.4 |
| \$300,000 or more | 0.0 | 0.4 | 10.0 |
| MEDIAN OWNER-OCCUPIED HOME VALUE | \$109,600 | \$112,700 | \$149,300 |
| MEDIAN HOUSEHOLD INCOME | \$50,433 | \$48,455 | \$61,455 |
| PER CAPITA INCOME | \$22,575 | \$23,988 | \$30,919 |

Table 3-3. Sociodemographic characteristics of block group 1, Merriam and Johnson County 2000
Source: United States Census Bureau

The proportion of residents under 18 years of age was lower in the block group than in Merriam and in Johnson County, and the proportion over age 65 was higher. The block group was similar to Merriam overall in terms of its White population, but had proportionately fewer Whites than Johnson County. Block group 1 had proportionately more Hispanics but fewer Blacks than either Merriam or the county. More households were non-family and more were renters than in Merriam and in Johnson County. In the decade between the 1990 and 2000 Censuses, housing values and per capita income within the block group made gains, more nearly approaching those for Merriam overall. Figure 3-7 compares median household income in block group 1 between the 1990 and 2000 Censuses. In 1989, before the redevelopment of Sharum, median household income within the block group lagged far behind that in Merriam and in Johnson County. Ten years later, median household income within the block group exceeded that for Merriam overall.

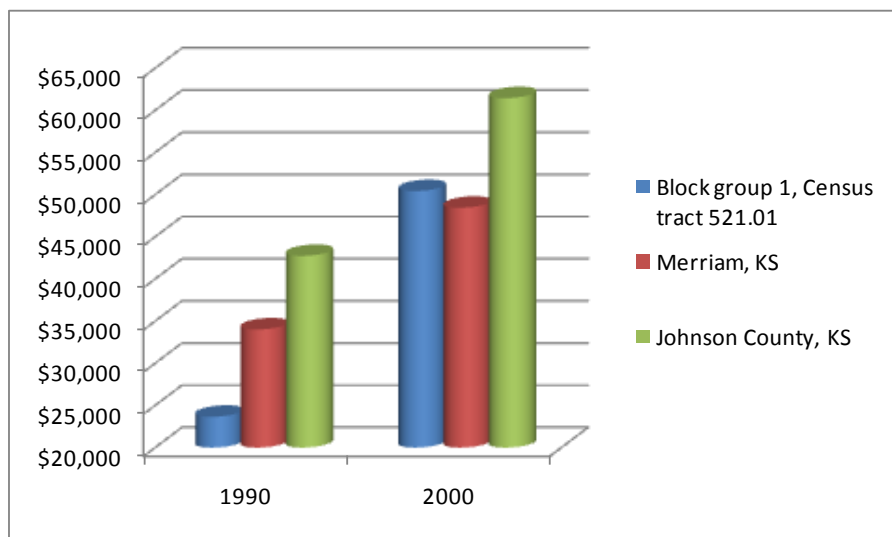


Figure 3-7. Median household income for block group 1, Merriam and Johnson County, 1990-2000

Source: United States Census Bureau

Objectives of area redevelopment

In spite of the economic gains made by Eby/Grandview, the idea of its redevelopment as a shopping and high-density residential area had been in the works since the time of Merriam Town Center Mall construction. In 1988 the City of Merriam established the Enterprise Zone Redevelopment District, a swathe of undeveloped, residential and commercial land adjacent to Interstate-35 traversing the city from 75th Street along Merriam's southwestern boundary, northeastward to Johnson Drive. According to the Kansas Department of Commerce, the Enterprise Zone program provides incentives such as corporate tax credits to new or expanded commercial enterprises within Kansas communities.

In 1994 the City adopted a comprehensive plan for redevelopment within the I-35 redevelopment area. Merriam's Comprehensive Plan (2000) called for revitalization of neighborhoods through mixed-use developments designed to integrate community resources, businesses and several densities or types of housing within a designated area. The plan drew on New Urban Design—smart growth concepts for communities and regions developed since the 1980s which emphasize walkability and local opportunities for employment, commerce and recreation within communities, and connectivity of local and regional transport networks (Katz 1994; Duany, Plater-Zyberk and Speck 2000). The Comprehensive Plan named the 'Grandview Neighborhood' as one of several

being considered for redevelopment based largely on 'the constraints and opportunities created by Interstate 35':

When the interstate was built it created a situation where, generally, housing... was less than ideal. The residential character and stability of the area has slowly changed for the worse. Most likely, speculative ownership of homes, uncertainty about the future, whereby owners postpone investment into their homes, has contributed to the current situation. The commercial development along Shawnee Mission Parkway and Johnson Drive has transformed the northern and southern periphery and reduced the residential base... Because the Grandview neighborhood is detached from the main residential area east of Antioch, the question arises whether to preserve it as a residential area or not... The strategy is to capitalize on existing land use features... and convenient access to I-35 and Kansas City. The challenge is to create a cohesive, pedestrian-connected neighborhood with the amenities that presently exist. To succeed, higher-density housing becomes important...

In March 2004 the City of Merriam hired Shockey Consulting Services to perform a 'windshield survey' of the neighborhood, meaning that residences, commercial buildings and other structures were assayed visually from on-street and evaluated for structural soundness. The evaluations were used to argue for the neighborhood's eligibility for redevelopment using Tax Increment Financing—as also in the case of Sharum Subdivision, by citing 'conditions of blight.' Of 73 buildings assayed, 40 percent were found to be substandard—'contain[ing] major defects so extensive... that the cost of repairs would be excessive in relation to the value returned on the investment'; 32 percent were found to have major, and 15 percent to have minor, deficiencies; nine percent were found to be sound and one percent were vacant (Shockey *et al.* 2004). The catalog of blight factors for Grandview, summarized in the Grandview Street Area Redevelopment Eligibility Study (2004) was similar to that for Sharum: structural

deterioration, defective layout of streets, hazardous conditions (highway noise and exhaust, inaccessibility for emergency vehicles, overgrown shrubbery) and 'conditions which create economic obsolescence.'

As a redevelopment site (Figure 3-8) the neighborhood was apportioned into three separate areas. Area J, extending north-south from 62nd to 60th Streets and west of Eby Street to I-35, was planned as a 'community retail center' of some 207,000 square feet of commercial space. With its 'excellent visibility from I-35' the mall would 'complement the existing retail development' (Merriam Town Center) just north across Johnson Drive. Area K, running east-west between Grandview Street and the alleyway separating residences fronting Eby Avenue to the west and Slater Road to the east, and roughly north-south between 60th Terrace and Johnson Drive, was planned for some 73,000 square feet of 'retail commercial and commercial services uses.' Area L, west of Area K and bordered on the east by Slater Road, was planned as '80 to 100 independent senior living [apartment] units' designed for affordability and accessibility to local shopping and community resources (Merriam Village Redevelopment Project Plan, January 2005). Approximately \$9.45 million in TIF bonds plus an additional \$2 million from the I-35 Redevelopment District TIF Fund were to finance the project.

By April 2005, all 53 homeowners in Eby's Neighborhood, Grandview Subdivision had signed an acquisition contract with the developer, and residents moved from their homes over the spring and summer of that year. Demolition began while residents were still moving out, and after many delays construction of Merriam Village

was complete by fall of 2008. However, as of the beginning of 2009 the mall remains empty, a victim of recession and tightened consumer spending: the shopping center's lone tenant, Circuit City, pulled out in October 2008 after its parent company announced plans for closure of 150 stores nationwide (Christopher 2008; Martin 2008).

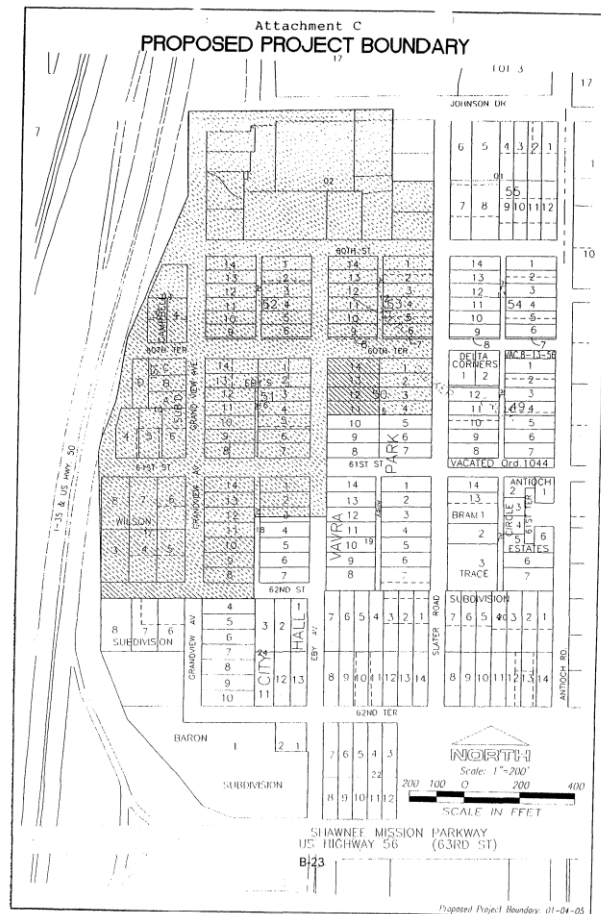


Figure 3-8. Eby/Grandview Neighborhood as a prospective redevelopment site:
Properties planned for demolition are shaded
Source: Merriam Village Redevelopment Plan

The public record: Community attitudes toward Merriam Village construction

By Ordinance 1412, enacted in December 2001, the Eby/Grandview Neighborhood was already designated as an 'additional potential project area' within the Enterprise Zone Redevelopment District. But in order to redevelop the area, it was necessary to legally include it within the Redevelopment District. The process had two steps: Changing the zone's existing boundaries, and then adopting a specific redevelopment plan for the neighborhood. Separate hearings, on March 22 and on April 26, 2004, respectively, were held to present arguments for Eby's inclusion within the Redevelopment District and to consider the nature of the proposed redevelopment. Neighborhood business and rental property owners, and resident and non-resident property owners, as well as property owners within two hundred feet of its boundaries were mailed a notice of public hearing and a letter from the City of Merriam informing them of the March 22 meeting. After explaining the existence of the Enterprise Zone, the letter went on to state in part:

The City has received an application requesting that the City consider a project located on the east side of I-35 between 62nd Terrace and Johnson Drive. The City is considering expanding the Enterprise Zone Redevelopment District northward from 62nd Terrace to Johnson Drive, from I-35 to Slater. The expansion of the District would enable the approval of specific projects in the area. Your property or residence is located within this area proposed to be added to the District... Your location is also included in the area proposed to be included in a specific Redevelopment Project.

The letter provided a name and phone number to the Community Development Director for residents with questions. Originally both items were slated for discussion on March 22, but under the direction of the Kansas Attorney General the question of the

redevelopment itself was moved to April 26, and the change was explained to residents at the March 22 meeting.

Minutes from both meetings shed some light on resident and non-resident concerns. As with the initial public hearing for redevelopment of Sharum Subdivision, non-residents living directly adjacent to the neighborhood worried about increased traffic from the completed development, particularly with regard to the safety of neighborhood children. They also wondered how it would affect their residential property values. Several non-residents expressed the concern that, by using tax increment financing, the City of Merriam was diverting taxpayer money to a private developer, to the sole benefit of the developer—the proposed project was a 'scheme' and a 'taxpayer ripoff.' Several business owners within the neighborhood, who said they did not want their property to be taken, explained that they had initially been told that their properties would not be included in the redevelopment area. One of the business owners reported finding out that his property had subsequently been included when 'he received a notice of the public hearing' and that 'no one from the Redevelopment Company or the City had previously conveyed that to him.' Several residents spoke out in favor of the project and expressed they felt the developer had 'given them time to think about the negotiations for their property,' that 'their dealings with the developer were very professional,' and that 'there were no pressure tactics used, they were very friendly and offered a fair price.'

Several at the meetings expressed a fear that the City would use eminent domain to take their property. One of these residents invoked the memory of the Baron BMW project, in which the City of Merriam had used eminent domain to obtain land located on Shawnee Mission Parkway near I-35 (just south of the neighborhood) to enable a neighboring luxury car dealership to expand. In that 1998 case, the City of Merriam invoked public use on the basis of the increased tax revenues the enlarged BMW dealership would bring. The City's use of condemnation had raised bitter feelings (Cooper 1998; Starkman 1998). At the April 26 meeting this resident 'expressed fear of condemnation even though the City has stated that its goal was to stay out of that and have the developer purchase the property directly... He hoped that the City would not change their position on this.' An attorney for several business owners stated the opposition of his clients to eminent domain, preferring to negotiate with the developer. One person who lived directly across the street from the condemned neighborhood wondered 'if the City could guarantee that his property would not be taken in the future.'

Resident perceptions of the public hearing itself, as reported in the course of interviews for the study, are discussed in a later chapter.

Chapter Four: Hypotheses and Methods

Chapter 2 reviewed the body of prior research and theoretical work on the nature of resident attachments to home and neighborhood, and on community social ties; on factors that shape relative sense of control toward the circumstances of a move and ability to procure suitable replacement housing, as well as those that influence feelings about the amount of monetary relocation and/or property compensation received; and on resident opinions of a redevelopment project. The discussion laid emphasis on the ways in which these attachments and attitudes may influence disposition toward and perceptions connected with involuntary relocation, laying the groundwork for the five hypotheses examined in the current chapter. After outlining each hypothesis in turn the chapter discusses the use of qualitative research methods employed in this study. Next, the individual and household characteristics of the men and women who took part in this study are summarized. The chapter ends with a preliminary overview of study participant orientations toward having to move; these orientations as they relate to each hypothesis will be discussed in depth in Chapters 5 through 9.

Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1: *Attachment to home negatively influences perceptions of housing displacement.*

Residents who express feelings of attachment toward their home will be less willing to relocate and will have less favorable perceptions of displacement. Attachment to home, as a complex phenomenon with many components, may be experienced in myriad ways. At its most basic level, home satisfies the need for physical shelter, providing the privacy and security necessary to carry out activities necessary for immediate and long-term survival (Tuan 1975; Porteous 1976). As a physical entity upon which occupants place their personal stamp, home simultaneously reflects and affirms individual and household level identity (Porteous 1976; Adams 1984; Saunders and Williams 1988; Giuliani 1991).

As a social space, home is the repository of individual and collective memory fired within the crucible of daily interactions of household members (Giuliani 1991). Possession of home through ownership tenure promotes a sense of ontological security, holding out the promise of continuity beyond one's own lifespan through bequeathal to future generations as real property and as accumulated meanings and mores ensconced within family history (Dupuis and Thorns 1996). Within societies that value individualism and freedom from excessive state intrusion, ownership tenure fosters a sense of personal control and autonomy (Saunders and Williams 1988). Extended

residence within the home promotes the formation and growth of attachment, particularly where it has been the site of significant life-cycle events such as marriage, family formation, and death of a spouse or a child (Ekström 1994; Giuliani 1991).

The prospect of losing one's home, particularly with long residence and/or ownership tenure, may therefore be experienced as threatening to identity, stability, continuity, privacy, and personal control for each member of a household as well as at the level of collective (family or household) meaning. To the extent that individual residents and/or the household as a unit perceive displacement as such a threat, they will be less willing to relocate and will have less favorable perceptions of the displacement experience.

Hypothesis 2: The presence of social ties within the neighborhood negatively influences perceptions of housing displacement.

Residents who have friends or strong neighboring relationships within the neighborhood will be less willing to relocate and will have less favorable perceptions of displacement. Several studies of redevelopment projects that resulted in the displacement of substantial parts or the entirety of neighborhoods have shown that the loss of community social networks may be experienced by displaced residents as stressful or even traumatic (Fried 1963; Gotfredson 1986; Ekström 1994). Such networks provide individuals and households with a sense of rootedness within their community and facilitate the formation of place identity. Social networks form the matrix in which

individual and household identity may be grounded. Spatial arrangements (street and housing layouts) within the neighborhood that encourage social interaction between residents facilitate neighborhood attachment (Guest and Lee 1983a). Additionally, kinship and friendship ties often are associated with extended residence within a neighborhood (Kasarda and Janowitz 1974). To the extent that individuals and households facing displacement anticipate that they will be unable to recreate these significant social networks within the communities to which they relocate, they will be less willing to relocate and will have less favorable perceptions of the displacement experience.

Hypothesis 3: Sense of control and mastery over aspects of the relocation experience positively influences perceptions of housing displacement.

Residents who feel that they have the abilities and resources necessary to cope with both the reality of having to relocate, and with performance of relocation-related tasks—negotiating compensation, gaining access to information (e.g., relocation guidelines and timetable), finding suitable replacement housing, moving, etc.—will be more willing to relocate and will have more favorable perceptions of displacement. While residents may find the prospect of having to move and the many tasks associated with relocation daunting to various degrees, possession of sufficient resources and support facilitates an easier transition (Ekström 1994). Resources fall into two types. Personal resources include the unique complex of personality traits that shape individual personal

disposition, as well as to the group dynamics that influence how household or family members will 'pull together' under stress. Financial resources include the income and assets that enable individuals or households to obtain satisfactory replacement housing and, perhaps, assistance with relocation. Social resources include supportive relationships with friends and near or extended family members who can provide emotional support and assist with various activities related to relocation.

Finally, informational resources are a crucial ingredient contributing to resident perceptions of 'being in control of' facets of the relocation process (Gans 1959; Gotfredson 1986; Kleinhans 2003). Access to information, such as relocation timetable and procedural guidelines, depends upon two factors. Personal assets, mentioned above, may influence individuals' abilities to seek and obtain information from relocation authorities. Relocation authorities, whether they are municipal officials or developer representatives, who make explicit to residents—whether through written communications or phone calls, or at community meetings—basic information regarding relocation, the identities of and contact information for officials designated to field whatever questions residents may have, and updates regarding policy changes or delays, bolster residents' confidence and trust. In sum, to the extent that residents feel they possess the resources they need in order to process (intellectually and emotionally) the reality of impending relocation, to make relocation decisions, and to carry out relocation-related activities, they will be more willing to relocate and will have more favorable perceptions of displacement.

Hypothesis 4: *Satisfaction with property compensation, a product of both objective and subjective considerations, positively influences perceptions of housing displacement.*

To the extent that residents feel that the appraised value of their home and property was fairly arrived at, and that the amount of compensation offered is adequate to obtain comparable or improved replacement housing, they will be more willing to relocate and will have more favorable perceptions of displacement. Whether or not the amount of compensation offered for a property will be regarded as being fair and adequate rests upon multiple factors. It is partly contingent on how invested a household is in their home and property, both emotionally and financially. Emotional investment in the home as a physical entity may be expressed by a resident as the amount and/or quality of work performed to improve the home and its surrounding environments—e.g., upgrading of its foundation, plumbing or electrical circuitry; renovations such as painting, flooring or installing new cabinets; furnishing. This care may extend to the grounds surrounding the dwelling unit— e.g., as gardening, landscaping, raising crops and livestock. It may also be expressed as attachment to particular areas or objects within the home or its grounds, valued perhaps for their association with particular family members, memories, or life events. Physical care of the dwelling and surrounding environs may also be seen by residents as a financial investment, having a particular monetary value—the amount spent on upkeep or to make improvements, and perhaps the expected rise in property value as a result of such care as well.

An additional important influence on satisfaction with compensation has to do with how residents believe that authorities calculated the monetary value of their property. If they suspect that officials have failed to fully disclose the manner in which they arrived at the valuation figure, e.g., that the figure has been 'rigged,' they are less likely to perceive the amount offered as adequate. Similarly, if residents feel that the rules governing property assessment have been unevenly applied within the neighborhood, with the result that some in the neighborhood 'make out better than others,' they are less likely to perceive compensation offered as adequate (Korsching *et al.* 1980).

Whether or not compensation offered is sufficient to purchase a new dwelling of at least comparable value also influences perceptions of adequacy and fairness. The situation may be complicated if assessed property values have fallen as a result of overall neighborhood decline, making it difficult to purchase equivalent housing in the same or a different community. Housing shortages, whether or not a by-product of mass community displacement, may exacerbate these difficulties by pushing up real estate prices.

In sum, relative perception of the fairness of property compensation offered is the outcome of multiple and complex considerations. Where residents perceive that they stand to lose on the investments (emotional and/or financial) that they have made in their home, or that they will be unable to satisfy their residential aspirations in their

replacement housing, they will be less willing to relocate and will have less favorable perceptions of displacement.

Hypothesis 5: Support for or approval of a proposed redevelopment project positively influences perceptions of housing displacement.

Residents who accept the rationale for a proposed redevelopment project—i.e., who believe that the problems it is intended to solve, as posited by developers and/or municipal officials, are real; who feel that the proposed project 'makes sense' as a solution to the problem; and who believe that the project will 'fit into' the character of the community and will serve its best interests, will be more willing to relocate and will have more favorable perceptions of displacement. Although the degree to which residents are invested in their neighborhood emotionally, socially, civically or financially varies from one individual to the next, generally they are interested in the welfare of their community. Interest in community welfare may be deeper with extended residence and/or development of kinship and friendship networks. Having a sense that a proposed redevelopment serves a meaningful purpose and is 'right' for the community can serve to soften some of the sting of having to relocate. This will be even more the case for residents who feel they have a personal interest in the successful completion of a redevelopment project—e.g., for residents who see an expansion of their own opportunities in construction of a new retail and entertainment center, and who plan on patronizing the center once it is built.

Methods

Overview of study methods

The decision to use a qualitative approach to investigate the research questions posed in Chapter 1 was driven in part by practical considerations, but more deeply by the questions themselves. From a practical standpoint time and funding constraints, by limiting the number of residents that could be interviewed, precluded the possibility of applying statistical methods to analyze results. More importantly, the focus on perceptual and experiential aspects of displacement called for methods that permit a microcosmic, more personal view—methods based on the use of open-ended questions that allow respondents to frame their responses in ways that are personally relevant and meaningful. As Kvale (1996) observed:

There is a move away from obtaining knowledge primarily through external observation and experimental manipulation of human subjects, toward an understanding by means of conversations with the human beings to be understood. The subjects not only answer questions prepared by an expert, but themselves formulate in a dialogue their own conceptions of their lived world. The sensitivity of the interview and its closeness to the subjects' lived world can lead to knowledge that can be used to enhance the human condition.

The overall strategy employed in this study is the multiple case-study method. This permits meaningful comparisons of the three sites from both the temporal (what are the differences and similarities for Merriam residents from the two sites, situated adjacent to one another geographically but separated in time by a decade?) and spatial

(what are the differences and similarities for Wyandotte County residents versus Merriam residents?) perspectives. While responses to semi-structured interview questions form the heart of the body of data, documentary evidence in the form of newspaper articles, records of community meetings, redevelopment proposals, and housing assessment reports illuminates the context within which residents' reported experiences may be understood and interpreted. The nature of the interview questions and manner of analyzing resident responses are discussed later in this chapter.

Collecting background data

Background data acquired on the three study sites is of several types. Archived newspaper articles were useful in the earliest stages of research, providing basic information about the timelines and sequences of events for the three redevelopment projects considered in this study, as well as economic and demographic trends in Western Wyandotte County and in Merriam that formed the backdrops to redevelopment. The *Kansas City Kansan* provided almost daily coverage over a several-year period of developments related to the planning and construction of the Kansas Speedway, including coverage of associated legislative debates and municipal meetings; many letters to the editor illuminated community attitudes regarding the displacement of residents and the construction of the racetrack. Articles in the *Kansas City Star* provided limited background information about the planning and construction of

Merriam Town Center and about the planning of Merriam Village, as did the *Johnson County Sun* and the *Kansas City Business Journal*.

Several visits to offices at the Unified Government of Wyandotte County and Kansas City, Kansas and at Merriam City Hall were paid in order to collect copies of various official records related to the three redevelopment projects. The Development Department of the Unified Government provided a wealth of documents: minutes of City Council meetings, open to the public, at which issues related to Speedway development were discussed; plat maps of the Western Wyandotte County site, showing residential and commercial land parcels on the site previous to Speedway development; and a complete list of property owners, residential and commercial. The Legal Department at the Unified Government provided a copy of the site redevelopment plan in its entirety, including among other documents the relocation assistance plan.

The Community Development Department at the City of Merriam, Kansas furnished copies of minutes of City Council meetings related to development of both Merriam Town Center and Merriam Village; site maps and other development-related documents for both projects; and full lists of property owners, residential and commercial, for both Sharum Subdivision (site of Merriam Town Center Mall) and Grandview Subdivision (site of Merriam Village). The Administrative Department at the City of Merriam provided copies of the redevelopment plans for both sites, including the relocation assistance plans associated with each. Scott A. Michie of Bucher, Willis and Ratliff in Kansas City, Missouri graciously provided a copy of the

Northeast Johnson County Housing Study (1994), of which he was project director; this document provided valuable information regarding housing issues in Merriam prior to both redevelopment projects. Additionally, some residents themselves furnished copies of newspaper articles, site maps and other documents subsequent to being interviewed.

Locating and recruiting study participants

As mentioned previously, the Unified Government furnished a list of property owners for the Wyandotte County site; the City of Merriam provided a list of property owners for both the Sharum and Grandview sites. These lists gave the name and address for each property owner; they did not, however, distinguish between those resident and non-resident on the property, nor were owners of rental or commercial properties distinguished from residential property owners.

Also, these lists did not include the names and addresses of renters. The names and addresses of renters on all three sites were found by locating apartment buildings listed in the Polk and Cole city directories for the greater Kansas City area. These directories, published annually, are available at the public library; house numbers are listed under the rubric of street name or number along with the names of associated residents or businesses. In the case of apartment buildings, residents are listed under the single house number of their building, sometimes with their individual apartment number. For each site, city directories for the two years previous to the site demolition were consulted in order to obtain as many names as possible.

The addresses listed were defunct, i.e., they were the actual street numbers of the residences and businesses that had been demolished. Therefore, after obtaining these lists, the next step in locating displacees was to look up their new address and phone number. For the Wyandotte County site, several Kansas City metro area telephone directories were employed; for the two Merriam sites the Johnson County telephone directory and Kansas City metro directories were used. Some residents who could not be located in this way were listed in the free online white pages at www.switchboard.com. This contact information was entered then into an Excel workbook. In some instances, where multiple listings for a single name were available, all listings were entered into the workbook.

In preparing the contact database, the decision was made to restrict the geographic range of possible interviewees to those currently residing within Kansas or Missouri. This decision allowed for the possibility of reaching displacees who had moved to points in Kansas or Missouri outside of the Kansas City metro area. At the same time, it meant that displacees who had moved outside of Kansas or Missouri would not be contacted for an interview. This posed the risk that any significant differences that might exist, in terms of experiences or characteristics, between those who relocated within Kansas or Missouri and those who relocated outside the bi-state area could not be addressed within this study. In view of the limited scope of the study, in terms of numbers of displacees to be interviewed (approximately 30) as well as time

and financial resources available to complete this study, it was felt that including all contacts within these two states represented the best compromise.

Once the workbook containing updated contact information was compiled, the next step was to contact as many residents as was necessary to obtain interviews. Residents were contacted in several waves of between 10 to 15 households per wave over a period of six months. First, a standard letter of introduction (Figure A-1, Appendix) was mailed to each household. This letter briefly explained the nature and purpose of the project and informed its readers that they would be contacted by phone within two weeks to solicit their consent to be interviewed. This was followed up by a phone call in which each household was invited to interview. For households that did not pick up the phone, three attempts were made before abandoning the effort to reach them. The numbers of households contacted for each site and results of the efforts are shown in Table 4-1.

| SITE | HOUSEHOLDS SENT LETTER & PHONED | CONSENTED TO INTERVIEW | REFUSED TO INTERVIEW | UNABLE TO CONTACT* |
|--|---------------------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|
| Western Wyandotte County | 30 | 11 | 2 | 17 |
| Sharum Subdivision, Merriam | 22 | 3 | 5 | 13 |
| Eby/Grandview Subdivision, Merriam | 20 | 4 | 4 | 12 |
| TOTAL | 72 | 18 | 11 | 42 |
| *Letter returned; wrong number or disconnected; no answer | | | | |

Table 4-1. Response rates for three study sites

Interviewing study participants

Table 4-2 gives the breakdown on interviewing arrangements (singly or with spouse/partner). Twenty-six persons total—representing 18 residential households—interviewed for the study. Sixteen participants interviewed as a couple (eight women and eight men: eight households); six women and four men elected to be interviewed singly. (The decision to interview alone or as a couple does not necessarily reflect study participants' marital status or household arrangement at the time of the interview or at time of displacement.) Of these 18 households, 11 had lived in Western Wyandotte County at the time they were displaced; three in Sharum Subdivision, Merriam; and four in Grandview Subdivision, Merriam. Underscoring the difficulty of locating renters, only one of the 18 households interviewed had been renting at the time of displacement; the other 17 owned their residence.

| SITE | INTERVIEWED AS A COUPLE (MARRIED OR COHABITING) | INTERVIEWED AS ONE PERSON* |
|--|--|---------------------------------------|
| Western Wyandotte County | 7 | 4 |
| Sharum Subdivision, Merriam | 1 | 2 |
| Eby/Grandview Subdivision, Merriam | 0 | 4 |
| TOTAL HOUSEHOLDS | 8 | 10 |
| *Indicates interviewing arrangement only, <i>not</i> marital status/household composition | | |

Table 4-2. Interview arrangements of households

Of the 18 householder interviews, all but three took place in the home of the participants. One participant interviewed by telephone; one participant interviewed in their office at work; and one participant interviewed in the home of the interviewer. With the consent of participants all interviews were taped, with the exception of the one phone interview which was documented with written notes. Time spent interviewing ranged from 45 minutes to nearly two hours, with an average of about an hour and 15 minutes. Each participant was offered \$20.00 upon completing the interview; approximately half of them accepted the bonus, another half turned it down, and several requested a lesser amount.

Residents' insights into aspects of the displacement experience were obtained using a 25-question semi-structured interview (Figure A-2, Appendix). These questions were designed to gauge the extent of residents' attachments to their home and neighborhood; the presence of family and friends within the neighborhood; how much control residents felt they had over aspects of the displacement experience; their opinion of or level of support for the commercial venture that caused the displacement; and their level of satisfaction with property compensation. The questions were open-ended in an effort to enhance data collection by allowing participants to respond in ways that were most meaningful to them. Unstructured questions were posed as follow-up ('probe') questions.

A former resident of Sharum Subdivision who had spearheaded a petition drive (discussed in Chapter 3) for commercial redevelopment of her neighborhood declined to

interview as a resident, but did grant an informal, untaped phone interview regarding the impetus behind the drive. Also, a former Sharum resident who had left the neighborhood two years before its redevelopment but who still had family residing in their former home at the time of displacement interviewed as a non-resident.

Although rental and business owners cannot be counted as residents, they did form part of the community; moreover, while they did not themselves have to relocate, they did lose residential and commercial property as a result of redevelopment. Although the results of these interviews were not analyzed, they were a source of valuable background material that allowed for a more panoramic, community-wide view of displacement experiences. One business owner and one rental property owner from Grandview both interviewed; one couple who had owned rental property in both Sharum and Grandview Subdivisions were interviewed in one sitting regarding experiences in both sites. Finally, Dee Nunnink of Integra Realty Resources, Westwood, Kansas (formerly Nunnink and Associates), who had assisted with acquisition and relocation assistance in western Wyandotte County, gave an informal, untaped phone interview. All taped interviews were transcribed and used in data analysis as described below.

Analyzing participant responses

Residents' responses to the interview questions were entered verbatim into a spreadsheet. While it was not always possible to quote resident responses in their

entirety, given the length and complexity of many of them, nonetheless every effort was made to capture fully their intent and meaning. The data thus obtained was analyzed at the household level (i.e., spouses interviewing together, as well as participants interviewing individually, were counted as one 'unit' for analytical purposes). These responses, grouped by hypothesis as described above, were compared in an attempt to determine whether significant patterns emerged along the lines of location (which site it was), gender, age, or other factors. The results and analyses are reported in Chapters 5 through 9; the implications of these findings form the subject of Chapter 10.

Individual and Household Characteristics of Study Participants

Following each interview, study participants were asked to fill out a 10-question survey regarding their individual and household level sociodemographic characteristics at the time they were displaced (Figure A-3, Appendix). The results of the questionnaire for each of the three sites and the overall study area are presented in Tables 4-3 and 4-4. Of the 26 study participants, 14 were women and 12 were men. The bulk of participants were between 35 and 64 years of age at the time they had to move, although one-quarter were over 65; a majority were married or cohabiting. One-third of participants had obtained a high school diploma, while nearly two-thirds had either some college, or an Associate's degree or Bachelor's degree.

| Participant demographics | Wyandotte | Sharum | Grandview | All 3 sites |
|------------------------------------|------------------|---------------|------------------|--------------------|
| Gender | | | | |
| Male | 9 | 2 | 1 | 12 |
| Female | 9 | 2 | 3 | 14 |
| Age | | | | |
| 34 or younger | - | - | 1 | 1 |
| 35-49 | 7 | - | 1 | 8 |
| 50-64 | 6 | 3 | 1 | 10 |
| 65 or older | 5 | 1 | 1 | 7 |
| Marital status | | | | |
| Never married | - | - | 1 | 1 |
| Married or cohabiting | 17 | 3 | 3 | 23 |
| Divorced or separated | - | - | - | - |
| Widowed | 1 | 1 | - | 2 |
| Formal Education | | | | |
| Less than high school | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| High school diploma | 5 | 3 | 1 | 9 |
| Associate's degree or some college | 7 | - | 1 | 8 |
| Bachelor's degree or higher | 5 | 1 | 2 | 8 |
| Racial/Ethnic Identity | | | | |
| White or Caucasian | 17 | 4 | 3 | 24 |
| Black or African American | - | - | 1 | 1 |
| Native American or Alaskan Native | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Asian or Pacific Islander | - | - | - | - |
| Bi-Racial | - | - | - | - |
| Other | - | - | - | - |
| Hispanic Identity | | | | |
| Hispanic | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Non-Hispanic | 8 | 1 | 3 | 12 |
| No response | 9 | 3 | 1 | 13 |
| Total participants | 18 | 4 | 4 | 26 |

Table 4-3. Individual characteristics of study participants at time of displacement

Nearly all participants identified themselves as White or Caucasian, with one identifying as Native American and one as Black or African American. One participant identified as Hispanic and nearly half of participants as non-Hispanic; fully half did not check either of the two response boxes for this question. As with all the items on the survey, questions regarding race and ethnicity followed the format used on the 2000 Census long form, which recognized Hispanic ethnicity as a separate category from racial identity. Possibly those participants who did not check either box did not think it

possible to be Hispanic or non-Hispanic and a given race (or races) at the same time, and therefore either did not understand the question or viewed it as being redundant.

| Household demographics | Wyandotte | Sharum | Grandview | All 3 sites |
|--|------------------|---------------|------------------|--------------------|
| <i>Persons living in household</i> | | | | |
| 1 | 1 | - | 1 | 2 |
| 2 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 4 |
| 3 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 4 |
| 4 | 2 | - | 1 | 3 |
| 5 or more | 2 | - | - | - |
| Information unavailable | 3 | - | - | 5 |
| <i>Children under 18 in household</i> | | | | |
| 0 | 4 | 2 | 2 | 8 |
| 1 | 1 | - | 1 | 2 |
| 2 | 3 | - | 1 | 4 |
| 3 | - | - | - | - |
| 4 or more | 2 | - | - | 2 |
| Information unavailable | 1 | 1 | - | 2 |
| <i>Annual household income</i> | | | | |
| Less than \$25,000 | 1 | - | 1 | 2 |
| \$25,000-\$50,000 | 4 | 2 | 2 | 8 |
| \$50,000-\$75,000 | 1 | 1 | - | 2 |
| More than \$75,000 | 5 | - | 1 | 6 |
| <i>% of income for rent/mortgage</i> | | | | |
| Less than 25% | 8 | 3 | 1 | 12 |
| 25-50% | 2 | - | 3 | 5 |
| 50-75% | - | - | - | - |
| More than 75% | - | - | - | - |
| Information unavailable | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Total households | 11 | 3 | 4 | 18 |

Table 4-4. Household characteristics of study participants at time of displacement

Of the 18 total households represented in the study, two- or three-member households were more common than those with one person living alone. All participants answered questionnaire items concerning household as well as individual characteristics; as an unanticipated consequence, spouses who interviewed together sometimes had differing memories of certain household characteristics. Such was the case with household size, so the responses of six participants (three households) are

counted as 'unavailable' in Table 4-4. By how much did these couples' accounts differ? Spouses' counts of household members differed by just one individual in the case of two couples, raising the possibility that within their home an older child or some other household member resided at home at some point during the displacement period, perhaps leaving prior to other members. However, one couple differed by *three* people in individual spouses' account of total household members. One possibility in this case is that non-family members were living within the home, and were counted by only one spouse as being household members; alternately, perhaps one or both spouses did not understand the question.

Over 40 percent of respondents had no children living with them at the time they were displaced, while the rest had two or more at home. However one respondent did not answer this question; one couple differed as to whether they had one or no child at home. Over 40 percent of households reported earning between \$25,000 and \$50,000 per annum, while slightly over 30 percent reported earning more than \$75,000; few earned less than \$25,000. However, over two-thirds expended less than 25 percent of household income on their rent or mortgage (as reported earlier, 17 of the 18 households owned their dwellings). Indeed, participants from seven households in all not only checked 'less than 25%' but additionally wrote '0%' or 'paid off' next to the response box. Slightly over one-fourth of households expended between 25 and 50 percent of their income on housing; none spent a higher amount. One couple differed as to whether they expended

less than 25, or between 25 and 50, percent of their income toward housing prior to displacement.

| <i>Study site</i> | <i>Years in home</i> | <i>Average years</i> |
|--|---|----------------------|
| Wyandotte (11 households) | 3; 4; 5; 14; 15; 18; 21; 27; 44; 49; 54 | 23 |
| Sharum (3 households) | 28; 35; 50 | 38 |
| Grandview (4 households) | 3; 4; 13; 13 | 8 |
| <i>Total average years (all 3 sites)</i> | | 23 |

Table 4-5. Years of residence at time of displacement

Study participants from Wyandotte and Sharum had on average been living in their home much longer than those from Grandview at the time they were displaced (Table 4-5). Average years of residence for Sharum was 38, while that for Wyandotte was 23; in comparing these figures, the disparity in numbers of participants from the two sites should be kept in mind. By contrast, average length of residence for Grandview was just eight years.

Feelings about Having to Move

One of the pivotal questions employed to gauge how each household viewed their displacement experience was: *How did you feel about having to move?* Residents talked of whether or not they had wished to move, emotions they had experienced when confronting having to move, and life circumstances or practical considerations that

spoke for or against moving. Dispositions toward moving are summarized under four categories in Table 4-6.

| STUDY AREA | Strong feelings for moving or wanted to move | Ambivalent about or somewhat opposed to having to move | Strong feelings against or opposed to having to move | Disagreement within household about moving |
|--------------------------|--|---|---|---|
| Western Wyandotte County | 1 | 5 | 4 | 1 |
| Sharum Subdivision | - | 2 | 1 | - |
| Grandview Subdivision | 1 | 1 | 2 | - |
| TOTAL | 2 | 8 | 7 | 1 |

Table 4-6. Study participant dispositions toward having to move

Study participants in just two households expressed having desired or looked forward to moving, seeing it as an opportunity to find a different type of home and move into a higher-density neighborhood (one household), or to leave an undesirable neighborhood (one household).

Into a second group of movers (eight households) fell those who for various reasons felt conflicted about having to move; among these were residents from four households who, while disinclined toward moving, viewed it as an opportunity to find a bigger home or land parcel, a nicer neighborhood, or a better school district. Within this group, reasons for not wanting to move included attachment to home, neighborhood social ties, feelings of rootedness, the difficulty of moving, and treatment at the hands of relocation officials. Two movers traced their ambivalence in part to recognition of the redevelopment's potential benefit to the community. In one household, a couple disagreed strongly over having to move, with the husband seeing it as an opportunity

for a bigger home in a 'nicer setting,' while his wife cited problems with a difficult pregnancy and her satisfaction with their home as reasons for wishing to remain.

Into the third group of movers (seven households) belonged those who simply had not wanted to move. These householders tended to have the strongest sentiments against moving, and those who engaged an attorney to negotiate their compensation settlement (three households) or who went into eminent domain litigation (one household) all belonged to this group. Reasons given for not wanting to move, mostly connected with the home, included feelings of comfort with home, years of residence, having raised children within its walls, having cared for the home, and/or home as a place of sanctuary in time of trouble. One resident's stated resistance to moving reflected strong disapproval of taking affordable housing from modest-income residents in the neighborhood such as himself.

It is crucial to emphasize that the reason(s) study participants gave for wanting to relocate or (most often) to remain in their home, in response to a single targeted question, tells only a small part of the whole story. Residents' feelings about and perceptions of displacement were multi-layered; orientation toward moving was but a single element in the tapestry of each household's experience. Other important elements explored in the chapters to follow include issues related to information-sharing, finding new housing, taking leave of home and neighborhood friends, and post-relocation experiences, as revealed by participants' responses to 25 interview questions (Figure A-2, Appendix).

In responding to interview questions relating to their experiences and perceptions of having to move, the eight couples who interviewed together tended to be of one mind. Couples frequently seemed to 'think together' as they talked, referring to one another for corroboration of a memory with visual and verbal cues, taking turns in relating a story, and finishing one another's sentences. Only two couples expressed strong divergence of opinion: the couple discussed above who had differed in their initial feelings about having to move, and another couple over the question of whether they had felt they would miss their former neighborhood. The nature of resident attachments to home and neighborhood, and how they influenced perceptions of displacement, form the subject of the next chapter.

Chapter Five: Attachment to Home

Hypothesis 1: *Attachment to home negatively influences perceptions of housing displacement.*

Among householders facing involuntary relocation, those who express feelings of attachment toward their home will be less willing to relocate. Moreover, they will be more likely to experience significant displacement-related stress or face greater difficulty in coping with it overall. In this study the presence or absence of home attachment among participants was gauged by asking questions about how well they liked their former home, what things they especially liked or disliked about it, and whether they had thought they would miss their home when they finally moved (Figure A-2, Appendix). In order to test Hypothesis 1, participants' expressions of home attachment were compared against sentiments about having to move. Analysis of participant responses was done at the household level.

In Chapter 5, study participant responses to interview questions about how they saw, experienced and felt about their former home are examined in rich detail. Home as described by residents had many meanings informed by considerations of memory, familiarity, possession, and care, and was experienced at once as a place of privacy and of community. These meanings of home as they constitute residential attachment are the focus of the first section. Next, the nature and meaning of disruption to home

attachment posed by relocation and demolition are examined. In the third section, the influence of home attachment and the challenge of disruption on perceptions of relocation are considered together. The chapter ends with an assessment of whether the results support Hypothesis 1.

Sources of Home Attachment

In the attachment literature, home has been viewed as fulfilling a multiplicity of basic human needs for personal autonomy, spatial control, security and privacy, identity and self-expression, personal continuity and preservation of family memory (Porteous 1976; Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton 1981; Adams 1984; Saunders and Williams 1988; Giuliani 1991; Rubinstein and Parmelee 1992; Dupuis and Thorns 1996). Powerful bonds of attachment to the familiar spaces and objects of home form the nurturing soil of rootedness in place (Tuan 1975, 1980; Fullilove 1996). Among participants in this study, attachment to home—expressed as affection, concern and longing—had several basic sources. By maintaining and improving their homes, respondents both expressed and cultivated their affinity for home while affirming feelings of efficacy, autonomy and territorial control. The home itself, and spaces or objects for which study participants harbored particular regard served to reify significant life cycle events, linking residents to beloved friends, pets, and family members distant in space and time.

Most among the 18 households that participated in the study—all 11 from Wyandotte County, all three from Sharum Subdivision, and two out of four from Grandview Subdivision—expressed feelings of overall satisfaction with their home, stating that they *liked* or *loved* it or describing it as *beautiful, comfortable, very nice*. With the exception of just four households, all had raised children in their home. At the time of displacement, eight of these 13 latter households still had at least one child under age 18 in the home. Residents in 13 of the 18 households had reached midlife or seniority at the time they were displaced. Study participants from five households expressed that they had intended to remain in their home long-term.

It was a good little home. We would have stayed there because we were getting ready to retire and travel and everything. (Man, age 50-64, Wyandotte)

We had honestly just assumed we'd be there, I guess, forever. We really liked the house that much. (Woman, age 50-64, Grandview)

Of the 18 households represented in this study, 17 had owned the home from which they were displaced. The only renter that interviewed seemed to represent an intermediate position between complete lack of attachment (one homeowner) and moderate to strong attachment (16 homeowners). While expressing that there was 'nothing special' about his former apartment, and in spite of the fact that it was smaller than his current apartment, and lacked amenities such as a washer/dryer and carport that he now enjoyed, this resident expressed that he far rather would have stayed. Outside of practical considerations—nearness to his workplace and lower rent cost—this

resident also evinced a sense of rootedness, offering repeatedly that he had found his former apartment to be 'very comfortable.'

For residents in this study, the intention to remain or reluctance to move was based on a combination of financial and sentimental considerations. Residents from two households expressed that, nearing retirement or already having retired, they felt ill-prepared financially to buy a new home and pay for a move; two other householders cited the fact that their mortgage was paid off as something they particularly liked about their home. Study participants from two households had wished to focus their energies and finances on the retirement they had planned. Study participants from five households were coping with serious health conditions necessitating surgery and/or long-term treatment: in four of these households a 'well' spouse assumed most or all of the responsibility for house-hunting and moving, while a resident in the fifth household received help from friends.

At the same time, for many householders a home's association with family memory and life-cycle events made the thought of giving it up a hardship. For older householders the emotional stakes were especially high because of how heavily their identities were invested in the home. Many study participants had charted a significant portion of their lives under the same roof; duration of residence was in the double digits for all but five households, while eight had lived in their home 20 years or longer (Table 4-3). Residents from five households mentioned having raised children in the home as contributing to their reluctance to move.

I said, 'Well, I'm not ready to move. We're up in years.' We were there for forty-four years. We raised our three children there. We had a beautiful home. We were going to die there, more or less, you know. That was it—and then, having to move at our age was a difficult situation. (Man, age 65+, Wyandotte)

Well, we were kind of disappointed [about having to move], because we'd been there so long... We'd built that home and raised our three children down there with all the little neighborhood kids—for awhile it [having to move] bothered us. (Woman, age 65+, Sharum)

For three residents a life event associated with establishing themselves in their home was a source of particular meaning. One Sharum Subdivision householder who had lived in the same home with his wife of 35 years reported that among the things he had especially liked about his home was that 'first of all, it was our first home after being out of the service.'

One Wyandotte County couple raising five children had experienced their home as a place of healing in the wake of significant life disruption. They had lived in the home just three years before having to move for the Kansas Speedway. Originally from the area, while living and working in central Kansas the husband became a whistleblower in a corporate corruption expose that resulted, among other things, in his illegal firing. The ensuing lawsuit and search for a new position was draining financially and emotionally, and although the legal action he initiated brought illegal practices at his former workplace to a halt, he lost the firing lawsuit. Bankrupted, and with five children to support, the couple decided to return home and obtained a bank loan to buy a home in Wyandotte County from an old high school friend and local banker.

That property brought us here... That property really healed us and pulled our family together. With our good marriage we survived all these things. Just after we got things settled and life was good, then all of a sudden that racetrack came along and pulled this house out from underneath us. So, we did not want to move. (Man, age 35-49, Wyandotte)

For residents from three households a particular room, space or object within the home held particular meaning. Special affinity for a space or object was evidenced if a resident returned to the subject of it several times throughout the interview, expressed particularly strong feelings about it, or indicated that they held its image in their mind's eye as somehow representative of home.

[Our home] had a great room that was really beautiful. It was two stories high... [it had] this gorgeous fireplace—it looked like when we first saw it. When we first saw it, the snow was I don't know how many inches deep. It was Christmas of '83. I don't know if you remember [speaking to husband]. That's when we moved up here. It was 20 below and we saw this 400-, 500-foot driveway... it looks like a chalet. There were these green evergreens around it, and there is snow everywhere. We walked into this great room. We fell in love. We said right away, 'Will you take a check? This is our dream house.' (Woman, age 65+, Wyandotte)

[Our home] had a beautiful hardwood-paneled room with a brick fireplace that covered a 12-foot wall. The archway on the fireplace, I thought it was... at the time, it was our dream home when we first looked at it and walked in. I just looked at the room and fell in love with it immediately. (Man, age 35-49, Wyandotte)

For study participants from three households the home itself, or particular objects within it, were valued because they somehow distilled the essence of a treasured moment in time or embodied the memory of beloved family members. A householder who had lived for 44 years in the home built by her father and brothers, all professional carpenters, explained:

We weren't happy [about having to move], because our home was built by family. It was not only a home that we wanted, but it was built from family blood. I was bitter. I still am. (Woman, age 65+, Wyandotte)

Another householder, who had shared her home with her husband for 50 years, responded when asked if she had thought she would miss her home after moving:

You know, I did—because my husband and my dad and my brothers built it. I can still see them working... I can still see my dad painting the back of it. I think that was mainly what I missed most about it, was because they built it when we first got married. (Woman, age 65+, Sharum)

Seven of the 18 householders in the study mentioned landscaping, particularly trees, as something they had especially liked or missed about their former home. Some valued trees and other plants for their beauty and the sense of privacy they offered; one man recollected planting a tree with his daughter when she was small. These residents had invested considerable care in arbors, garden plots, and crops. Birds and other wildlife also were important within several households, while another resident mentioned having buried the family dog in the yard. For five households, a built space in which they had relaxed or socialized with family members and neighbors—tree-swing, grape arbor, gazebo, workshop—was a familiar and beloved fixture in the outdoor landscape. While in this study residential green spaces are discussed mostly as they related to movers' feelings about their neighborhood—particularly its importance as a locus of social networks—for some residents the yard was a clearly a home space. In this capacity the yard functioned as a place of rest, recreation and privacy.

We had flowers, trees. We had a large garden every year... We had an area about, oh, I'd say twenty by forty feet with red raspberries. We always had plenty of red raspberries. (Man, age 50-64, Sharum)

We missed our trees. My husband worked as a landscaper for twenty years, so we miss all our plants and our landscaping. We were unable to move any of that. (Woman, age 35-49, Grandview)

The garden was, gee, I don't know—100 by 75 foot, 100 by 100 foot... it was big... I did a lot of car and truck fixing while we were there. [I had] a little workshop. (Man, age 50-64, Wyandotte)

We had a gazebo in the back... we had a barn connected to the house in back of the house. It was beautiful. We had put us in a fish pond right beside the gazebo. And I had it wired so that we had a fan up there. We just loved it—you could just sit out there. It was quiet. (Man, age 65+, Wyandotte)

Virtually all residents who expressed attachment to their former home catalogued in the course of the interview the various interior and exterior improvements they had made to their home: foundation work, rewiring and plumbing, painting, decorating and furnishing, adding porches, gazebos and outbuildings, gardening and landscaping. These activities constituted a significant investment of time, money, labor and emotional energy. Residents from seven households expressed that the improvements they had made resulted in a home in which they felt comfortable and secure, could live well, and that 'fit them to a tee.'

From the time we moved in until we had to move, I had redone everything—put a new patio in, a driveway, made a two-car detached garage. (Man, age 50-64, Sharum)

We had done a lot of work on our home, and had it pretty much the way we wanted it. (Woman, age 35-49, Wyandotte)

At the time we had to move, yes [we thought we would miss our home]. We thought, 'We'll never find anything like this.' We had it just like we wanted it. After all those years, we had improved it. (Woman, age 65+, Wyandotte)

For these residents, maintaining and improving their home was an act of commitment to building a life in their home that strengthened feelings of competency, autonomy and personal pride. Working on their homes was key in establishing a sense of rootedness.

Wife: We loved our home. Long story short.

Husband: Oh, yeah. Nice and spacious—it fit us very well.

Wife: It was safe.

Husband: We resingled it that fall after we moved in. It had an old rotten roof on rock and tar. It was leaking in places. And we tore all that off and put a new roof on.

Wife: We did it ourselves.

Husband: We did it ourselves. (Couple, both age 35-49, Wyandotte)

It was a nice little house. We really enjoyed it. It was a two-story. And we'd had it fixed up real cute. And you know, kind of the way you work on it all those years... you get to a certain point of decorating and structural things that you like. And it was just... it was more home. I think that's what happens when you're in some place for a long period of time. Your roots are there. (Woman, age 35-49, Grandview)

Disruption of Home Attachment

The disruption of personal continuity wrought by destruction of familiar features of the built environment, in which individual and communal memory are embodied, may be a significant component of trauma in the wake of housing displacement (Fried 1963; Fullilove 1996). Additionally, the inability to save or protect objects in which residents are emotionally and financially invested, and which serve as a mirror of individual,

family or community identity, poses a serious challenge to perceptions of efficacy and personal control (Belk 1992; Ekström 1994). Many householders interviewed for this study experienced the loss or destruction of their home, or particular objects or spaces associated with it, as stressful, painful or depressing.

After moving out, residents from two households visited their boarded-up home once or more to look at it before it was leveled; three others found the experience of having to drive by the demolition site, or the new landscape that replaced their lost neighborhood, particularly painful.

When we go by there now and look at it [Kansas Speedway], it's empty 99% of the time. You think: Gosh, you lost your home, all your memories, everything for a race once in a while. It's terrible. (Woman, age 65+, Wyandotte)

They bulldozed my home and put a road in it. And the first time I drove over it, I stopped. I pulled over to the side of the road and cried. I thought, 'I'm sitting here on top of my house.' I could tell right where the house sat, because of the culvert that's over to the east, or the right side of the road. I can tell right where the house was sitting. (Woman, age 65+, Wyandotte)

Residents from four households had been upset that a feature in their yard that held special meaning for them had been removed or destroyed.

Each year we had a pair of bluebirds that would come back in the spring, and barn swallows. And of course we had deer there. It was beautiful. To see nature—natural things like that, knowing it would be destroyed... that was the part that bothered us the most. We would say, 'Well, I hope the bluebirds found a home the next spring.' (Man, age 50-64, Wyandotte)

I had some of the most gorgeous trees you ever laid eyes on. Why they needed to bulldoze those out, I don't know. (Man, age 65+, Wyandotte)

Our house was bulldozed... my dog was buried there. I hated that. (Woman, age 35-49, Grandview)

The loss of objects that held meaning was, in and of itself, difficult for residents, but what seemed to make it even worse was the loss of control it represented. For residents who sensed that relocation authorities did not respect the meaning that their homes and possessions had for them, the stress and pain of losing them was compounded. Complaints that officials—home appraisers, acquisition or relocation authorities acting on behalf of local government or a redevelopment firm—displayed insensitivity toward home, property or prized possessions were voiced by residents from seven households. All were from Western Wyandotte.

It was just their attitude, that they didn't... all they was concerned about was their Speedway and they wasn't concerned about the people that were displaced. Most of it is just respect all the way through—the difference between the experience of people if they would just show a little respect—there just would have been better feelings all the way around. (Man, age 50-64, Wyandotte)

It was very stressful... very stressful. It was terrible the way they treated us. I mean, they didn't really do anything to relieve the hurt or anything that they were taking your homes away after all those years that you had lived there. I mean, it just blew my mind. Some of them had lived there a lot longer than we had. (Man, age 50-64, Wyandotte)

We were—everybody was devastated. But the County officials—they could have cared less, because they were going to make money on whatever was built over there. There was no sympathy—no nothing. (Man, age 65+, Wyandotte)

In some cases, impressions of official disrespect and a belief that authorities acted to depress the amount of their property compensation were intertwined. (Satisfaction with compensation is discussed at length in Chapter 8.) Length of residence and pride in a home made it difficult for some homeowners to hear from appraisers and

acquisition officials that their home and property were appraised at an amount lower than what they believed them to be worth.

*When it was over, it was forty-nine years. I mean, we really did love it. We knew everyone across the street, but yet we still had our privacy. You know what I mean—very much so. They offered us \$170,000. We couldn't even find ten acres on State Avenue at that time—not for ten acres. It was just ideally situated. When he brought it—the second time he came he told us how much we'd get for it. The first time he [acquisition official] came, he says, 'We're going to have a man come out and check everything and see how much it's worth.' When he came back—he was a little Italian that had a fiery temper... he said—it was fixed nice, I could show you pictures—he said, 'It's worth \$170,000.' 'You've got to be kidding!' He says, 'Here, sign it.' I tore it up. It infuriated him—it **infuriated** him. I said, 'You couldn't build a house like that!'—it was cut stone—came from St. Mary's, Kansas, from a stone company up there... I mean, it was very nice. One hundred seventy thousand dollars! (Woman, Wyandotte, age 65+)*

If they would take it into consideration that you had lived there—rather than two years, you had lived there forty years. That would be a plus, and things like that. That kind of stuff didn't happen when they first started talking about it. (Man, Wyandotte, age 50-64)

Residents in all three neighborhoods had the option of selling their condemned home to a buyer, provided that the buyer could find a towing company and have it removed before the demolition date. Study participants from four households—three in Wyandotte County, one in Sharum Subdivision—were able to sell their home for approximately \$5,000. Several other participants had wanted to sell their home and have it moved but could not, either because structural considerations such as the size of the home or the condition of its foundation prevented its removal, or because they could not find a mover. Residents who sold their home all expressed gladness that their home had been saved, and all went to visit it in its new location.

It's out there close to the lake... I was the first one to sell and the first one to have my house moved. Because it would have been demolished... I figured, 'Well, it's going to be saved and it'll be out there in a nice area.' And the people that bought it, this fellow was buying it for his son and daughter-in-law. We went out and visited and seen the house, and they set it out there on a nice foundation, just like it was [before]. (Man, age 50-64, Sharum)

They bought it mainly for the stone. It was beautiful stone, from St. Mary's, Kansas. Then they moved the house to their addition. I still had blueprints for the house. They could even make the basement correct and put the house right on it... I'm glad they didn't bulldoze it down. It was beautiful... it really was. (Woman, age 65+, Wyandotte)

One of the very satisfying things about the whole thing is to be able to show you the attachment we had to the home, is to see the home moved and placed in a new setting. We drove out and saw our home in its new setting out by Bonner Springs. And that was a good feeling, rather than have it destroyed. (Man, age 50-64, Wyandotte)

Home Attachment and Perceptions of Displacement

In his study of tenants forced to move for redevelopment in the Netherlands, Kleinhans (2003) observed higher levels of displacement-related stress among movers who were highly satisfied with their dwelling. Likewise, attachment to home had made the prospect of moving difficult for study participants from most of these 18 households, albeit more so for some than for others. From interviews it was evident that several residents (from three households) continued to bear a considerable burden of sadness and anger over the loss of their home. In one form or other, study participants from most households described struggling with feelings that they did not want to leave (or give up) their home, or that they would be unable to replace it.

It was difficult on many levels to be told that you have to move. It's not the right time to move. We were not financially ready to move. You know, there's several levels there where it's difficult to absorb that... you know, that you're being forced to move. And losing friends, losing a home... I mean, for me, a home where I spent every day. There were other friends that had homes that had been in their families. That was very difficult. (Woman, age 35-49, Wyandotte)

Residents from four households (two from Wyandotte, two from Grandview in Merriam) had foreknowledge that their neighborhood was slated for redevelopment. These participants recalled that previous developments had been considered within or near their area; three had themselves been approached in the past by a developer. Although past projects had failed to materialize or had been built in a different area, three of the four came to feel that their eventual displacement was just a matter of time. Despite having received overtures in the past, one of these four had not believed she would ever have to move.

Years ago General Motors talked about building in that area. They had taken an option on that land at one time to put the new GM plant in there... that was fifteen years ago, probably. There'd been talk of doing something out in that area. Well, we thought it was a possibility at that time, if that all went commercial out there, the only thing between them and us was our street. Maybe that's why we bought this piece of property here [where we eventually built our replacement house]. I don't know. (Woman, age 65+, Wyandotte)

We had been approached when there was talk that the legislature would vote positively that Kansas—Wyandotte County—could have gambling. And so someone came to us from a casino out of Las Vegas and they talked to us about the possibility of putting down money on our property, to get an option on buying our land. So we started thinking about the idea of moving, and that somebody would want our land. (Woman, age 65+, Wyandotte)

Six years prior to the development a real estate person had come through and asked to list our house and told us a development would be coming through. It was at that time that we found out that the City had had our particular area in the overall development plan for the past twenty years. That had not been disclosed when we purchased the home. At that time, we did not want to move. But living in limbo for six years, we were ready. Once you find out the area will be redeveloped, you look at it from a different perspective. It's going to happen, it's inevitable, and you say, 'Let's get on with it and get on with our lives.' (Woman, age 50-64, Grandview)

Believing that they would eventually have to move, most of these householders (three) had begun making plans, however tentative. However, anticipation of a move clearly did not preclude bonds of attachment to a home. Only one of these four householders, who had purchased her home as an investment property three years prior to moving, expressed essentially no attachment to her home: 'A house is just four walls.'

Of course, when that particular project fell through, we hadn't thought about relocating for some time. But when it came through the second time, we were more prepared and had, I think, in the back of our mind an idea of what we might do if it came through again. So we were pretty prepared as far as what to ask for a house, and what our expectations were. (Woman, age 50-64, Grandview)

We really, really did like it [our home], but then we decided we really have to have a smaller house. We couldn't find what we wanted; we decided to build. That got us really excited—to have the money to build what we wanted. So we did. (Woman, age 65+, Wyandotte)

For another householder, as with the couple from Wyandotte just cited, attachment to home did not preclude thoughts of the possible benefit of moving, although his wife did not agree.

I had the premise that we would get a substantial amount for our home and be able to increase our lifestyle and increase the type of home that we were in... We liked our house, I enjoyed it. The setting was okay, not my ideal setting, but I was looking at this as a way I would get closer to my ideal setting, you know, further out in the country, a bigger home, a nicer home. So I was actually looking forward to this process at the beginning of it, when they first started talking about it. (Man, age 35-49, Wyandotte)

One ambivalent mover took comfort in the thought that home is largely defined by family.

[Having to move] was kind of a mixed bag. That was a hard deal. It was a mixed feeling because we raised our children in that house. But it's only a house, and once your children are gone, if they can't come back to the house, so be it. I mean, I grew up in a different city, and I can't go back. The house [that I grew up in] is still there... but it doesn't look right. I don't know the people and I can't go in and see it—it's nothing. I think we're more or less conditioned to how things are transient, and that's not a big thing. (Woman, age 50-64, Sharum)

Regardless of orientation toward having to move, 15 of the 18 households interviewed for the study considered their post-move home to be comparable to or an improvement over their former home, although residents from three households considered their situation to have worsened. Residents who set about decorating and making improvements to their post-move home, or resumed activities such as gardening that they had enjoyed formerly reported feelings of contentment or satisfaction in their new home. Like the elderly movers interviewed by Ekström (1994), for these householders recreating within their new homes conditions resembling those where

they had formerly lived was an assertion of personal continuity and re-establishment of territorial control.

It's a big old historic home. Hopefully it will be on the historic register. It was built in 1881. So we've kind of gone back, with [our former home] being 1906, this is even older. It's a beautiful, two-story brick home. We just love historic properties. (Woman, age 50-64, Grandview)

We like it now. At first, not so much. As I say, it's so much better than anything else we saw. And we fixed it up like we wanted it. So in a way, it's kind of nice. (Woman, age 65+, Wyandotte)

For the most part, residents from the three households who reported that their housing circumstances had declined had nonetheless made attempts to make the best of things. This was not necessarily easy for them. Residents from two households, both men, spoke of disliking their house but finding comfort in the landscape around the home: one man spoke of clearing the brush as his 'therapy in life' while the other man liked the 'country feel' of his backyard.

One couple, after cataloguing the various ways in which their new home unfavorably compared with the one they had to leave, concluded that home was ultimately about family.

Wife: But when I drive down the driveway and park the car...

Husband: It's home... thanks [talking to wife]. (Couple, both age 35-49)

A woman whose husband was still largely unhappy with their post-move home had repainted its interior as a way of moving toward resolution and acceptance. Another resident spoke of her new home as a place of healing from the trauma of having to move.

It's interesting, listening to [my husband talk]... I know that's how he feels about the house. I'll try to be concise. I do think this house is less desirable than the other house. As far as square footage, as far as amenities [agreeing with husband], that's probably enough said. But I like how I painted it. [FRW: Yeah, that's pretty neat. How did you do this?] Pretty wild, isn't it? [FRW: Yeah.] I love that—that's my new color, green. (Woman, Wyandotte, age 35-49)

Part of what has saved me was the beautiful tree in the back of the house. I would just sit there... in a way, it has healed me. (Woman, age 35-49, Wyandotte)

Still another resident spoke of trying to come to terms with the change in lifestyle that moving to a high-density suburb had imposed.

How it [my current home] compares [to my former home]... I don't know. Like I said, you adapt... and adjust. Kind of like buying a used car, or a new car rather—you sell yourself on the idea and say, 'Yeah, this is okay.' But there are some times you wish you had a little more room, maybe, to do things... from a personal standpoint. But more acreage... a larger lot size, I think. (Man, Wyandotte, age 35-49)

Does Hypothesis 1 Hold?

The claim made in Hypothesis 1, that home attachment impinges on displacees' feelings about and perceptions of forced relocation, is grounded on prior research studies that showed that people form attachments to the home spaces in which they live (Tuan 1975; Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton 1981; Giuliani 1991), and that the existence of these attachments shape how residents perceive being forced to move (Belk 1992;

Ekström 1994; Fullilove 1996). Participant responses to interview questions in this study bear out both these assumptions, providing support for Hypothesis 1.

Study participants from most of these 18 households expressed attachment to their former home, many deeply so and over time periods that spanned two to three decades or more. Attachment to home, experienced multi-dimensionally—as a sense of pride in maintaining a pleasant and comfortable living space, as feelings of territorial control and personal autonomy, as a place of safety and privacy, as a preserver of family history and meaning, as feelings of continuity and rootedness—shaped movers' perceptions of displacement in terms both of disposition and emotional reactions toward having to move.

As noted in Chapter 4, study participants from the majority of households had either mixed feelings about moving (eight households) or were largely opposed to having to relocate (seven households), while in one other household a couple had disagreed, with the husband viewing moving as an opportunity for upward housing mobility and the wife opposed to moving. Movers from seven households (four ambivalent about, and three adamantly against relocation) cited attachment to home as a *specific* reason they had not wanted to move or felt torn about it, expressing ties to home in terms of childrearing, longevity of residence, home improvement, or home as place of comfort or sanctuary. Three of these seven hailed from Sharum in Merriam, four from Wyandotte.

But as discussed in this chapter, attachment to home shaped resident perceptions of displacement in other ways. Even among residents who cited other considerations—financial, medical, family circumstances—as reasons for being ill-disposed to move, some named having to leave their home and/or thinking about its impending destruction as causing feelings of stress, anger, or sadness. Attachment to home also influenced the reaction of some residents to property appraisals and offers of property compensation (as discussed in Chapter 8).

Most of these study participants had valued their home as a locus of individual and family meaning, rooted in memories of marrying, establishing house, and raising children. As such the destruction of home and its spaces and objects constituted a threat to the meanings embodied within them and mirrored back to residents, echoing findings from previous studies (Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton 1981; Giuliani 1991; Belk 1992; Ekström 1994). Some also saw home as a source of continuity, a bridge between past and future, a place where one had started in life as well as a place to remain in old age, resembling householders interviewed by Dupuis and Thorns (1996). The loss of personal continuity seemed to have been especially difficult for elderly residents who had spent three, four or even five decades within the home.

If the impressions and emotions shared by these householders in interviews can meaningfully be distilled in one central insight, it is that of the home's pivotal importance as a place of economic, psychic, and social stability, empowering family members meaningfully to engage with one another, with members of their community,

and with others in society. In talking about their feelings of rootedness and continuity residents often saw the home as grounded in the nurturing soil of relationships within the neighborhood, especially in regard to raising children. How social bonds shaped perceptions of displacement is the subject of the next chapter.

Chapter Six: Social Ties and Neighborhood Attachment

Hypothesis 2: The presence of social ties within the neighborhood negatively influences perceptions of housing displacement.

Among householders facing involuntary relocation, those who have social bonds with others living in the neighborhood will be less willing to relocate and may be more likely to experience displacement-related stress. The hypothesis is grounded on the assumption that these ties, and the everyday neighboring behaviors that sustain them, reinforce for householders their sense of identity—who they are and where they stand within the community. In this study the presence or absence of neighborhood social bonds was gauged by asking residents whether they had friends in the neighborhood, what they thought of others living there, what things they had especially liked or disliked about the neighborhood, and whether they had thought they would miss it after they moved (Figure A-2, Appendix). Analysis of participant responses was done at the household level.

In this chapter study participant responses to interview questions about neighborhood social attachments are first examined in two separate sections: first for householders displaced from Western Wyandotte County, and second for those from the two Merriam neighborhoods. Structuring the discussion in this way, it is possible to highlight the contrasts in how former residents of these two areas had evaluated the biophysical and social environs of their neighborhood, and to explore the influence of

these assessments of environmental quality to residents' self-described identification with their neighborhood and their propensity to form social ties with neighbors. The chapter concludes with an assessment of whether the results support Hypothesis 1.

Neighborhood Attachment and Social Bonds: Western Wyandotte County

In many studies, local social bonds and the neighboring behaviors that sustain them have been viewed as an integral component of neighborhood attachment (Fried and Gleicher 1961; Fried 1963; Kasarda and Janowitz 1974). Its familiar landscape nurtures feelings of belonging and continuity among residents as the neighborhood is incorporated into individual and communal identity (Fried 1963; Giuliani 1991; Fullilove 1996). But sustained neighboring activities and the formation of local social ties depend in part on residents' positive perceptions of the built and natural environs (Fried 1982; Guest and Lee 1983b; Kuo *et al.* 1998; Kweon *et al.* 1998).

For many study participants, environmental and social aspects of their neighborhood were interdependent; perceptions of the quality of natural and built aspects of their neighborhood bore significantly on residents' feelings about its desirability as a place to walk and play, raise a family, and ultimately to remain within or move away from. Those who perceived the neighborhood environment as desirable were more likely to have sustained friendships and mutually supportive relationships with neighbors; in turn, the existence of neighborhood social networks promoted

feelings of security and rootedness. Differences emerged between Western Wyandotte County and the two Merriam neighborhoods in this regard.

Study participants who had lived in Western Wyandotte County had deep affection for the semi-rural landscape they considered themselves a part of. They expressed love for its feeling of openness and freedom and for the nearness of nature, domesticated and wild. They described their neighborhood environment as being *beautiful, peaceful, very nice.*

We were in the middle of a section. There was no one around us. It was wonderful. It was like being out in the middle of the country. (Woman, age 65+, Wyandotte)

Our home sat on a nice acre of ground. We had a wooded area behind us, and no homes back behind us. And the neighborhood was real peaceful. (Woman, age 50-64, Wyandotte)

Most were outdoors people. Study participants from four households lived, ranched and raised crops on multi-acre land tracts. Residents of the other seven households from Western Wyandotte County that interviewed for the study lived on one-acre lots in Delaware Ridge Acres, a 70-home housing subdivision built in 1947. Whether living on a farm or within the housing subdivision, these householders enjoyed spending time working outdoors—doing carpentry and exterior home improvements, repairing cars and dirtbikes, landscaping and gardening. These activities, and in warm weather cookouts and block parties, brought neighbors and neighboring children into each other's yards for mutual help with projects and for socialization.

We had a grape arbor and we had fruit trees in the yard. My husband had retired, and he had built his own organic gardening stuff. The boys across the road and down a ways had horses and a stable, and they would bring manure each week. It was really nice. He had his [produce] stand down by the highway and all his buddies would come and sit and talk, and there'd be people. It was really very nice for him... we really did enjoy where we lived. (Woman, age 65+, Wyandotte)

Probably the four immediate neighbors on all four sides of me had been there close to or as long as I had, and with the large lot size we had, they were outside-oriented... everybody was outside all the time. You know, people were messing around with their cars and that kind of thing, working on their houses. (Man, age 35-49, Wyandotte)

Residents from the seven households in Delaware Ridge Acres effusively described the appeal their old neighborhood held for them. Residents were proud of the privacy and security the setting offered, with minimal intrusion from outsiders. They described it as a place where neighbors looked after one another, where residents could walk without fear at night, a place where children could run and play in the streets.

Out there we had a quiet neighborhood. We could walk around there, ride bicycles. (Woman, age 35-49, Wyandotte)

People walked all the time. You just felt safe in that neighborhood. It was just a nice neighborhood. (Woman, age 50-64, Wyandotte)

If somebody went out of town, they didn't have to worry about it—people watched each other's houses. It was a pretty unique neighborhood. Everybody knew everybody. The kids ran through the yards and stuff. (Woman, age 50-64, Wyandotte)

Most study participants from Western Wyandotte County—ten of 11 households—enjoyed their friendships with neighbors; for seven households these

relationships had been forged in the process of raising families as neighborhood children grew up together.

We had excellent neighbors and our children had grown up together. It was very difficult to leave those friendships that we had with all of them. (Man, age 50-64, Wyandotte)

Husband: For this day and age especially, [our old neighborhood] was a close-knit community.

Wife: It was, actually. And we had good friends, and our kids had friends... and [we had] a big house, a big yard. We really had basically said to each other, 'This is where we'll stay.' (Couple, both age 35-49, Wyandotte)

For residents from three Wyandotte County households who expressed a sense of rootedness within their community, a feeling that they would never leave, the experience of having to move was disorienting.

It's just unbelievable. I didn't think I'd ever move. I just figured I'd be down there forever, and I know that's what everyone else thought. (Woman, age 65+, Wyandotte)

*You have to remember, it was my home place. I mean, I was born and raised there. So just the whole thing of **never** being there again—that was really overwhelming. (Woman, age 35-49, Wyandotte)*

Residents from Western Wyandotte County commonly referred to the feeling of community they had experienced, characterized by friendships and neighboring, as something they missed in the neighborhoods to which they had moved. Eight Wyandotte households interviewed related that they did not enjoy as many friendships or close neighboring experiences in their new neighborhoods as in their former neighborhood, whether they had moved into a high-density suburb or had remained in a semi-rural setting.

Residents attributed their loss of close social bonds in part to the changed environmental characteristics of their new neighborhoods. For movers from three households, the spacing of adjacent houses had a negative effect on the potential for close neighboring: in the rural setting to which they moved, the increased distance between homes precluded opportunities for frequent contact. Residents from two households averred that their new neighbors worked longer hours and were less interested in socializing. For one householder who moved to a high-density suburban housing tract closer spacing of houses meant much smaller yards, with constricted opportunities for activities that could bring neighbors together.

We'd rather be back there. These people are fine, now... these people are nice. We don't know them like we knew our other neighbors... Here people are spread out. Of course, being farmers and things like that, they're busy a lot. (Man, age 50-64, Wyandotte)

In the neighborhood here, you don't know anybody really. They're too far apart. See, those houses were really close together. They each had an acre. No, we know one, two, three in this neighborhood. We don't have children that are going to school. We don't go to their church. (Woman, age 65+, Wyandotte)

[In my old neighborhood] people's activities were just a little more outdoors, so you go to see them more and visit more. Everything seemed a little more personable, as opposed to a developed suburban setting where things are closed. (Man, age 35-49, Wyandotte)

For members of three other households, heavier street traffic made walking around and riding bicycles too risky, decreasing opportunities for visiting with others in the neighborhood. They considered this issue of especial importance for their school-age children.

Wife: I think we would like to talk about it some more—the neighborhood versus the neighborhood. We have no neighborhood here.

Husband: Yeah, that's what we lost. We have a busy street and it's noisy. And out there we had a quiet neighborhood. We could walk around there, ride bicycles. (Couple, both age 35-49, Wyandotte)

Husband: We really don't have a neighborhood experience.

Wife: No, there's no neighborhood experience. It's like being on a main thoroughfare, you know. (Couple, both age 35-49, Wyandotte)

Movers from two households considered the demographics of their new neighborhood to be a change for the worse: their new neighbors were different in terms of age, household structure or tenure, creating an impassable social gulf.

Husband: It's nothing like it was up there. We know the [neighboring family] next door, and that's it.

Wife: Most of them around here—the homes—a lot of them are rental. Transient-type renters. (Couple, both age 65+, Wyandotte)

It's a redneck neighborhood. Pit bulls, rottweilers, German shepherds—it's not real friendly. (Woman, age 35-49, Wyandotte)

In all, 10 of the 11 Wyandotte households interviewed for the study expressed social attachments to one or more families in their former neighborhood, and many clearly missed the feeling of community they had once enjoyed after moving. Several participants expressed that, in leaving their neighborhood, they had lost something that they could not replace.

*I still miss living down there, I really do. That's just it—it will always be home to me. I love [my current town]—I think it's the neatest little town, I love the school and all that. People out here are nice. I don't **know** anybody, really. I know a few people from school and going to basketball games and stuff like that with the kids. But I don't know many people because I don't go to church out here. And I have tried... but I don't know, it's just not the same as mine. (Woman, age 65+, Wyandotte)*

[Our current] neighborhood is fine here. It's just, if we had a choice of neighborhoods... if we could have picked that other one up and brought it out here and dropped it down, everybody would have been happy. (Man, age 50-64, Wyandotte)

From the small town community aspect, you know, it was home. Home is not really replaceable, from a personal standpoint. (Man, age 35-49, Wyandotte)

However, the situation was reversed for a couple from the one Wyandotte County household that had not enjoyed close relationships with neighbors. This couple had viewed the redevelopment as an opportunity to move from a multi-acre land tract on which they felt isolated from surrounding neighbors into a higher-density suburban neighborhood where they could get to know people and socialize.

We really had no close neighbors. We did know this little family that lived right here [indicating on imaginary map]. We did know a family that lived across the street—but just to wave at and say 'Hi' to. We didn't live in a real neighborhood like some of them did. (Woman, age 65+, Wyandotte)

This was particularly meaningful for the wife, who unlike her husband had grown up in an urban area.

I was ready for this kind of neighborhood where you would get to know the people that you live close to, and the houses are close. The yards are normal and you don't have these humongous bits of ground. I really was real happy to move here. (Woman, age 65+, Wyandotte)

This couple reported an increase in neighboring activities—talking with neighbors, visiting back and forth in one another's homes—and correspondingly in social attachment.

If this area was forced to move, we would feel... [Long pause] Because we are very close with our neighbors—close in terms of getting together and talking and, of course, because we also live close to one another in the area. (Man, age 50-64, Wyandotte)

The commonality that tied together these 11 Wyandotte householders was the shared idea that social ties with neighbors constituted a defining feature of a *neighborhood*, regardless of whether they felt they had lost or gained one in moving.

Neighborhood Attachment, Memory, and Familiar Place: Merriam

Resident perceptions of environmental deterioration in the neighborhood may discourage neighboring behaviors and formation of community social ties (Woldoff 2002), although cultural characteristics may be more significant than environmental quality in fostering ties in challenged neighborhoods (Fried and Gleicher 1961; Fried 1963; Goetz 2002). Similarly, perceptions of social disorder, particularly crime, and feelings of insecurity may operate to discourage neighboring and informal ties, even while promoting more formal types of community engagement such as crime-watching and political activism (Woldoff 2002).

Study participants from Merriam differed from those in Western Wyandotte County in how they perceived their former neighborhood's environmental quality. Regardless of how long they had lived in the area, all these Merriam residents acknowledged that their ageing neighborhood had been visually and economically challenged, although they differed as to how serious its problems were. These householders attributed part of the problem in their neighborhood to the presence of poorly-maintained apartment complexes and single-family rental homes.

Our particular street had deteriorated quite a bit. So that particular section of Merriam definitely needed redevelopment. There were rental properties that weren't taken care of. I mean, it wasn't a pigsty or anything. People in the neighborhood did what they could. Things were clean pretty much, except for the man behind us. But overall it was a much older, older neighborhood that had just deteriorated through the years from neglect. (Woman, age 50-64, Grandview)

Study participants from Sharum Subdivision had all lived in the area several decades or longer (Table 4-3). These residents complained of drug-related crime, poorly maintained streets and unkempt yards strewn with debris. Two of these three households also perceived that city authorities had made a tacit decision to allow the area to decline.

That part of the city, if you will, seemed like it didn't get very much attention, like our streets didn't get upgraded particularly. (Woman, age 50-64, Sharum)

We had no intention of moving. We didn't even think about it. But then they had a couple of apartment complexes in Merriam, and the riff-raff was moving in there. In fact, they had a murder in there at one time. Then to the north of us was a bunch of dinky little houses... I think it was one-bedroom houses, and they were renting it out. And at the time I think we all felt that the City wasn't doing anything about it and that they were letting this go on and on and on so that they could condemn the neighborhood. (Man, age 50-64, Sharum)

We were kind of disappointed [about having to move], because we'd been there so long. But then, the neighborhood had changed so much. It had pretty well all gone to rental properties. There were a lot of drugs in the area. And so we decided it was probably best for us, even though we knew whether we liked it or not, we would have to move. Due to all the rental property and drugs... we had them right down the street from us. (Woman, age 65+, Sharum)

Study participants from Grandview Subdivision had lived in the area for relatively shorter lengths of time than those from Sharum (Table 4-3). Three of these

four Grandview householders agreed that their neighborhood was older and had some problems but took a less dire view of the seriousness of their neighborhood's problems than those from Sharum.

When our realtor sold us that house, she said something to the point of, 'Now, this isn't a very good neighborhood, but I'll show you this house anyway.' So our realtor, oh, I think she called it a blighted area when we first bought that house. And my husband and I just looked at each other, because like I said, I'm from Shawnee, he's from Merriam, and we were like, 'Okay, well, we like this blighted area.' (Woman, age 35-49, Grandview)

There were several houses that were rundown, but mostly property was at least viable. And I think that's what we need most now, is housing. If you have a lot of money, you can build a new house wherever you want. If you're even moderately well off, you can find someplace to live that doesn't cost you too much. I'd rather see them rebuild property and keep it up rather than tear it down. People who lived there before are not able to live there now. (Man, age 65+, Grandview)

But one for Grandview householder who had bought her home as an investment property and lived in it for three years, having to live in the neighborhood had become untenable.

I wanted to get out of there. There was too much commercial development at the top of the street and there was too much traffic. People weren't reinvesting in their property—most of the houses were from the 1950s and they were not being kept up. (Woman, age 34 or younger, Grandview)

These two neighborhoods shared the common boundary of Johnson Drive: Sharum Subdivision, razed in 1996 for Merriam Town Center, to the north, and Grandview Subdivision, razed in 2005 for Merriam Village, to the south. It is unclear whether differences between study participants' accounts of the seriousness of neighborhood decline in these two neighborhoods were attributable to actual conditions,

relative differences in length of residence, or some other factor(s), or were simply an artifact of small sample size. Perceptions of the gravity of neighborhood problems may have been heightened for longer-lived residents of Sharum, simply because longer tenure gave them more of a basis for comparison between former and current conditions.

Just as Merriam householders' assessments of the overall quality of their neighborhood differed from that of Wyandotte County residents, so too did the accounts most offered of their neighboring activities. While all seven Merriam study participants reported having one or several friends in the neighborhood, most (five households) described these relationships as being casual: waving across the yard, saying hello. What differentiated these Merriam residents from their Wyandotte counterparts was not necessarily how many friendships they had, but rather how close they perceived them to be.

I'd say I had friends. There's one woman in particular I now keep in contact with. And I'd only spoken to her — 'hi' and 'bye' and gossip once in a while, but nothing major. But now we talk more since we've moved. (Woman, age 50-64, Grandview)

I knew the lady that was catty-corner, just through the backyards — you know, to say Hi. But no, it wasn't a close-knit neighborhood like out here [my current neighborhood]. (Woman, age 35-49, Grandview)

Merriam study participants accounted for the lack of closeness with neighbors in various ways. One householder felt that the eclectic mix of commercial, rental and privately owned residential properties in her neighborhood had discouraged her from doing more than saying hello to her neighbors. One householder who had lived in her

home for 50 years explained that most of the many friendships she had once enjoyed were lost as couples retired and moved away or died, and their children left the area. Still another described the loss of community as an artifact of modern living.

Our neighborhood was kind of mismatched over there. You had businesses here on Johnson Drive and then you had a real old square where she had her apartment building, then just a couple houses here... then our street, then the [municipal] pool, and then you had houses that ran up north and right behind I-35. And they were all old. (Woman, age 35-49, Grandview)

I had friends... But as far as knowing a lot of people in that area, I just didn't, because they were all new. Now when we first built our home, we were all homeowners down in there. We knew everybody, and we were all good friends. The little kids could go out and play... But as far as me knowing anybody in later years, I just didn't. (Woman, age 65+, Sharum)

We were not really attached to the people around us. We knew a few neighbors. But I think in today's society, everybody is pretty much on their own and you don't neighbor as much as maybe you did when I was a child. (Woman, age 50-64, Sharum)

Only one of the seven Merriam householders had initially wanted to move, while four had felt ambivalent or reluctant about having to move; two households had been dead set against it. Nonetheless all felt that their new neighborhood was at least comparable to their old neighborhood, and five of the seven felt it that it was an improvement. Of the three Sharum households, the two with longest tenure—and who had been most concerned about social and environmental decline in Merriam—cited environmental quality, safety and friendliness of neighbors as things that were better.

We like it much better. [FRW: You like it much better?] Because everything, everyone is friendly there. We don't have any little cheap houses in the area. We don't have any apartments. We have schools close to us within two or three blocks. (Man, age 50-64, Sharum)

We were pleased... we like it here. We've got wonderful neighbors. They watch over me and do things for me. So I think it was well worth the move. It was a blessing to us. (Woman, age 65+, Sharum)

Others from Sharum and Grandview expressed the view that their new neighborhood better fit their idea of what constituted a *neighborhood*: residential stability, less nearby commercial development, and a demographic environment in which they felt they 'fit in.'

Husband: I would say it's much better. Probably much better. [FRW: And how so?] Well, I don't know. We don't know that many people.

Wife: It's a pretty established neighborhood. This area of town has been here a long time, and the people are pretty well settled in...

Husband: There's only one rental in this cul-de-sac. (Couple, both age 50-64, Sharum)

It's totally different. It's safer—you can walk in the neighborhood at night. Everyone is middle class—couples with kids and dogs, two or three cars. There aren't any apartments or duplexes, there isn't a guy parking his cars in the yard. (Woman, age 34 or younger, Grandview)

*This is a **neighborhood**. It's all houses, you know. Ours was kind of mismatched over there, you know. (Woman, age 35-49, Grandview)*

Interestingly, although these householders were more satisfied with their new (post-move) neighbors, only one reported an increase in friendships or neighboring behaviors and several mentioned knowing few neighbors, or knowing them only casually.

You know, within your immediate area, you know, your little cluster, yeah, we've met everybody. But are we friends or do we hang out? No. But my husband and I, we're basically working a lot. In the summertime when you're out in the yard, yeah... they have an annual garage sale, they have an annual get-together down at the park... I don't know, maybe we're just not very social. (Woman, age 35-49, Grandview)

However, two of the seven Merriam households differed from others in having enjoyed social ties which they considered significant in their former neighborhood. One of these two householders, from Grandview, found her new neighborhood comparable to her former neighborhood. Nonetheless, two years after moving she continued to miss strongly her interactions with others while shopping at businesses in her former neighborhood. The other of the two householders considered his new neighborhood a considerable improvement over Sharum, where he had lived formerly. He spoke of his longevity in the neighborhood and memories of friendships as factors that shaped his expectations of property compensation.

I've missed my house... I miss my neighborhood, my shops where I always shopped. We had lived there thirteen years. We've done a total big change... I really didn't realize how much I'd even bonded with those stores—whether it's your grocery store or your drycleaners, your restaurant in the area, the drugstore—you know people in each one of these locations that you interact with all the time, and you don't realize it until you're not there anymore. And it's been very hard just getting settled in to a whole new routine—it's been harder on me than my husband. (Woman, age 50-64, Grandview)

The neighbors all got together when we found out it [redevelopment plan] was going to go through... Because we lived in our house for thirty-five years. And my wife's mother's place, they moved out there [Sharum Subdivision] in 1921. So there was a lot of, you know, old-time thoughts and everything there, for it to just vanish all at once. (Man, age 50-64, Sharum)

Does Hypothesis 2 hold?

The claim made in Hypothesis 2, that neighborhood social bonds affect displacees' feelings about and perceptions of forced relocation, is grounded on prior research studies that demonstrated the role of neighboring behaviors and friendship ties in fostering place attachment (Kasarda and Janowitz 1974) and suggesting that disruption of these ties through displacement may threaten personal and community identity (Gans 1959, 1973; Fried and Gleicher 1961; Fried 1963), sense of stability (Ekström 1994), health status (Gotfredson 1986; Fullilove 1996), and post-move community satisfaction (McGraw 1963; Goetz 2002; Gotham 2002).

Hypothesis 2 does receive support from study data, although not all participants were strongly bonded with others in their neighborhood. For study participants that were, local social ties, cemented by neighboring rituals that promoted feelings of security and stability, profoundly shaped community attachment. For movers who expressed contentment with social aspects of a former neighborhood, loss of familiar place and community ties appeared to have unfavorable implications for formation of post-move ties and neighborhood satisfaction. At the same time, movers who had found the social environs of a former neighborhood lacking found their post-move neighborhood to be a significant improvement.

Although study participants from Wyandotte and from Merriam largely differed in self-described strength of social attachments, they tended to define a 'real

neighborhood' in terms of the opportunities it offered (expressed in terms of desired physical and demographic characteristics) for association with neighbors. Study participants who cultivated social attachments tended to describe these bonds in two principal ways: as a network of supportive neighboring activities (greeting and talking with near neighbors, shared outdoor activities and neighborhood gatherings, helping one another out, watching an absent neighbor's home) and as particular friendships formed with neighbors.

Yet it would be mistake to conclude that local social ties and perceived neighborhood quality were the only sources of neighborhood attachment among study participants. The frequency with which these men and women invoked longevity within a neighborhood or an area, having grown up in the neighborhood or nearby, or the multi-generational presence of extended family—calls to mind Tuan's (1980) conception of rootedness in place as the state of 'being at home in an unself-conscious way' in which '[t]o acquire a sense of extended time and genealogical depth, it may be necessary only to live in a house that one's grandfather had built.' It seemed that, for many residents in this study, the neighborhood functioned as an extension of home, as for residents in earlier studies (Fried and Gleicher 1961; Saunders and Williams 1988; Giuliani 1991).

The concepts of rootedness in place, and of the familiar landscape of the neighborhood as a constitutive element in personal and communal identity (Belk 1992; Fullilove 1996) and as the matrix in which repetitive daily social transactions confer

continuity and stability (Fried 1963), help illuminate these study participants' emotional responses to their impending displacement. While several study participants found the threatened loss of familiar place and social ties disorienting, many others invoked positive interactions and friendships with neighbors in describing feelings of reluctance, ambivalence, or disappointment about having to move.

Movers were able to transfer furniture and other basic household items, and other more personal mementoes, from their former home to their new home when they moved, thereby preserving connections with the meanings and memories these items embodied, reminiscent of earlier findings (Gotfredson 1986; Giuliani 1991; Ekström 1994). Thus they were able to reestablish not only continuity but the sense of territorial control necessary for psychic and ontological security, echoing Porteous (1976) and Sanders and Williams (1988).

By contrast, lost social connections were not as easy to replicate as the comforts of home after moving. Unlike household items, neighbors and friends usually do not accompany movers to their new location. Earlier research studies pointed to loss of community social ties and changed sociodemographic characteristics of a post-move neighborhood as sources of stress, feelings of dislocation, and difficulties in post-move adjustment (Goldstein and Zimmer 1960; Fried 1963; Ekström 1994; Bolan 1997; Goetz 2002). Some displacees in Fried's (1963) study moved into new neighborhoods in tandem with extended relatives and friends from their demolished neighborhood in order to preserve these ties. As is discussed in the next chapter, not all study

participants who wished to relocate within the area close to their demolished neighborhood were able to do so.

In conclusion, evidence provided by these movers suggests that having formed social attachments with others in the neighborhood has a hand in shaping resident feelings about being forced to move. Yet not only actual social ties, but also a perceived potential for social interactions—the perception that neighbors are 'desirable' in that their socioeconomic characteristics and values appear to mirror one's own—are of import, even for residents who have little or no interest in neighboring activity. Ekström (1994) noted the importance of a sense of shared values with neighbors for post-move feelings of well-being among elderly displacees. Whether they had moved from Merriam or from Western Wyandotte County, for these residents how well the social qualities of a post-move neighborhood 'reflected back' to them their own values and aspirations shaped their evaluation of the community to which they relocated.

Chapter Seven: Sense of Control and Mastery

Hypothesis 3: Sense of control and mastery over aspects of the relocation experience positively influences perceptions of housing displacement.

To the degree that residents facing displacement feel they are able to plan for, obtain help with, and have a successful outcome in their relocation, they will experience less stress and be more favorably disposed toward having to move. The sense of being in control of one's circumstances enables an individual to negotiate through hardship and change. Having a sense of control over the circumstances of a move is of added importance when relocation is involuntary.

In this study, relative sense of control and mastery were gauged by asking participants how well they had fared in looking for new housing and whether they had had enough time in which to move. The quality of their formal and informal communications with relocation officials was measured by inquiring of participants how they had first learned they would have to move, how they had regarded their communications with officials, and how public meetings that they attended had gone for them (Figure A-2, Appendix). Analysis of participant responses was done at the household level.

The first section of the chapter discusses study participants' experience of property condemnation and involuntary relocation as a challenge to feelings of security,

autonomy and enfranchisement rooted in and sustained by longevity of residence, ownership tenure, financial security, and familiarity with/sense of belonging in the neighborhood. The following section explores conditions that tended to diminish residents' sense of control over the circumstances of relocation, above all a dearth of information about relocation and compensation timelines. The chapter concludes with an assessment of whether the results support Hypothesis 3.

Forced Relocation and Sense of Control

By its very nature, being forced to move challenges the basic assumption—usually taken as a given—of being in complete control over where one lives. This perceived loss of control in and of itself shapes resident perceptions of displacement (Gottfredson 1986) and may negatively affect adjustment within the post-move home and neighborhood (Goetz 2002). Experiences connected with forced relocation contribute to self-reported feelings of sadness and anxiety (Goldstein and Zimmer 1960; Fried 1963; Hartman 1979, 2003; Gottfredson 1986; Ekström 1994; Bowie *et al.* 2005) and may predispose displacees to, or exacerbate existing, health conditions, including serious mental disorders (Belk 1992; Fullilove 1996).

For many study participants, the fact that their move had been involuntary complicated what for them was already a difficult situation. Residents from 10 of 18 households described the period between learning that their neighborhood might be

redeveloped and moving out with words such as *nerve-racking, stressful, depressing*.

Uncertainty about what would happen was a significant stressor.

It was pretty nerve-racking. I think it took some years off of me and my wife's life. (Man, age 50-64, Wyandotte)

It's just a traumatic thing to go through. It just really is. I mean, even if you get a lot of money. (Woman, age 65+, Wyandotte)

Many study participants expressed that, for the most part, they had been able to come to terms with having been forced to move. However, resolution appeared to be a matter of degree, and residents from three households expressed strong residual anger and fear. These feelings were clearly linked with a continuing sense of vulnerability. During one interview, a woman brought out a letter she had recently received from the City advising her to come to a public hearing regarding the proposed construction of a water tower near her home. Visibly worried, she explained that she was unsure of what the letter meant and feared that she might have to move again.

Something to do with the water district. And... I don't know, it scared me. After going through what I went through I said, 'I hope and pray, where I am here, that they leave me alone. Just leave me alone.' And I got that letter and, I'm telling you, I could just have sat down and cried. I was very, very upset, especially when I read the part about 'and bring your attorney with you.' I thought, 'Why do I need an attorney?' So my son called and it's got something to do with they're going to put in a water tower up over here somewhere, and I'm going to the meeting. (Woman, age 65+, Wyandotte)

Saunders and Williams (1988) observed that the midlife and senior homeowners they had interviewed perceived ownership tenure as a bulwark against government intrusion, conferring feelings of competency and enfranchisement. At a fundamental level, the experience of having their property condemned and of having to move seemed

to represent a very real loss of personal agency for many study participants from Wyandotte and Merriam. The perception of having been on the disadvantageous end of a broad power differential, with legislation, policies and government officials favoring financial and political elites over those with less clout, was fairly common, particularly among movers from Grandview and Wyandotte: movers from 10 households related that the experience had eroded their trust in government or convinced them that 'money talks.'

We were powerless. I mean, they come in and say your property is condemned. You have no choice. You can take them to court and do all you want to do, but it just costs you money and they're going to get their way anyway. I mean, it's just like we don't live in a free country. When it comes to eminent domain, we do not live in a free country. (Woman, age 65+, Wyandotte)

It enforces the reality that it's all about the engine that smokes, so to speak—and most actions that the City government takes, it's not about truth and justice, but actually about monetary progress and/or city or urban progress... whatever you want to call it. (Man, age 35-49, Wyandotte)

You think you own something, but it showed me that if somebody else wants it and they have enough political power, they can do it—they can get what you have. (Man, age 35-49, Wyandotte)

You realize that government is just... you know... they'll screw you if they have the chance, basically, in order to bring in the money. So it's all about the money. I think that was just a huge lesson in growing up. And it's hard. It's hard. (Woman, age 35-49, Wyandotte)

Study participants from five of the Wyandotte households referred to the vulnerability of older people to the stress of forced relocation, describing their former neighborhood as having been largely populated by middle- and retirement-age couples.

In seeing a link between advanced age and displacement-related stress Wyandotte movers were unique among study participants: those from Merriam made little or no mention of age. Interestingly, in terms of age study participants from Wyandotte and from Merriam were similar: Seven of 11 Wyandotte households, all three households from Sharum Subdivision in Merriam, and two of the four from Grandview Subdivision in Merriam were headed by householders aged fifty or older at the time of displacement.

Wyandotte householders also differed from those from Merriam in linking the experience of displacement with mortality among older residents. Participants from six households related stories about one or several neighborhood elderly residents who had died of heart attacks while witnessing the destruction of a beloved tree, while going back to the house for one last look on moving day, or shortly after moving into a retirement home. It seemed as if, by sharing stories about these neighborhood deaths, residents had found a relatively non-threatening way to express their feelings of diminished control.

One householder related that her elderly mother had said she 'felt like a man without a country' and died two days later: 'It killed her. It literally did.'

[My former neighbor], the one that lived across the street, she was just heartbroken. She died, I think, of it. There's several that had heart attacks over this, too. Two of them. (Woman, age 65+, Wyandotte)

[Having to move] was a bad experience for us. And there were people who lost their lives because of it also. One couple... they decided to go by and look at their house one last time... and on their way back to Tonganoxie, he had a heart attack, and he died. It was a nasty thing—it really was. (Woman, age 65+, Wyandotte)

There were people in there, that lived there when the development started that actually was so shook up about that, that they died. There's probably been eight or nine... the stress got them. (Man, age 50-64, Wyandotte)

Access to Relocation-Related Information and Sense of Control

The loss of control that housing displacement represented for many residents points to the importance of quality communication in empowering them to plan and execute a successful move. Movers who have access to the information they need are more likely to have confidence in their ability to make and follow through on plans and decisions and have a better chance of locating a replacement home and neighborhood that satisfies their needs.

Ten of 11 households from Western Wyandotte County, two of three from Sharum Subdivision, and all four households from Grandview Subdivision interviewed for this study described themselves as lacking information about compensation and relocation timelines for most of the period before they finally moved. For the great majority, the lack of clarity about what to expect created difficulties in finding new housing and planning a move. Most study participants recalled the time period between the beginning of public discussion and media coverage about prospective redevelopment and having to move as being from 18 months to two years.

The bulk of study participants (15 households) recalled learning that they would be displaced not as an unequivocal, instantaneous event, but rather a period of watching

and waiting. During this time residents relied on rumor and television or newspaper reports as much or more than on official sources for information: Would they have to move? When? When would they be paid? Participants received letters from city authorities—in Wyandotte County from the Unified Government, and in Merriam from the City—informing them that their neighborhood was being considered as the site of a commercial redevelopment, and inviting them to a public hearing. (The sole renter participating in the study had not received a mailing, but was informed of events by his landlady. He did not attend any meetings.) In all three study sites, word of mouth from neighbor to neighbor was common.

Some of the neighbors said, 'Do you know that we may lose our homes?' I said, 'Well, I heard something about it, but I didn't know for sure.' Of course this kept getting more widespread and more widespread, till everybody seemed to know that something was in the wind, which had started at City Hall in Kansas City, Kansas. (Man, age 65+, Wyandotte)

Well, the City was just debating or talking about how they could improve the City of Merriam and improve their tax level. And then word got around, maybe there was something in the wind about getting property to put in a mall or something. (Man, age 50-64, Sharum)

We just heard rumors from the City. It's a pretty close-knit, small town, so news travels fast. I think the neighbors started talking, and then they came out with more specifics as time went on. That was initially how I found out. (Man, age 35-49, Wyandotte)

The majority of householders (15 households) related that, until well into the period of negotiations between municipal officials and developers, they had not known when they would have to move—or whether they would have to move at all. For these residents, uncertainty about the future made long-term planning difficult. As

legislative, planning and business issues related to redevelopment dragged on and the Unified Government and the City of Merriam were unable to provide residents with solid information regarding their future, many residents grew anxious.

Things were uncertain for a long period of time. We really didn't know exactly what to do—whether to start looking for a place to move, or whether to just stay there. You really didn't know what to do. It was a nervous wait. (Woman, age 50-64, Wyandotte)

There was a lot of—they wouldn't tell you—they kept putting the date off. They would say, 'Well now, this could be done by July. You'll know something, but don't go out and do anything.' So July came and it was put off until September. It kept getting put off and put off... But when they finally gave you a done deal, you only had sixty days to move. You can't build a house—you can't hardly buy a house in sixty days. (Man, age 50-64, Wyandotte)

Some residents (three households) spoke of turning to local newspapers or television news spots for news of whether they would be redeveloped.

We would wait because we would hear there was going to be something on TV, on the news: 'It's going to be the next answer on where they decided to put the Speedway.' We'd wait for that news and then it would be a 25-second clip of news, after we'd waited weeks. It was tough. It was agonizing, that's what it was... and so we went to those meetings. (Woman, age 35-49, Wyandotte)

With a single exception, all study participants attended one or several public meetings; many had attended most or all of them. Residents went to public meetings for two primary reasons: to speak out for or against the project and to gather whatever information they could, particularly about relocation and compensation policies and timelines. However, the Unified Government and the City of Merriam had few answers for them, other than that they were still waiting for details connected with

redevelopment to be hashed out, such as legislative approval of TIF financing, the selection of a developer, or commitment from prospective tenants, for plans to solidify. From study participant responses and in several cases from official documents (meeting minutes, notices of public hearings) it appears that, when it came to expectations of public hearings, residents and municipal officials were sometimes at cross-purposes. For example, minutes from a June 8, 1998 hearing hosted by the Unified Government recorded that the Planning Commissioner informed attendees that concerns about property acquisition and property compensation would not be addressed.

Wife: You'd go to a meeting and really it was a little bit less than satisfying, because they couldn't give you a firm answer, like, 'Yes, it is going to happen.' It was just so iffy. I don't think they were being hard to get along with...

Husband: They just didn't have firm answers. (Couple, both age 50-64, Sharum)

Basically people asked, 'How much are you willing to pay us to sell out?' We didn't care about what they were putting in. Basically, we just wanted to know if it was going to happen, and when. They'd give you, like, 'We would like to show you this project,' and 'It will be finished in the spring of '08 or '09,' or whatever. They never really gave you a timeframe until you signed on the dotted line. (Woman, age 35-49, Grandview)

On the whole, these public meetings received poor or mixed reviews from most study participants. Other than the paucity of concrete information officials had to offer, some residents (five households) experienced meetings as overwhelming or intimidating, citing their size, emotional intensity, or the demeanor of various public officials. One resident recalled deciding not to speak because he feared it would have negative repercussions when he negotiated for compensation.

Unfortunately, there was probably a hundred people there as I recall, and it immediately turned into a lot of complaining, questions asked and details asked that they really didn't have any answers for, which we understood at that point in time. But a format like that did a poor job of conveying information because for everyone—for those who felt they were going to lose their place—it became a very heated topic and everyone wanted to speak their own agenda to people. (Man, age 50-64, Wyandotte)

The meetings were kind of hair-raising. There were a lot of people that had been there for so long that they really didn't want to move. They got irate. I didn't join in too much with sharing my voice—I was there mainly just to take it in. I didn't go to all of them, because it did raise my blood pressure. (Woman, age 65+, Sharum)

At one point it crossed my mind—because you had to stand up and state your name and address—I was like, 'Okay, this is going to come back and haunt me when we go through [compensation] dealings.' (Man, age 35-49, Wyandotte)

However, study participants from two households had no complaints about the quality of communications at public meetings. One resident opined that players other than residents and municipal officials influenced the tone of these gatherings.

The meetings were a joke... all these people from outside Merriam were going to the meetings to show their opposition. They should have had meetings for just the residents in the community. (Woman, age 34 or younger, Grandview)

The meetings the City people were at, and the people representing the Speedway—I thought they did a good job of representing things. They took abuse. They had to take abuse and sit there and have people say nasty things to them. There were also meetings where a neighbor would call a neighbor to get them there. At one of those meetings, they invited this attorney who is in the legislature. He had nothing to do with the development. He had nothing to do with the City... At that point, people were going to the legislature... trying to increase the evaluation [amount of property compensation awards]... They did get the legislature to come out with this recommendation that the Speedway [Kansas International Speedway Corporation] give 125% of the appraised value, which I thought was a real positive step... This attorney I thought, stirred up the pot a little bit. I think the attorneys—this is my bias, a little bit, but the attorneys had some self-interest. (Man, age 50-64, Wyandotte)

Although residents did not know whether redevelopment plans would solidify, they were not able to simply sell their home and leave once they had signed a contract with the realtor acting as the acquisition authority. The type of contract they signed was an option to buy. In this type of arrangement, the seller is bound not to offer the property to any other prospective buyer for a period fixed by the terms of the contract. But the contract does not obligate the prospective buyer to actually purchase the property. The prospective buyer may walk away from the deal at any time, but the homeowner cannot sell until the option expires.

They had us locked in. We couldn't have sold to another individual if we had wanted to. So you just had to sit on your hands for a couple of years and do nothing. That was the hardest part. (Woman, age 50-64, Sharum)

It was an offer to purchase. It wasn't a real contract. They wanted to tie up our land, so that we couldn't sell it to someone else. So it wasn't like they were definitely going to buy it. But if they did go ahead and buy it, then it fixed the price and the terms for them. It protected them—it did not protect the land owner. Once you signed it, you were stuck. (Woman, age 35-49, Wyandotte)

The developers were stringing people along. Seventy-five percent of the people had contracts, but they couldn't leave because it was all contingent on the City, and so they couldn't get their money. (Woman, age 34 or younger, Grandview)

Faced with the possibility that they would not be in their homes much longer, residents from three households decided to forgo making home repairs. Residents from two other households recalled being told not to make any home improvements beyond basic repairs essential for safety and comfort, as upgrades would not increase the amount of property compensation they could expect to receive. For some study participants (three households), watching their home deteriorate was particularly stressful.

When we were in limbo waiting to see if we were going to be redeveloped, the house was deteriorating and needed a lot of work. We were needing a new roof. We had foundation problems. Each year it was: 'How much to put into the home?' knowing that you most likely will not get anything back out of it. It needed work, but we just kept band-aiding it, which is not the way to live. You want to set roots. (Woman, age 50-64, Grandview)

That was kind of a depressing time because it strung on for a couple years before we knew, yes, it's a go. The contract was written up so that they had a window of time, and at the end of that, they could say, 'No, it's not going to happen.' And in the meantime, we had hail damage to our roof and the insurance company would have paid to put a new roof on, but it seemed silly to put a roof on a house that they're going to tear down in a matter of months. And so we patched and put buckets under leaks and stuff. (Woman, age 50-64, Sharum)

Financial considerations were not the only reasons for abandoning home improvement projects: for three householders ceasing to work on the home was a concession to the inevitability of its impending loss, initiating a process of breaking

attachments to the home and thereby giving them a sense of control over their loss, however painful. One householder explained:

My son-in-law and I were fixing the house up after my husband died, you know, because my husband didn't like to have any mess. So we were papering and painting, and we were redoing the floors and stuff. And I had the kitchen redone, and the diningroom and the livingroom. And I was working on one bedroom—and I got it all done, except for putting the border around the room. I took the border back... I thought, 'Well, if they're going to tear the house down, I'm not going to bother to put the border up.' I had one bedroom to go before I had the whole house redone inside. But I was happy there. (Woman, age 65+, Wyandotte)

But in one household that was strongly against having to move, continuing a home improvement project was an act of resistance against the encroachment of the power of the state, an assertion of personal control over the family living space.

Wife: I came home, and my husband had our front entry hallway—it was a beautiful front entry hallway—he had the switchplate covers off, and he had tape on the woodwork. He had dropcloths down. He was painting. I said, 'What are you doing? You know this is the day the racetrack people are going to announce which side of the highway [which of two alternate redevelopment sites] they want.' He goes, 'You know what? It's still ours today.'
Husband: It was my defiance. (Couple, both age 35-49, Wyandotte)

This seems to have been a particular problem in Merriam, where decline of some housing structures had begun years earlier.

The streets were in decline... you know, the streets were falling apart, and the whole general appearance of the houses. Nobody was doing maintenance on their house. So it just—the whole décor was already ideally not good, because it was really so old. And then with nobody painting or taking care of their place, it could go downhill really fast. Nobody mows their lawn, nobody... you know. (Woman, age 50-64, Sharum)

For a number of participants, watching the neighborhood deteriorate while they waited to learn when they would have to move further was a source of considerable

stress. As residents began to move away, those who remained behind attempted to retain some semblance of normalcy in the nightmarish landscape that surrounded them: boarded-up homes, many cannibalized of doors, windows and other structures, with overgrown lawns, debris strewn in yards, crumbling streets. Movers from six households (three from Wyandotte, one from Sharum, and two from Grandview) had personally witnessed neighbors' homes being looted. Four of these households had themselves experienced break-ins and burglary of household items, shrubbery and/or exterior structures, two of them while still living in their home. Several other residents complained of rubber-necking from passers-by, on foot and by car.

There was some things that happened—one time I was putting the things from under the cupboard to bring up here in boxes—how was it... I didn't have enough boxes. I just left it. It was on the floor. I thought, 'Tomorrow I'll be back and I'll have some more boxes.' It was a job, believe me, it was a job to get ready. I came back the next day. Somebody had taken the window out or broken the window in the kitchen and taken all that stuff that was on the floor. That is the reason that they started patrolling the home. (Woman, age 65+, Wyandotte)

It was awful because people hadn't mowed their grass and people were gone, and shutters were falling off the windows, you know. It was just a ghetto. People would come down and just gawk, and just drive through. It was like when a tornado goes through, and the people kind of tour. People would just tour through. And it's very creepy and all of a sudden, you're realizing that you might be the only person at home on that block, you know... and you have small kids. And... you know, it was just kind of a creepy feeling, feeling like, 'Is somebody going to come up and look in the window and see what they can take?' Because there were a couple of episodes where we weren't sure if people were... as you're stripping your house and taking things out of your house, you're not sure if they're the owners, you know. (Woman, age 35-49, Wyandotte)

The street, the neighbors' houses, were all dark, and you know, after dark it wasn't a safe place to be... It was a lot of undesirable people shopping around, looting, taking furniture. Because I know my garage door was taken, you know, off the garage. (Woman, age 50-64, Sharum)

One couple from Wyandotte related a story about their encounter with the news media about the time they were moving away.

Wife: Because we were going to move, and we knew we were moving to a smaller house, we had a huge garage sale. I mean I took a piece of plywood that was six foot by four foot piece of plywood and painted on it 'Huge Sale.' I worked up in Leavenworth, and I told some of the people up in Leavenworth that they could come on Thursday. So Thursday they came, even though I wasn't really going to have the garage sale till Friday. They just about wiped me out. They bought all kinds of things... they just loved it. Okay, so they bought all kinds of stuff. So the next day I went and I scratched out 'Huge' and just left the word 'Sale.' This is on the main street. That was Friday. It was again just everybody was buying everything up—just so happy and everything. By Saturday I didn't have much left, so I turned the sign over and I put 'Sold Out.' That day [Mayor] Carol Marinovich and Petty... I forget which Petty...

Husband: Racecar Petty.

Wife: Racecar driver Richard Petty I think it was. They were cutting a ribbon on I-70 to start the whole shebang, so all the news—TV stations were there. And so TV 4, as it's coming down 110th, sees this big sign: 'Sold Out.' They think, 'God, there's a story here!' They coming roaring up our 400, 500 foot driveway—come roaring around to where the garage was and stopped. The gravel was flying. They jump out and they say, 'Sold out? Who sold you out? The City sold you out? Who sold you out?' And I said, 'Our garage sale is sold out.' (Couple, ages 50-64 and 65+, Wyandotte)

The sense of loss of control was particularly acute for one couple who were unable to protect valuables—landscaping and outdoor structures—that they had intended to take with them from what appeared to be 'officially sanctioned' removal.

We moved in with my son in the basement for awhile until we could get moved out. My neighbor who was still in the house next to me called me and said, 'You'd better get up here. They're taking your gazebo.' I drove like a bat out of hell up there. They had already got that gazebo off the pad and

pulled onto a big truck. I asked, 'What are you doing?' He said, 'I've got orders to move this gazebo.' And I said, 'I'm going to move that gazebo. Leave it,' but he got on the phone, and then this guy says, 'Mr. ___, you abandoned that. You no longer own it.' We didn't abandon nothing. (Man, age 65+, Wyandotte)

Out of 18 households interviewed, only one moved in advance of receiving official notice to vacate, a couple who decided to build a new home on land that they already owned. The remainder were not able to find a replacement home or to leave before receiving their notice. In part this was because they had not yet received their compensation payment; residents were not paid property compensation until plans for the redevelopment were finalized, although three Merriam movers reported that they did not receive full payment until they had vacated and shut off all their utilities. Residents from six of the 18 households—three from Wyandotte and three from Sharum—reported that they did not have enough money to put down earnest money on a new home or to make a down payment.

Several other residents (three households) decided to go ahead and start looking for a new home even though it was unclear whether redevelopment plans would crystallize or when they would be paid. These movers faced resistance from sellers because of their uncertain financial status.

You couldn't go house-hunting because you didn't have any money. And then, once you got your money, you had ninety days. So you were kind of between a rock and a hard spot... it doesn't do you any good to go find a house if you don't know how much money you're going to get for your old house, and if you're going to be able to afford it. (Woman, age 35-49, Grandview)

When we were first approached on the project—before we actually got any of our funding—was about eighteen months. We had that eighteen months to keep looking. Unfortunately in that time we kept thinking the money was going to come any day now. So homes we may have wanted early on were already sold by the time we got our funding. There was one in particular that we looked at... We wanted to write a contract with a contingency. And she [home seller] wouldn't do it. (Woman, age 50-64, Grandview)

The problem we had for that first twelve to thirteen months is that we thought, 'Yes, we're going to have to move,' but I didn't know when I would have to move. So you couldn't make an offer on a home because you couldn't tell people... you didn't know for sure when you was going, because the City wouldn't commit: 'Yes, we are.' So then I couldn't commit with, 'Yes, I am.' So people were very reluctant to even allow you to put an offer on a home because they knew the situation: 'Maybe they will, and maybe they won't.' So we was forced to wait. (Man, age 50-64, Wyandotte)

As a result most householders waited until they were served with a notice to vacate and their contract with the acquisition firm was finalized, typically sixty to ninety days prior to moving, to look for a home and make a move. Householders who wished to remain within or near the area found themselves competing for a limited quantity of replacement homes in a market flooded with buyers, pushing home prices upward. Residents from six households told stories of showing up for an appointment to look at a house that had just gone on the market, only to find it had already sold. Movers from three households found themselves forced to outbid others or risk losing out on a home, settle for a home or neighborhood not entirely to their liking, or move further away than they had intended.

When we found out the second party had looked at [the home we had just made an offer on], we upped our offer to more than they were asking for, because we were pretty desperate. (Man, age 35-49, Wyandotte)

We really didn't have that long to look. And we just felt like the clock was ticking. We had to wait to go seriously house-hunting until we decided, first off, to sell [to the developer], and then we knew how much money we were going to get. And by that time, like I said, there weren't that many houses in Merriam. So we just kept looking farther and farther west. I swore I'd never move out here. I swore I'd never move this far away from my daughters' schools. But we ended up doing that. And that's been very difficult. (Woman, age 35-49, Grandview)

This was a place we chose more out of convenience, just because there wasn't anything available within the timeframe we had. (Man, age 35-49, Wyandotte)

For three residents from the two sites in Merriam, the problem was compounded by the fact that they could not receive their compensation check until they turned off their utilities or until they vacated their dwellings. Six of 18 households found themselves forced to rent a dwelling temporarily and store their belongings and/or to move in with relatives, either because they could not afford to put a deposit on a home or because they were unable to find a home by the time they had to vacate.

We had to be totally out and the utilities totally cut before we could get any money. You know, so we were in limbo. How do you move from one place into another place, but your money is locked up in that one until you're clear out of it? So what we did was, we rented this place for awhile and remodeled it [before we bought it]. But it was kind of a sticky wicket, so to speak. If we could have had a down payment... (Woman, age 50-64, Sharum)

We thought we would have a place to go with the money. But when we got to looking, it was a different situation, unless you wanted to buy a dump. I can buy anything for \$50,000 or \$60,000. Anything like \$100,000—that's what we were expecting to get—then taking our savings, which it took everything we had to move, and no time to do it. We had stuff stored from Basehor, to Bonner, to Edwardsville. (Man, age 65+, Wyandotte)

Problems with finding a home and moving in the allotted time period were exacerbated for residents from two households who had to remain in the area because

they were civil servants, or, in the case of one couple, in order to continue receiving benefits under their health insurance plan. Other residents were challenged by serious health problems: in four households, either husband or wife had to seek housing and arrange the move on their own because their spouse was seriously ill or hospitalized during the period before and during the move. One of these four households was forced to seek a one-month extension from the City because medical problems made moving a physical impossibility. In a fifth household, a man facing surgery was forced to move several weeks before the official date to vacate because he would be physically unable to move while he was recuperating.

It is evident from the foregoing discussion that insufficient information about relocation and compensation timelines had a negative effect on most residents' ability to find housing and to move. Thus, the lack of complete control many study participants felt was not merely perceptual, but a reality. Virtually all study participants, even the few who had been well-disposed toward having to move, felt that the several months given them had been insufficient time to obtain new housing and to relocate. For homebuyers who felt forced to compromise on a home that did not adequately fill their family's needs, gaps in communication had lasting consequences: five residents expressed that if they had been given a more accurate picture of when they would have to move or had been better informed of incentives available to help displaced residents relocate close to their former neighborhood, they would have made housing decisions that were more satisfactory over the long run.

*It just wasn't very well organized, as far as I'm concerned, on letting the people know what they were going to do and giving them **time** to do it. That would have been my biggest gripe on the thing. (Man, age 50-64, Wyandotte)*

In retrospect, if I had anything to do over, in realizing that some of the City's absolute dates were not absolute dates, if I had to do it over—I could have found property and moved my home and relocated the home back to the [new] property... if I had things to do over again, we would have relocated that home ourselves. (Man, age 50-64, Wyandotte)

I think probably moving expenses and greater knowledge of all the incentives that were available, in order to take advantage of them, at the time would have been real helpful... And to have been kept more abreast... I think probably just a little more understanding of the process would have made it a little smoother. (Man, age 35-49, Wyandotte)

Although issues connected with property compensation receive full discussion in the next chapter, it should be pointed out here that for many residents evaluations of compensation and perceptions of control were intertwined. First, the amount of compensation that study participants were awarded for their property influenced their views of the options open to them as they searched for replacement housing. Residents expressed several concerns about compensation: feeling pressured to settle on the terms of a contract within a short timeframe (five households); not understanding the legal terminology of an acquisition contract (three households); feeling that they had 'no choice' but to sign a contract, for fear of adverse financial consequences (three households).

Many householders in this study maximized their opportunities and ameliorated the circumstances of their move with help from extended family, friends and community supports. This type of support seemed especially helpful when house-

hunting: three of seven Merriam households, and five of 11 from Wyandotte, spoke of relying on leads from friends, extended family members, or members of a church community to find their new home.

We got a realtor from our church that helped us relocate, and he found this house for us, which we loved. (Woman, age 65+, Sharum)

We looked and looked and looked all over Johnson County, when we knew we were going to have to move. And finally, I just lucked onto a house that we liked because friends of ours lived in the neighborhood and told us that the house next to them was for sale. (Man, age 50-64, Sharum)

Residents also turned to neighbors, friends, and fellow parishioners for help with packing and transportation, childcare, and food preparation during relocation. Study participants from three households had moved in with members of their extended family while seeking a new home, although others were obliged to rent. As discussed in the next chapter, several residents sought greater control over the financial circumstances of their move, obtaining legal assistance in negotiating the amount of their compensation or going into litigation.

Does Hypothesis 3 Hold?

Hypothesis 3 advances the claim that relative perceptions of control influence resident perceptions of displacement. Having a sense of being in control helps individuals facing displacement to manage the stresses of relocation and to maximize their chances of a successful outcome; conversely, displacees whose sense of control is diminished face

steeper challenges in protecting their best interests, and may perceive having to move as particularly stressful. Data gathered from respondents lend support to this hypothesis on several counts.

The involuntary nature of their move was clearly problematic for a number of study participants. Previous insights into meanings of home connected with privacy and security (Tuan 1975; Porteous 1976), stability and continuity (Gotfredson 1986; Ekström 1994), sense of well-being (Giuliani 1991), personal agency and enfranchisement (Saunders and Williams 1988; Dupuis and Thorns 1996), shed light on these residents' experiences of forced relocation. Housing displacement presented a formidable challenge to feelings of self-sufficiency and stability as grounded in home ownership, and was experienced as a breach of privacy and territorial control for those who regarded home as a garrison against outside intrusion.

Kleinhans (2003) learned that lack of information about relocation procedures and timelines was a major contributor to the stress of displacement for the public housing residents that took part in his study. For the Kansas householders in this study, lack of clarity about what lay ahead was a source of considerable stress that hampered their ability to make plans and take action. Residents most keenly experienced the negative implications of this uncertainty in their search for replacement housing. These experiences suggest that access to quality information regarding relocation—knowing what to expect—would go a long way toward optimizing the ability of residents facing displacement to plan a move, and in so doing alleviate much stress.

While access to communication is important, the manner in which it is delivered—the tone of communication—is just as important. As discussed above and in Chapter 5 (Attachment to Home), feeling intimidated or slighted by relocation authorities was a source of distress for some residents. The quality of communication seems to have been especially important in the arena of property compensation. Incompletely understanding the legal jargon of an acquisition contract, feeling pressured to sign a contract within a short window of time, and/or fearing the economic consequences of non-cooperation were issues that reduced some residents' sense of control over their options. Perceptions of property compensation, including issues with control, form the subject of the next chapter.

Chapter Eight: Feelings about Property Compensation

Hypothesis 4: Satisfaction with property compensation, a product of both objective and subjective considerations, positively influences perceptions of housing displacement.

Residents who feel that the amount of their compensation was fairly arrived at, and that it was adequate to buy them replacement housing that suits their needs, will be more favorably disposed toward having to move and will have better overall perceptions of displacement. In order to test this hypothesis, study participants were queried as to whether they had been satisfied with their property compensation (Figure A-2, Appendix). Analysis of participant responses was done at the household level.

The considerations that shaped how study participants evaluated the amount of property compensation they had received differed greatly between those who were satisfied and those who were not. Happiness with the amount of an award was largely dependent on practical considerations, namely the ability to find acceptable housing, while unhappiness was influenced as much by a sense of being dealt with dishonestly or unfairly as it was by practical considerations. In this chapter these differences are discussed in detail. Following this, the chapter ends with an assessment of whether the results support Hypothesis 3.

Issues Affecting Residents' Feelings about Compensation or Assistance

There is a paucity of literature dealing with the criteria by which residents facing displacement evaluate the amount of their property compensation; perceptions of underhandedness on the part of relocation authorities in figuring the amount of awards, and of favoritism shown toward certain households over others in the distribution of funds, are thought to exert a negative effect (Adler and Jansen 1978; Korsching *et al.* 1980).

Seventeen of the 18 households interviewed for the study had been living in a single-family home that they owned when they were displaced, and one had been renting an apartment. Of 17 homeowner households, six—one of 11 from Western Wyandotte County, two of three from Sharum Subdivision, and all three from Grandview—had been satisfied overall with the property compensation they received. Among the latter group, all six cited happiness with their post-move housing as the basis of their satisfaction with compensation. Two of these six households expressed that the amount they received had enabled them to find a comparable home, while four agreed that they bought a home that was 'better'—larger, newer, or higher valued—or more appropriate to their needs.

We made a great improvement on housing. Our house was old—I couldn't even tell you when it was built. We have come a long way. We would never have been able to afford this house on our income without what we got paid.
(Woman, age 35-49, Grandview)

If we had decided to move just because we wanted to go somewhere else and build our own home or something, we would have been hard pressed to get the amount of money that we got from the racetrack. (Woman, age 65+, Wyandotte)

Our new home is a lot nicer and we like it better. It is a lot newer, with more square footage, and is on a double lot. Also it's valued at twice as much as our old home. (Woman, age 34 or younger, Grandview)

Movers in Merriam who signed a contract with the redeveloper received an additional \$1000 in 'incentive money' for each year that they had lived in their home, for a period of up to thirty years. One couple who had lived in their home for 28 years before moving pointed out that, without the extra money, they would have had less to be happy about.

Wife: We felt like it was fair... I don't know whether the sale price of the house by itself, without the cooperation money that we got, whether we would have been as happy. Because we took all of it and bought this place, and that covered it. But if we had not gotten the \$28,000 or something that we got, then...

Husband: Then we would have had to have a mortgage. (Couple, both age 50-64, Sharum)

Study participants from the remaining 11 ownership-tenure households were not satisfied with the amount of their compensation: one of three interviewed from Sharum Subdivision, Merriam, and 10 of 11 interviewed from Western Wyandotte County. Even so, with the exception of two Wyandotte households, most among the dissatisfied liked their new home overall, although only two households considered their new home an improvement over what they had formerly.

The sole renter to take part in the study (from Grandview Subdivision in Merriam) did not receive property compensation, but did receive an amount equivalent

to one month's rent and additional money to cover moving costs. This householder was not satisfied with what he received, taking the view that his compensation should have covered more than just the cost of moving.

I thought it was pitiful. They gave us something like one month's rent and I think \$200 in moving expenses. Technically that covered my expenses, but that's not compensation for my inconvenience. (Man, age 65+, Grandview)

Five householders who considered the amount of their compensation too low cited the financial difficulties they had experienced as one factor that influenced their evaluation. Two households reported having to borrow money or dig into savings in order to buy a new home. One householder's rent on his new dwelling was much higher than he had paid formerly, and two homeowners whose former home was paid off complained of being forced to pay on a mortgage after moving.

I would much rather have stayed there [in my former apartment]... for one thing, it was convenient—it was close to where I work. I had a very low rent and, like I said, I have known that woman [landlady] for a long time, and her son. I worked with him sometimes. It costs me about \$1,800 more per year to live here than it did in the other place. (Man, age 65+, Grandview)

We had to put our savings together in order to buy a house, because they gave us so little amount... We were both retired. We had figured—we owned our own home, we knew we weren't going to have to worry about [mortgage] payments. And then when they [redevelopment plans] came, it kind of scared us because neither one of us was working... we didn't know what we were going to do, really. (Couple, both age 65+, Wyandotte)

The highest [mortgage] payment we had at that house was \$300. We didn't know what a big house payment was. It took all of our money to put a big enough down payment on this house, so we could get that [mortgage] payment down to where we could afford it. (Woman, age 50-64, Wyandotte)

As mandated by Kansas law, movers from Western Wyandotte County were compensated at 125 percent of the appraised value of their home and property. Based on what they heard at public meetings, several Wyandotte residents had initially been confident that they would be paid well enough to buy a comparable or better home.

In those meetings, I can remember we would sit there and we would hear residents just get really irate and upset because they just knew they were going to get the short end of the stick and not be treated fairly. I can remember talking to my wife and saying, 'You know, I don't know what they're so upset about. As public as this is, they're going to treat everybody fairly and these people are just paranoid and conspiracy theorists... you know, just listen and gather information and don't worry about it, you'll be treated fairly.' We really approached it, I think, with an open mind and willing to consider what they were saying. (Man, age 35-49, Wyandotte)

When the City officials got to say their things, they were just real upbeat. They let us know who was going to take care of us. I believed them... I was very naïve. I didn't know that we were going to end up having to fight formally. (Man, age 35-49, Wyandotte)

But movers from four Wyandotte households, and one in Grandview subdivision, had been fearful that if they did not cooperate they would be forced to go into eminent domain litigation, which they believed would likely result in a lower compensation award. Some householders who had lived in Western Wyandotte County recalled being told at public meetings that officials would negotiate with homeowners for a fair price, while others remembered only being threatened with condemnation. Movers from Grandview Subdivision remembered being told at meetings that officials would negotiate with them for a fair price, and that the City wanted to avoid resorting to eminent domain litigation.

The very first meeting they told us that if we didn't agree with them, that they would just claim eminent domain. They would give us an offer and then if we turned it down, then they would deal with us on a second offer, maybe. But if we didn't agree to sell, they would claim eminent domain on the property. Then they would just tell you what they were going to give you. You didn't have a choice. (Woman, age 50-64, Wyandotte)

It was very frustrating. I mean, it just made my stomach in knots. It was very nerve-wracking. We didn't believe the City when they said they wouldn't use eminent domain. We felt like we would be forced out at some point. (Woman, age 35-49, Grandview)

Of the three Grandview Subdivision study participants who attended public meetings, two remembered that residents who had been displaced from Sharum Subdivision for Merriam Town Center warned them to be vigilant in protecting their financial interests.

The mall north of us—Merriam Town Center—when that came through a few years before, we actually had people from that particular development. The people that had lived on those properties showed up at City Hall meetings and let us know how they were totally taken advantage of. And so we were determined that was not going to happen to us. (Woman, age 50-64, Grandview)

[We heard] that those people [displaced for Merriam Town Center] had been forced out and they had been cheated—they weren't paid properly. So we were afraid that was going to happen again, to us. (Woman, age 35-49, Grandview)

Feeling pressured or intimidated, not completely understanding the legal language of a contract, and fear of being financially penalized undermined some householders' (six from Wyandotte, one from Grandview) sense of control over negotiations. At the same time, for most the demeanor of an official and the tenor of a conversation—not merely its content—were at issue.

The agent they had retained sat down at the kitchen table with us and gave us a legal document that was probably three-quarters of an inch thick. It was all written by lawyers which is very difficult for a layman to go through and really understand what they're trying to tell you. And their position was we had either 24 or 48 hours to return that back with our signature. And it was just overwhelming at the time, at the initial meeting. And they were, 'If you don't sign this, then we will simply use condemnation and take your property.' (Man, age 50-64, Wyandotte)

Husband: We were told by the [City] attorneys [at public meetings] that they would come in and negotiate with us. There was never any negotiation: 'This is the offer—take it or leave it.'

Wife: They were kind of threatening with their tone.

Husband: Intimidating. (Couple, both age 35-49, Wyandotte)

Now, at the first, it [resistance to moving at public meetings] was more pro than con—more people wanted to stay. But... the ones that didn't want to sell, we were holding back the ones who did. So the more that signed and agreed to sell, the meetings changed... we went from being the majority to the minority. While no one threatened you or anything... the more people they got to sign, to sell out, the more pressure we felt and the more—we kind of had a fear we wouldn't get our share of the pie. (Woman, age 35-49, Grandview)

Three residents who had invested considerable effort in maintaining and improving their property, two from Wyandotte and one from Sharum, expressed chagrin at the thought that neighbors who had not similarly kept up their home and yard were compensated as well or better than they were. For these residents, perceptions of inequity in how awards were distributed were bound up with attachment to home.

[T]hey had two different people [acquisition agents] that would take the little packets of stuff that you were supposed to sign. Ours, I don't think, was not as nice as the other one was. The other one was much nicer. I almost was going to call up the company that employed him... and say, 'I think maybe you should check on how he is treating the people. He's not very nice.' And then, I was a little bit short, too. I tore up that thing and said, 'Well, what are you giving the other people?'... There was a couple cracks in the cement in the garage in the old house. They said, 'We can't give you much for that house because there's a couple cracks.' They did it very meticulously finding anything that they didn't approve of. (Woman, age 65+, Wyandotte)

The thing that really made me feel bad, you can tell here how we take care of the yard. That acre over there [yard in former home] looked like a golf course—where we lived. But the guy to the south of us, he never cut his grass half the time—fences falling down. And I told my wife, 'We're going to get more money,' because it was pretty. I thought that done it. And he told me—I asked him, and he said, 'It don't make no difference. An acre is an acre. You could have trash on it.' (Man, age 50-64, Wyandotte)

Study participants from five households spoke of taking steps to exert greater control over negotiation proceedings, determined to protect their financial interests. Most of these householders obtained a second, private appraisal of their property and signed their contracts only after protracted negotiations. One household sought legal advice but chose to handle acquisition proceedings on their own; three others hired an attorney to handle negotiations; and one household went to litigation to press for greater compensation.

One thing I started doing almost immediately was trying to understand the process more from a legal point of view—what could we expect here?—and I began to focus on it: 'How is this going to be evaluated or valued?'... I started communicating with them and started trying to figure out how I was going to get an appraisal. (Man, age 50-64, Wyandotte)

When we finally started [discussing compensation with the acquisition officer] he would always of course say, 'Oh, no, that's way too much.' And then we would come back with [a new figure], thinking how many had held out, how many hadn't signed yet. We kept him dangling. We were one of the last four or five to sign. Because we didn't really want to move... We had a neighbor and he came up and told my husband that he was getting twice what his property was worth... and he had the nicest house. When we heard that we started thinking, 'Maybe it's time to jump on board, too.' (Woman, age 35-49, Grandview)

Other study participants felt that they had no choice but to accept what they would receive, seeing protracted negotiation as too risky. Three householders felt constrained in their ability to challenge the amount of their compensation offer because of circumstances such a major illness that demanded their attention.

Wife: There was just no way we were going to be able to fight it. And we both just said, 'Let's sign everything. Let's get the maximum amount we can, and let's get out.'

Husband: Because what we had been told was that it would be condemned under the laws of eminent domain. And our understanding of the laws of eminent domain was that we could contest it, but they would continue through the process. Any money we would get for the house would be set aside into an escrow account. We would still have to vacate the property and they would still tear the house down... But we didn't have the financial means to say, 'Well, we'll just set the money aside and we'll start over with a down payment on a house, or have the money to rent a house.' We had to have the money on the deal from that house in order to pursue our lives. So we really didn't feel we had any options, any reasonable options to challenge it from a financial standpoint—in addition to the emotional duress that we were under, with my wife's health issues at the time. (Couple, both age 35-49, Wyandotte)

We had no choice. Either we could sign it, and we would get the amount, or if we didn't, they would take us to court. We would have to go to court, and we would lose, more or less. (Man, age 65+, Wyandotte)

Were householders who engaged in protracted negotiation or litigation more satisfied with their property compensation than those who did not? Among the former

group, all six conceded that they had received more than they were initially offered as a result of their efforts: two households (from Wyandotte and from Grandview) were highly satisfied; the other four, all from Wyandotte, remained unsatisfied. In accounting for their dissatisfaction with their compensation, the latter four householders offered the same reasons as householders who had not gone through legal channels or extended negotiations. However, five of these six households were satisfied with their post-replacement home.

Residents who had been unable to get legal help or who, feeling they had no choice, signed without protracted negotiation all complained of dissatisfaction with their compensation.

*You just felt like you got took... they got us all out of there pretty cheaply.
(Man, age 50-64, Wyandotte)*

*No, [we were not satisfied], not whatsoever. The only reason was that there
wasn't enough money that we could move. (Man, age 65+, Wyandotte)*

Most study participants from Wyandotte—seven of 11 households—questioned the amount of compensation they were paid, relative to the magnitude of revenues generated by redevelopment. In Merriam, only one participant raised this issue; one other participant recalled that at public meetings a number of residents had voiced a desire for compensation based on anticipated commercial returns. Both these participants had lived in Sharum Subdivision. Residents were aware that the projects for which they were being displaced had tremendous potential to generate tax revenues, elevate surrounding property values, and attract tourists and better-off residential in-

movers. Projected sales and property tax revenues were discussed on television and in local newspapers such as the *Kansas City Star*, *Kansas City Kansan*, *Kansas City Business Journal* and the *Johnson County Sun*. At public meetings, municipal officials and developers touted the quality of life and financial benefits of prospective developments.

It was basically a rah-rah type of meeting about the benefits and what it would do for the community. They showed us models and plans, how much revenue it was going to produce... that kind of thing. (Man, age 35-49, Wyandotte)

The developers got up and showed us this great plan that they wanted to do, and that we would all benefit from it. (Woman, age 35-49, Grandview)

At these meetings, cooperation—not getting in the way of a project by resisting displacement or by initiating eminent domain proceedings—was held up as a civic virtue to local residents. Residents were encouraged to cooperate by signing a contract with acquisition officials and were promised that they would be rewarded for cooperating. Given the amount of money generated by redevelopment projects, some residents felt that it would have made little difference in the City’s profit margin to pay them a higher amount of compensation (seven Wyandotte households) or relocation assistance (one Sharum household). One householder compared the \$1500 extra he was paid for one additional land acre on his double lot to what it was worth as a shopping mall adjoining the Speedway.

To put that in comparison with the Legends—and I realize that’s apples and oranges—a one-acre property at the Legends would have cost them one million dollars. So I didn’t feel they compensated us well. (Man, age 50-64, Wyandotte)

We all fought it because we thought we were being—we were told by different people that they figured they would pay us for our property what it was to be used for—a shopping center. And the other people I talked to said that they—that it would be about four or five dollars a square foot for the property. We got fifty cents a square foot. (Man, age 50-64, Sharum)

Others pointed to the economic or emotional duress of having to move.

Husband: [They should have] put more value on our house so you could go out and buy a decent home like the one you paid for all them years.

Wife: It was paid for.

Husband: That's more than right. And it'd be different if it was going to be a hospital or something like that—but they're putting in a racetrack that's going to make billions for the City—I mean billions. Then turn around and give them a free tax base [30-year tax abatement]. I think they should have doubled our evaluation... It was a nice home. (Couple, both age 50-64, Wyandotte)

All this grief and suffering came about for just a few dollars, compared to the whole project. It would have been nothing for them to double everything they spent on the property, and it wouldn't have added that much to their whole cost. (Man, age 35-49, Wyandotte)

Eight of 11 Wyandotte households expressed the view that, by various means, acquisition authorities acted to depress the appraised value and thus the amount of compensation paid to displaced residents; in this they differed from their Merriam counterparts, none of whom raised the issue. Study participants from five households voiced the suspicion of having been sacrificed to the greed of local politicians and bankers when their neighborhood, one of two possible redevelopment sites originally considered for the Speedway, was selected. The alternate site, a largely undeveloped tract adjacent to the neighborhood just north of State Avenue, was very sparsely populated. This land tract was later developed into the Village West shopping center. These householders suspected that the decision had been made to hold the undeveloped

land until after the Speedway was built, when it could be sold at much higher post-development prices by backers of the Speedway project and local politicians who had land holdings on the site.

They said our neighborhood was a blighted area. It really wasn't. [FRW: What did they mean? Did they elaborate on that?] Well, what they meant was that all the politicians owned all that land out there. The bankers—and you know as I know, that goes on every day. There's no secret about that. There's people there that go out and buy five hundred acres. They had figured the best way to make the most money. (Man, age 50-64, Wyandotte)

That makes it rotten, because they have received post-development prices for their property... bankers and all the politicians. (Man, age 35-49, Wyandotte)

One householder said that half of the land she sold to officials had not been used for the Speedway, but was left undeveloped and had only recently been built on as part of an adjacent retail and entertainment district. She compared what she had been paid with the elevated amount sellers of nearby land parcels were currently receiving as a result of development-related hikes in land values.

*I look now at the people that are selling along Parallel where they're building all that new stuff. Those people—they're getting, like, a dollar a square inch for their property. And I think—and see, they have not done anything with that [land that I sold them] up until now. Well, if I could have kept it I could have gotten a lot more money. Now, I don't mean to be greedy, but why should **they** have it? Why should they have it, not me and my family? (Woman, age 65+, Wyandotte)*

Residents in five Wyandotte households recalled being pleased initially when the assessed value of their home for taxation purposes was lowered, because at the time property taxes were higher in Wyandotte County than in any other Kansas county. Later they came to view this as a ploy on the part of Wyandotte County to lower the

appraised value of their home and depress their compensation. Because the reassessments were done several years prior to the time they had to move, these residents also felt that their home's appraised value was based on an outdated figure.

They came out to the house and re-appraised it, and we thought, 'Well, they're going to lower our taxes,' because our taxes were not cheap. And we were kind of pleased thinking that was going to happen. But then they informed us of what their plans were, and we had no choice. (Woman, age 65+, Wyandotte)

They were devaluating our homes, so they wouldn't have to pay so much money when the time comes. We thought, 'Oh, this is great. They're lowering our taxes.' That was about two years before we got the letter, and then when we got the letter we knew why they had been around and done what they done. Why would they take our little hub—112th, 113th, Delaware Ridge Acres—and lowered it? They were raising everybody else's taxes in town. (Man, age 50-64, Wyandotte)

We noticed when we got our appraisals every year that they really didn't go up that much. There are several people that we know that live just outside the boundaries of the site they were considering for NASCAR, my wife's dad being one of them, and he was going on and on about how high his appraisals were going... It's our belief that the Unified Government artificially kept our appraisals low in order to keep what they would have to pay out low. (Man, age 35-49, Wyandotte)

Wyandotte study participants gave a number of additional reasons for believing that the Unified Government acted to undervalue their property: comparables for their home's appraised value that came from a neighborhood in Kansas City's urban core instead of nearby; behavior on the part of an appraiser or acquisition official that raised doubts about their honest intentions. Several participants expressed the conviction that the amount of property compensation had been fixed prior to home appraisal visits from acquisition officials.

Here's how they [appraiser] did it. They came by and said, 'We're going to bring an appraisal by your property.' This guy, the appraiser—he seemed so genuine. Then I got to thinking, 'Well, that's funny.' When he walked in the front door he measured the length of the living room, and he measured the width of the kitchen. That was all the measuring he did. Then we had to take him through the house. He was looking in the closets. Come to find out, that was what was on the City's computer, what our house was valued at. They already had it in their computer—it was \$72,000. It was just a kooky thing to make it look like they were evaluating your home. It was all just a put-up job. (Man, age 50-64, Wyandotte)

Husband: They wouldn't leave a copy of the appraisal with us. We had asked them if they would do that, and they wouldn't leave a copy of the appraisal with us. They said it was, of course, the property of whoever was doing this research.

Wife: Well, and then you begin to think, 'Well, they're being paid by the Unified Government to appraise these homes that the Unified Government is then going to have to pay for. You start wondering, you know... there is no accountability there. They could be appraising it unfairly, and there is no outside party looking at it... no third party looking at it. (Couple, both age 35-49, Wyandotte)

One Wyandotte householder had been approached by an acquisition agent 20 years previously, when General Motors was considering building a manufacturing plant partially on her land. The amount they had offered her was nearly twice what she was offered to move for the Kansas Speedway. Her dissatisfaction was rooted in thoughts of the type of house and land she could have bought at the time, with no competition from other displaced movers.

Do you know what they [GM] offered us? Three hundred thousand dollars. That's why we didn't think it [our offer to move for the racetrack] was enough. Wouldn't you? [FRW: Yes, I can see that.] They came out, and they were lovely. Back then the houses—we could find a pretty nice place for \$300,000—a farm or ten acres or whatever, because no one else was moving... That's one reason why we thought, 'One hundred seventy thousand dollars... that sure came down in price.' (Woman, age 65+, Wyandotte)

Seven householders—six from Wyandotte and one from Sharum—offered the view that no amount of compensation would replace what they had lost in being forced to move. For these movers, the unjustness of having to move in and of itself formed part of their dissatisfaction with compensation.

I don't know that you can ever be one hundred percent satisfied when somebody does that to you—comes in and takes something away from you. (Woman, age 35-49, Wyandotte)

I didn't want to move. I mean, you know, we fought it. I got an attorney and we fought it. But it was to no avail. I mean, when they come in and condemn the property, there's not that much you can do about it. About the only thing you can do is haggle over the price, and even that doesn't do any good because they come in and assess your property and then they give you 125%, and they think that's going to replace everything that you have. And believe me, it doesn't. It just doesn't. (Woman, age 65+, Wyandotte)

Does Hypothesis 4 Hold?

Previous research regarding how displaced residents evaluate their property compensation focused on questions of perceived fairness and equity on the part of relocation authorities (Adler and Jansen 1978; Korsching *et al.* 1980). According to Hypothesis 4, how positively (or negatively) residents perceive the amount of their

award will influence overall perceptions of involuntary relocation—orientation toward moving and emotional experiences. According to this hypothesis resident evaluations of compensation are shaped at once by practical considerations—ability to find suitable replacement housing—and those of a more abstract nature, as described above.

Hypothesis 4 does appear to hold for the residents who took part in this study, although in striking different ways between those who were satisfied with compensation vis-à-vis those who were not. Residents from the six households that expressed satisfaction with compensation differed most strikingly from those who did not, in viewing their post-move home and/or neighborhood as a substantial improvement over their former situation. Most of these households (five) had lived in Merriam, where neighborhood decline and ageing housing were of concern, and for them moving represented an opportunity to achieve upward housing mobility. For the one household from Wyandotte, moving presented them with welcome opportunities for social connection within their new community.

Yet for these householders, the positive influence of satisfaction with compensation seemed limited to post-move perceptions of displacement. Put simply, the satisfied and the dissatisfied alike had worried about finding suitable replacement housing (Chapter 7: Sense of Control and Mastery). As discussed in this chapter, most had found replacement housing that they enjoyed, although unlike movers from Merriam Wyandotte householders in the main did not describe their replacement home as a substantial improvement. On the other hand, for movers from Wyandotte, the

majority of whom were not satisfied (10 households) with compensation, moving largely appears to have represented a loss of community nurtured in the soil of a beloved landscape (Chapter 6: Neighborhood Social Ties).

Thus most study participants who expressed dissatisfaction with compensation did not appear to feel that moving had brought significant gains, in contrast to those that were satisfied. Another striking difference has to do with perceptions of treatment by authorities. Feelings of having been cheated by underhanded appraisers, and/or of having been the pawns of political elites playing a cynical game of personal profit and power, figured prominently in residents' accounts of dissatisfaction with compensation. It is clear that perceptions of official mistreatment continued to rankle these residents after they had moved. Why would this be so?

The observation made above, that satisfaction with compensation was linked to feelings of having substantially gained from having moved, may provide some illumination. In other words, the feeling of having been empowered to improve one's living circumstances likely applies a salve to the sting of perceived mistreatment, if only in part. Most study participants who were dissatisfied appeared to lack such consolation.

But practical consequences is only part, and the lesser part, of this story. At the heart of householders' feelings about property compensation were questions of personal competency, autonomy and territorial control, in which home had served as a bulwark against aggression from unwanted outsiders. (These meanings of home, as they relate to

issues of control within the context of displacement, are discussed in Chapter 7.) Diminished sense of control among residents facing displacement may have dire implications for mental and physical health, sense of well-being, and post-move adjustment (Gottfredson 1986; Ekström 1994; Goetz 2002).

Perceptions of having been 'cheated' or 'low-balled' by authorities, within the sensitive context of forced relocation, presented a formidable challenge to feelings of competency and autonomy. At the same time, the sense that deeply-felt attachments to home, experienced as rootedness, longevity, family memory, and upkeep or improvement of home and land, had been officially 'devalued' by authorities had a dire effect on perceptions of displacement. In a very real sense, dissatisfaction with compensation both contributed to, and served as an expression of, a sense of diminished spatial control and security.

Chapter Nine: Opinions of a Redevelopment Project

Hypothesis 5: Support for or approval of a proposed redevelopment project positively influences perceptions of housing displacement.

How residents feel about the redevelopment project for which they are being displaced will influence how they feel about and experience having to move. In order to test this hypothesis, study participants were asked how they felt about the development project for which they had been displaced: Kansas International Speedway in Western Wyandotte County; Merriam Town Center and Merriam Village shopping centers in Sharum and Grandview Subdivisions (Figure A-2, Appendix). Analysis of participant responses was done at the household level.

The first subsection of this chapter examines opinions of the Kansas Speedway project among Wyandotte residents prior to and after relocation, and the considerations that shaped these opinions. The extent and nature of resident support for the project and whether it had any influence on feelings about relocation are discussed. In the following section the same questions are addressed as applied to opinions among Merriam residents of the Merriam Town Center and the Merriam Village shopping center projects. Finally, the chapter concludes with an assessment of whether the results support Hypothesis 3.

Western Wyandotte County: Views of and Support for the Kansas Speedway Project

Of 11 Wyandotte County households surveyed, five had thought that building a motor speedway would be ‘a good idea,’ agreeing to a greater or lesser extent that the racetrack had the potential to ameliorate economic problems in Wyandotte County.

We were supportive of Wyandotte County and Kansas City, Kansas. And this looked like they were going to try to do something to improve the situation. I'd say our initial reaction was one of excitement. We followed it quite closely. (Man, age 50-64, Wyandotte)

I felt from the beginning that it was beneficial for the City, which it certainly has been... I realized the need for the development and I accepted that. I was never against it because I felt like it was good for the City. (Man, age 50-64, Wyandotte)

Only one of these five households offered unreserved support; for the remaining four, support was tempered by the view that they should not have had to move for it or that they could have been better compensated. In these feelings they concurred with most of the six remaining households, who had little or no enthusiasm for the racetrack. From public hearings and newspaper articles in the *Kansas City Kansan* residents were aware that an alternate land parcel just north of their neighborhood across State Avenue, largely undeveloped and sparsely populated, had been considered as a possible site for construction of the Speedway. Five households expressed the view that they should not have had to move for the racetrack when such an alternate site was available.

Let's put it this way. We aren't really interested in racing. It wasn't the swiftest thing to think of. You know what I mean. To each his own—somebody likes that sort of thing. Why, it's just the idea of it. Can't they find a place where there aren't so many homes? (Woman, age 65+, Wyandotte)

I don't know that we really took the time to form an opinion, because we figured it wouldn't really happen. It was just like, 'There will be a big stink about it, and then it will go away.' Like we said before, they were doing the two-site thing: 'No way they're going to put it where all the houses are.' (Woman, age 35-49, Wyandotte)

As was discussed in Chapter 8, five of 11 Wyandotte study participant households expressed the belief that the vacant land had been held for future development, when the bankers and local politicians rumored to own it could sell it at post-development prices. These residents questioned the fairness of having been compensated at pre-development land values, based on appraisals that predated the redevelopment by several years. Thus perceptions that property compensation had been artificially depressed and level of support for the project were inextricably entwined.

Well, I actually thought it would be a good project. It was probably good for the City. But there were so many other places at that time they could have built all that. And come to find out, the guy that was in with the mayor owned like 120 acres. He is selling off per foot for commercial. He had this property bought about the same time that they started this. So he knew. And they could have built it across the street, but he owned the property. So he wanted all of us out of there. It could have all been built on that one side. (Man, age 50-64, Wyandotte)

I think it was good for the community as far as taxes and designated tourist destination and whatever. I'm not a big race fan, but I think it was beneficial for the community in the long run. But for the people who had to give up their homes, I still don't think they were compensated for what they probably should have been. (Man, age 35-49, Wyandotte)

Four Wyandotte study participants expressed the view that displacing residents for a public facility or a road might have been justified, but not to build a commercial enterprise, particularly a motor speedway.

If it would have been a public project where the government took it in eminent domain and gave it to the public, that would have been so much more palatable. You know, if there was a bridge that had to be built for the public to use. We wouldn't have minded giving up our property near as bad for that instead of this private corporation to make a profit. You know, they only run a handful of races out there a year. You only hear about two or three races. And the rest of the time that property sits vacant out there. (Man, age 35-49, Wyandotte)

*I mean, to come in and build a **racetrack** and condemn your property? (Woman, age 65+, Wyandotte)*

It is not possible to gauge how much influence personal preference for motor sports, or lack of it, influenced level of support for the project. Of five households that opined the Speedway was 'a good idea' for Wyandotte County, two professed to being NASCAR fans. The other three households shared with 'non-supporters' a lack of interest in racing, concerns about noise, or the view that it was 'for young people.' Sentiment against having to move for the racetrack was high. One household that had favored the Speedway expressed:

We like NASCAR. We tried not to say that as much because there were people who said they didn't think they should be able to take their homes for something like that. We like NASCAR enough that we just tried not to say anything about it too much. (Woman, age 50-64, Wyandotte)

While many study participants conceded the economic benefits of the racetrack for Wyandotte County, and two households were racing fans, for most this appears to

have had no real effect on feelings toward having to move. Only one of these 11 Wyandotte households had felt mostly positive about moving; the majority had done so with greater or lesser degrees of reluctance, while four households expressed definite resistance to moving (Table 4-4). Just one householder traced his ambivalence about moving to the racetrack's potential benefit:

*[I had] mixed emotions [about having to move] because I felt from the beginning that it was beneficial for the City, which it certainly has been.
(Man, age 50-64, Wyandotte)*

The one Wyandotte household positively oriented toward having to move had mixed feelings about the proposed project, seeing in it strong potential to advance Wyandotte County's economic fortunes but expressing distaste for the racetrack itself. While for this couple strong support for the project did contribute to a positive orientation toward moving, their *desire* to do so seemed linked with the opportunity it presented for them to find a neighborhood they liked better. Another household had strong personal interest in the racetrack, but had been reluctant to move. The remaining nine households expressed mixed feelings about the project, most conceding to varying degrees that it was an economic boon for the county (five households) but differing in terms of personal interest in or approval for the racetrack itself (only one household).

Six of 11 Wyandotte study participants expressed, albeit with varying degrees of enthusiasm, that they were glad the Speedway and the retail/entertainment development that had followed it (Legends/Village West) had been successful. Several reported that they enjoyed shopping and dining at the mall or attending racing events at

the Speedway. The success of the Speedway and the shopping center built adjacent to it may have helped some householders come to terms with having had to move, if only because the development's failure would have meant they had been forced to move for nothing.

We're not complaining because, as I say, if the Speedway hadn't been a success now, we wouldn't have been very happy... it's helped a lot of people with jobs and such. (Woman, age 65+, Wyandotte)

You know, the thing of it is—if they were going to do it, and we collectively—the group of one hundred and however many displaced families that went through what we had to go through—at least it's successful. Thank goodness that it was not a sacrifice that was done in vain. Because if they would have come in and displaced all those families and have this thing fall flat—how devastating. At least—my kids love The Legends. We go there. We have fun. It's a great place. Hat's off... I'm so glad it's like that. At least it was a sacrifice made for the benefit of a lot of people. (Woman, age 35-49, Wyandotte)

But for two study participant households, coming to terms with the development did not include being willing to spend money there. One couple had resisted visiting the mall built adjacent to the Speedway for a long time before coming to an uneasy truce with it; the interview stirred up emotions that they felt would make it hard for them to return. Another couple harbored feelings of bitterness over having been forced from a home for which they continued to grieve.

I wouldn't go there for a long time. But now that I've been in there, I've been in there a few times. But—I protested against it so bad. No need for me to go there... we don't use that stuff over there. So it took me a long time to get over it... After thinking through this tonight, it'll probably be a little while [before we go there] again. (Man, age 35-49, Wyandotte)

Knowing that people died because of the racetrack, I would never step foot there. Ever. I can't see lives being lost for something so stupid as that. (Woman, age 65+, Wyandotte)

Three Wyandotte householders expressed that the phenomenal financial success of the Speedway and adjacent retail developments underscored their sense of having been 'given the short end of the stick,' financially and otherwise.

You know, as far as losing our home, nothing has changed [in how we feel]... I am glad to see that it's working for the community and that the Speedway is doing well, and that the development around the Speedway is doing well with the Legends. I'm thrilled that it paid off, it seems, for the County. But it's kind of bittersweet because it makes it seem even more dastardly that we were treated so poorly to begin with. There certainly could have been afforded a greater consideration for those who were dislocated and were forced to move out for the improvement. (Man, age 35-49, Wyandotte)

It's a good development for them, I'm not denying that. But it's just the way that... the way they done it. (Man, age 50-64, Wyandotte)

Merriam: Views of and Support for the Merriam Town Center and Merriam Village Projects

Two of the three Sharum Subdivision households interviewed for the study had signed the neighborhood petition distributed by Edna Tennis, discussed in Chapter 3 (Study Area Characteristics and Redevelopment Plans), calling for commercial redevelopment of their neighborhood—although it was far from clear at the time whether or when this would happen. One of the two who had signed expressed genuine enthusiasm about the Merriam Town Center mall, the other mild acceptance.

We're positive about the project... we were a little skeptical, not knowing whether it would really make it or not. They keep adding stuff, adding new stores. They seem to be doing well and it seems to be nicely maintained. (Woman, age 50-64, Sharum)

Well, we've got so many of them. I don't know how they can hold their doors open. But that didn't bother us at all, and I don't shop down there a whole lot. There's a store right up here that I go to mainly. But, you know, that was fine. I know that there are a lot of the people that really like it and use it. No, it didn't bother us. (Woman, age 65+, Sharum)

The third Sharum householder interviewed had not signed the petition. He was deeply opposed to moving, and had met with a neighborhood grassroots group to discuss resisting displacement or, failing that, protecting their interests with regard to property compensation. His opinion of the development had been contingent on how well residents were compensated.

I thought it was a good idea. It was possibly a good idea for the City of Merriam, if they treated the residents right. (Man, age 50-64, Sharum)

Among the four study participants from Grandview Subdivision, two households had accepted the proposed Merriam Village shopping center but evinced little interest in the project for which they had to move. One householder stated flatly:

We didn't care about what they were putting in. We just wanted to know if it was going to happen and when. (Woman, age 35-49, Grandview)

Two other householders differentiated clearly between personal disapproval of the project and willingness to cooperate, sharing the view that the human costs of putting in Merriam Village were too high. One said she had known for six years that the neighborhood was going to be redeveloped, 'got along very well with the developers' and was thus 'very open to it.' This resident had pined deeply for her former

neighborhood and described coping with the small-town atmosphere of her new neighborhood as 'a strange adjustment.'

*They paved paradise, put up a parking lot. I mean, they're putting in a **strip mall**. Okay, just what Merriam needs: kick out more residents and put in a strip mall. Where are you going to get all those people that will actually be there to buy the products at those places? (Woman, age 50-64, Grandview)*

The other Grandview householder, a renter, linked his ambivalence toward having to move to recognition of Merriam Village's potential benefits, explaining that he 'understood what they were trying to do' but 'didn't really approve of tearing down housing that was viable.' This householder explained that his housing cost after moving had greatly increased.

I'm a little ambivalent about it. It was all right... if you have to tear down people's houses for something that may be good, or may not be—how do you know? I wasn't very enthusiastic about the description I had heard of what they were building. (Man, age 65+, Grandview)

Merriam householders' personal views of the redevelopment project seemed to have little influence on their feelings about moving. Whether they had felt ambivalent or resistant toward having to move, the majority of Merriam households participating in the study—six households—had muted, if any, personal interest in the shopping center for which they moved. Positive feelings about moving on the part of the one Grandview resident seemed to have little to do with the project itself, but rather more to do with a desire to escape what she viewed as a seriously deteriorating neighborhood.

Two of the three households interviewed from Sharum Subdivision mentioned that they occasionally visited Merriam Town Center mall, built on the site of their

former neighborhood. As of the writing of this chapter at the end of 2008, construction of Merriam Village (on the site of the former Grandview Subdivision) is complete, but the mall remains tenantless. Two householders, one each from Sharum and Grandview, who had been strongly against having to move emphasized that they did not shop in Merriam.

My wife and I never go there. We never go to Merriam to shop anymore... the City of Merriam is out of bounds for us. (Man, age 50-64, Sharum)

Do I spend money in Merriam? No. (Woman, age 35-49, Grandview)

Does Hypothesis 5 hold?

According to Hypothesis 5, residents who personally approve of a redevelopment project or see it as a potential benefit to the community will be more favorably disposed toward having to move. It appears that, for most of the 18 households that took part in this study, this hypothesis does not hold. At best, support for a project may have factored into ambivalence about moving, but only for several households.

Kleinhans (2003) viewed 'residents' support for and understanding of urban renewal measures that require forced relocation' as a factor that enhanced their ability to cope with the stresses of moving. However, many of the residents who took part in his study expected to return to their social rented (public housing) apartment unit once it had been renovated; other movers in the study were able to move into improved housing elsewhere as a result of the project. That is to say, in undertaking housing

renovations the state provided a safety net for affected residents, effectively making them stakeholders in the success of redevelopment.

By contrast, many if not most of the Kansas families interviewed for this study had faced an uncertain future for much of the time they were waiting to move. Furthermore, some who had wished to remain within the community served by the redevelopment project were unable to do so, for reasons at least partly attributable to the simultaneous displacement of hundreds of households. Although most were satisfied with their post-move situation (some greatly so), the key ingredient missing for most of these residents was a sense of partnership with municipal and redevelopment authorities. Instead, with few exceptions study participants viewed their relationship with authorities as lopsided at best, with movers on 'the short end of the stick,' and as adversarial at worst. With the exception of one household, the residents' comments about the redevelopment project for which they moved strongly evidence a sense of not having reaped the benefits of redevelopment that had been promised them at community hearings.

Previous research linked the sense of being exploited by business and political elites with negative perceptions of relocation among those forced to move (Gans 1959; McGraw 1963; Gotfredson 1986; Goetz 2002; Gotham 2002). The results discussed in this chapter suggest that, if anything, the sense of being exploited—of being forced to move, without benefit, for the profit of others—influences feelings of disapproval toward a project. The intensities of such feelings lie along a spectrum, with sentiments such as

'just another mall' to 'should have been put elsewhere' at one end, and boycotting a completed project—or the town itself—at the other.

Chapter Ten: Discussion of Results, Study Limitations, and Future Research

In previous chapters the influence of five factors on resident orientations toward, and perceptions of, involuntary relocation was examined: attachment to home and neighborhood, community social ties, relative sense of control and mastery over the circumstances of relocation, opinions of the amount of monetary compensation or relocation assistance received, and support for a redevelopment project. The research report concludes in this chapter with a summary of the study's main findings and a discussion of their import for housing researchers and government officials concerned with improving relocation policies and procedures. Finally, the limitations of the research study are discussed and suggestions for future research are offered.

Themes in resident perceptions of displacement

The introductory chapter of this thesis report opens with the observation that moving is a difficult undertaking, and is even more so when involuntary. The responses to interview questions given by these 26 study participants from 18 households suggest that issues of power and control, where they intersect with tenacious place and social attachments, exert a powerful effect on how residents perceive the experience of forced relocation. For most of these residents, albeit to varying degrees and in differing

configurations, the experience of housing displacement was a multi-level challenge to feelings of security and well-being rooted in residential stability, home ownership, attachment to the nurturing environs of the neighborhood landscape, and social connectedness with neighbors.

Of the five hypotheses first presented in Chapter 4, only the fifth appears not to hold: stated support for a project did not seem to ameliorate most residents' feelings about moving. To the contrary, for many residents having to move and/or experiences with displacement appeared linked with negative or ambivalent views of a project. On the other hand, the other four factors examined—attachment to home and neighborhood environs, social bonds and friendships with neighbors, relative feelings of control, and evaluations of property compensation or relocation assistance—all appeared to shape feelings about and experiences with having to relocate. However, the ways in which these various factors shaped resident perceptions of displacement differed. The main themes that emerged from interview data provided by study participants are summarized here.

Hypothesis 1: Home attachment, rooted in the soil of daily transactions between family members related to child-raising, work, and home care sustained over a period of years—or decades—influenced pre-move feelings of ambivalence or resistance about having to move. Study participants expressed their attachment to home primarily in terms of residential longevity, activities related to upkeep and improvement, and activities connected with the life-cycle—marrying, raising children, and growing older.

Objects and places within the home and its surrounding outdoor environs—yard, garden, field—were valued as places of privacy and refuge; as social spaces in which the transactions of daily life continually constructed and confirmed individual and household identity; and as tangible links, via sense perception, to the meanings and memories imprinted on them of significant persons and events of the past.

Some study participants reacted to the threatened disruption of these attachment bonds with feelings of reluctance or resistance toward having to move, while others expressed emotional reactions of sadness, anger and/or disappointment. However for some residents attachment to home did not preclude aspirations toward upward housing mobility. Many more residents, indeed the majority, expressed satisfaction with their post-move home, some greatly so. This reality does not contradict, but rather confirms the centrality of home as an anchoring reality that offers not only physical and psychic refuge (Tuan 1975; Porteous 1976), but forms a stronghold of individual and familial meanings, embodied in places and objects within its walls, that confers a sense of continuity and stability to its occupants (Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton 1981; Gotfredson 1986; Belk 1992; Ekström 1994). In making structural improvements, redecorating, and gardening within their new home, movers strove to re-establish the sense of spatial control and personal autonomy that had been thwarted by forced relocation.

Hypothesis 2: Study participants who had cultivated social attachments in their former neighborhood tended to describe them as a network of supportive neighboring

activities (greeting and talking with neighbors, shared outdoor gatherings, neighborhood children playing together, helping with home maintenance activities, watching a neighbor's home when away), and as particular friendships that had been important to them. These behaviors and activities promoted feelings of security within and identification with a neighborhood. Study participants from Western Wyandotte and from the two Merriam subdivisions largely differed in their evaluations of the environmental and social desirability of their former neighborhood, and in turn perceptions of neighborhood quality seemed to have influenced propensity for strong, sustained neighboring behavior.

Many study participants for whom neighborhood friendships had been important were unable within their post-move communities to replicate the social conditions they had formerly enjoyed, whether expressed as numbers or degree of intimacy of new social bonds. This was largely due to perceived social dissimilarities between movers and their new neighbors (e.g., housing tenure, household structure, lifestyle characteristics), and differences in the built and natural environment (housing density and type, street layout and traffic volume, vegetation, aesthetic appeal of landscape). These findings highlight the importance of perceived 'fit' between one's own household and others living nearby for contentment within a post-move neighborhood and propensity for neighboring; involuntary movers who feel the fit is less than ideal or is lacking may be unable or less willing to form new social ties (Ekström 1994; Goetz 2002). Bolan (1997) observed that relocation under economic

duress created obstacles to community involvement for some movers. Similarly, straitened finances made it hard for several of these Kansas families to move to a neighborhood in which they felt entirely comfortable; circumstantial hardships (serious illness, lack of support) may also have impeded formation of new social ties.

However, perceived 'fit' between oneself and one's neighbors was an important component of post-move satisfaction even among movers for whom social ties were not important, as was the case with some movers from Merriam. In part this reflects feelings of improved security and well-being, the outcome of perceived residential and economic stability of neighbors (homeownership, yard upkeep, etc.) and community safety (minimal observable social disorder or crime, greater police presence). At the same time, it highlights the importance of a sense of shared values and aspirations with neighbors in creating a perception of social cohesion and identification with one's neighborhood (Adams 1984; Saunders and Williams 1988; Ekström 1994; Dupuis and Thorns 1996).

Kasarda and Janowitz (1974) observed that residents who profess to social attachments within the neighborhood also express greater reluctance to leave. Social ties are an expression of investment within the community: emotional, financial, possibly also political, and as such partly dependent on length of residence. At the same time, even attached residents of long tenure are prepared to leave a neighborhood that no longer satisfies their housing and lifestyle aspirations. The experiences of these Kansas movers lend support to Kasarda and Janowitz's model: sentiment and self-interest

intermixed, albeit in varying proportions, in shaping reactions to impending displacement. Neighborhood social attachments seemed to have their greatest impact on residents after they had moved.

Hypothesis 3: Previous research demonstrated the role of quality communication between residents facing displacement and relocation authorities in reducing stress and improving the chances of a successful move (Ekström 1994; Kleinhans 2003). For most residents that took part in this study, poor quality communication with relocation authorities contributed to a diminished sense of control over the circumstances of a move. Problems with communication fell into two basic categories: difficulties in accessing information, and unfavorable perceptions of the language and tenor of written and verbal communications.

Among residents from all three neighborhoods a chief complaint concerned lack of information about relocation and compensation payment schedules, which engendered significant uncertainty. Timing of compensation or relocation assistance payment within two to three months of a move date created for movers a narrow window of time within which to find housing, forcing some to rent temporarily, put household belongings into storage, and/or make revisions to housing expectations. While the majority of residents, as described above, tended to report satisfaction with their post-move housing, it was clear that some residents felt they had been forced to compromise.

However not only the content, but the perceived tone of written and verbal communications and the demeanor of officials relaying information as well, were important for some residents. Displacees who perceive that relocation authorities are unwilling to hear out their concerns, are inaccessible, 'talk over their heads' by using legal or technical jargon, or display insensitivity toward their place and social attachments encounter considerable difficulty both in obtaining and in making sense of relocation-related information (Gans 1959; Dimond 1987; Ekström 1994; Fullilove 1996). In the current study, complaints about the tenor of communication were more frequent among movers from Wyandotte. Taken together, problems both with access to and quality of information had an adverse effect on many residents' outlook on their prospects prior to moving.

Hypothesis 4: The process by which residents in this study evaluated the amount of their property compensation (or for the one renter, relocation assistance) was hardly a simple matter. For some, satisfaction with compensation was contingent on whether the amount had been sufficient to buy desirable housing in a 'good' neighborhood. All 'satisfied' movers stated that their housing and neighborhood improved after relocation, and all but one of these had lived in Merriam, where dissatisfaction with physical and social environs had been common. Unsurprisingly, movers who opined that their compensation was not enough to get them the home they wanted, or whose housing costs rose significantly, counted among those who evaluated their compensation negatively.

But among these householders, monetary issues were intertwined with sense of relative control over the circumstances of relocation. In previous studies (Adler and Jansen 1978; Korsching *et al.* 1980) displaced residents related dissatisfaction with the amount of their compensation to convictions about lack of accountability and transparency of appraisers and acquisition authorities, and that they had been reimbursed inequitably compared to others. As discussed in Chapter 8, these same beliefs played a major role in expressed dissatisfaction with compensation among study participants from Wyandotte. Beliefs that the amount of an award was 'rigged,' based on out-of-date property tax evaluations, of being the victim of political greed and chicanery, and of having been grossly under-compensated relative to the revenues generated by redevelopment—all are expressions of a perception that one lacks the political, social or economic capital to resist exploitation by those more powerful.

Interestingly, of the five households who obtained legal advice, engaged an attorney to handle negotiations, or went into litigation in connection with compensation, study participants from four held to the beliefs just described. Thus the perception of having been victimized was not necessarily linked to diffidence or lack of financial resources, and while legal action did indeed bring greater monetary awards, this in itself did not dispel the conviction of having been 'taken.'

It is also worth repeating the observation made in Chapter 8 that most among those who expressed dissatisfaction with the amount of an award were at the same time happy with their post-relocation home, although unlike movers who *were* satisfied with

compensation, they did not tend to describe the home as a substantial improvement. Given that the bulk of 'dissatisfied' movers hailed from Wyandotte and the 'satisfied' from Merriam, the intriguing possibility presents itself that relative satisfaction with a post-move home was linked to actual differences in (pre-move) housing quality between the two locales. However it seems equally plausible that, in the absence of a perceived substantial gain in one's circumstances following forced relocation, memories of mistreatment at the hands of authorities maintain their sting after moving.

Hypothesis 5: Support for a redevelopment project was at best linked with ambivalence toward moving, expressed by members of several households. Study participants from just one household expressed strong support for a project and were positively oriented toward moving, but linked their excitement about moving to the expectation of substantial lifestyle improvement. On the other hand, ambivalence, lack of enthusiasm, disapproval, or stated opposition to redevelopment seemed to be related to a sense of having not been made a stakeholder in the gains from redevelopment, and/or having suffered personal or economic setbacks from having had to move.

Approaches to relocation planning: Recommendations for developers and officials

The themes summarized above and elaborated in Chapters 5 through 10 suggest the need for proactive approaches to relocation on the part of authorities: approaches that demonstrate respect and concern for the attachments and needs of displacees, enhance

their understanding of relocation timelines and processes, and give them the tools they need to find satisfactory housing and relocate with minimal stress. Specific practices that, if implemented, would improve the delivery of information and maximize housing opportunities include the following:

1. Written communications: *Keeping residents informed, on a regular basis, of relocation and compensation schedules, policies and procedures; progress made toward redevelopment plans; neighborhood security measures; informational resources, including contact information for designated relocation officials; notices of information meetings; and other relevant information.*

One of the most common complaints voiced by study participants was lack of consistent and timely information about relocation and compensation timelines. Being unclear about what to expect was clearly a significant stress point for some movers, and hindered the efforts of a good many to plan their move. Most study participants attended public meetings in the hope of gleaning information about relocation-related timelines and procedures. Some turned also to newspapers and television news.

The difficulties with public meetings and local media outlets as vehicles for delivery of relocation-related information point to the need for distribution of a newsletter, on a biweekly or monthly basis, to neighborhood residents facing displacement. The contents of the newsletter could include status updates about relocation and compensation schedules or procedures, progress toward neighborhood redevelopment plans, neighborhood security issues, and other timely information. A special subsection could provide contact information for designated relocation and acquisition officials, notices of community information meetings, and any other

information about local and regional resources of interest to movers. The newsletter could also be set up as a PDF on a city or county webpage, or as a stand-alone webpage with links to relocation-related news articles, city offices, real estate and fair housing agencies, etc.

2. Community informational meetings: *Convening informational meetings for displacees only, in which issues relevant to movers are openly addressed, and residents are encouraged to ask questions and share their opinions.*

In all three study sites, written notices sent to residents invited them to attend public meetings about prospective redevelopments, hosted by the city. These meetings coincided with city council or city planning commission meetings, and were open to all interested members of the public, not limited to community residents or those affected by redevelopment plans. While open city meetings are essential to the democratic process—and community input crucial when redevelopment projects are being proposed—they appear to be inadequate as a forum for prospective displacees to voice their concerns and seek relocation-related information. When the general public is invited—not just those directly affected by redevelopment plans—the potentially very large size of such a gathering, combined with time constraints, means that fewer residents are able to speak and/or for shorter periods of time.

Relocation authorities would do best to convene meetings solely for residents facing displacement, both at the outset of redevelopment when plans are tentative, and further along the way when sensitive relocation- and compensation-related issues are under discussion. In the case of large communities—those with several hundred

households or more—it might be better to convene several smaller meetings, one each for a designated number of households, in order to keep the gathering size manageable and permit all residents a chance to speak. In order to keep meeting time lengths reasonable and maximize delivery of information, each meeting could focus on a pre-determined set of concerns, with ample time designated for questions at the meeting's conclusion.

3. Opportunities in relocation housing: *Work with local real estate agencies, community development corporations, and government housing agencies to promote affordable housing alternatives for displacees.*

It is apparent from the input of several study participants and from city planning documents that municipal governments did attempt to provide residents with information about housing opportunities. The Unified Government of Wyandotte County and Kansas City, Kansas kept a list of real estate offerings within the county and made it available for viewing at City Hall. Similarly, the City of Merriam provided interested residents with local real estate listings. It is impossible by hindsight to account for the quality or consistency of these efforts. However, from participant responses it is clear that scarcity of housing and inflation of housing prices engendered by the simultaneous relocation of several hundred households, combined with unique household circumstances—limited income, health concerns, special needs of children or elderly parents—caused genuine hardship for many study participants. These realities point to the need for a concerted outreach from housing authorities, community development corporations, and real estate agencies in conjunction relocation authorities,

to provide information and assistance to distressed movers. Where space permits, municipal governments and redevelopers contemplating projects necessitating neighborhood-scale displacement would do well to consider constructing and making available to displacees replacement housing of moderate cost. Where this is not possible, existing housing stock could be rehabilitated and made available to displaced households, or alternately financial incentives to redevelop an older home could be made available to movers so interested.

4. Relocation assistance and property compensation payment schedule: *Implement a disbursement schedule that maximizes residents' abilities to secure replacement housing.*

The bulk of residents who interviewed for this study complained that the 60- to 90-day window of time they were given from official notice to vacate to moving day caused problems, particularly in finding new housing. One of the main difficulties stemmed from the fact that property compensation and/or relocation assistance was disbursed within this narrow timeframe. Many movers indicated that they would have liked to look for housing ahead of time, but lacked funds to put down an earnest deposit or down payment on a home. A better payment schedule would disburse compensation incrementally, or allow a resident to draw an advance from the contractually stipulated amount of his compensation award at any time prior to the date of official notice to evacuate. Not only would this make it possible for individual households to secure housing and/or vacate on a schedule more suitable for their needs, but it could help stem

the flood of eleventh-hour movers and discourage runaway prices in the local real estate market.

An objection to this approach is that it is unfeasible to make incremental payments to potential movers who are in possession of an option to buy, not a firm contract, on their home. Ultimately, the best solution to this problem is simply for municipal governments and developers to achieve consensus over the nature, scope and feasibility of a planned project at an earlier point along the planning process, although negotiating the vagaries of politics and planning lies beyond the scope of this research project.

5. Awareness of and sensitivity to experiences of displacement:
Improve delivery and effectiveness of official communications and property negotiations by heightening awareness of how home and neighborhood attachments may shape experiences of displacement, and of problems typically faced by those who must move.

While not all residents in this study described their relations with relocation authorities as problematic, the fact that some did draws attention to the desirability of creating awareness of the types of problems commonly experienced by those forced to move, and of the potential influence of home and neighborhood attachments on difficulties with displacement. In-service presentations led by a social worker or community mental health specialist with prior training and expertise in the special problems faced by housing displacees should be provided by municipalities, and made mandatory for any and all officials responsible for crafting written communications or interacting with displaced householders in any capacity. Such awareness training

optimally would also include a presentation on community housing issues and available resources available to displacees, particularly those of limited means. Official awareness of and sensitivity to these types of issues has the potential to improve communications between officials and displaced householders; to empower householders to make more informed relocation plans; to cut down on administrative and labor costs associated with repeat visits by relocation authorities; and to reduce the probability of litigation initiated by disaffected households.

Limitations of the study and suggestions for future research

The qualitative nature of this study and its small sample size introduce a basic limitation: the question of generalizability to the population from which study participants were drawn, as well as to other populations. The number of households interviewed (11 from Western Wyandotte County, three from Sharum Subdivision and four from Grandview Subdivision in Merriam) was minimal relative to the approximately 500 households displaced from these three neighborhoods, and represents just 25 percent of all households invited to participate in the study (Table 4-1). The question arises as to whether participants who chose to respond were motivated by a set of experiences or viewpoints atypical of the displaced population at large in the communities from which they came. Put another way, it is not clear, given the small proportion of all displacees that these study participants represent, that their responses

represent the full spectrum of displacement experiences and perceptions within their respective communities. At the same time, small sample size and qualitative methods of analysis make it impossible to generalize findings to residents experiencing displacement elsewhere.

However, the repetition of similar findings from a number of small-scale studies based on in-depth interviews and focus groups may suggest the existence of trends worthy of further study. At the same time, in-depth insights into perceptions of and feelings about experiences connected with involuntary relocation provide a basis for larger-scale studies amenable to quantitative analysis. A major advantage of large sample size for a future displacement study lies in the possibility of combining qualitative and quantitative methods, not only to strengthen scientific rigor, but in order to facilitate the use of an iterative, multi-stage process of investigation.

Such a process could make possible the time-sensitive exploration of perceptions related to displacement. Doing so would address another limitation of the current research, that introduced by the passage of time: nearly a decade stood between study participants from Wyandotte County and those from Sharum Subdivision, Merriam and the time they had moved; for those from Grandview relocation was only two years in the past. Locating study participants prior to moving would enable researchers to incorporate time since displacement into the research design, and to explore how differences in length of time since displacement affect study participants' recollections and personal assessments of their experiences. While such studies have been conducted

in connection with urban renewal or gentrification in core urban neighborhoods (Goldstein and Zimmer 1960; McGraw 1963; Gotfredson 1986), further research within redeveloped suburban or exurban areas is desirable.

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Appendix: Interview Forms

Figure A-1: Letter of Introduction

Dear [Mr. and Mrs. Resident]:

You have received this letter because you are being invited to participate in a one-hour interview. A research team at Kansas State University is conducting a study of the experiences of Kansas City metro area residents who have had to relocate from their homes to make way for commercial development projects. Data for the study comes primarily from interviews with former residents of three neighborhoods that were demolished to build retail and entertainment centers. The research project is entitled 'Home, Neighborhood, and Renewal: Resident Perceptions of Forced Relocation.' The research team members are Felicia Rowan Wilcox, MA candidate in Geography; Max Lu, Ph.D., Department of Geography; László Kulcsár, Ph.D., Department of Sociology, Anthropology and Social Work; and Deborah Che, Ph.D., Department of Geography.

You will be contacted by telephone within the next two to three weeks to obtain your consent and to set up a time and place for the interview. If you prefer, you may choose to be interviewed by telephone. The interview will last about 60 minutes and consists of questions about how you viewed your former home and neighborhood, about your present home and neighborhood, and about aspects of having to move such as communicating with city officials and/or developers and finding new housing. Additionally you will be asked to fill out a short questionnaire. You will be reimbursed \$20.00 for your time on completing the interview.

As an interview participant, your confidentiality is fully protected. All information you give will remain anonymous in the published report of the research. Your name and contact information will not be published or revealed to any outside parties. At the time of the interview, you will receive a consent form explaining your rights as an interview subject.

While your participation is completely voluntary, it is strongly encouraged, as your comments will shed much-needed light on a subject that has received little research attention. If you have any questions about the research, please contact Max Lu, Ph.D. (Research Project Supervisor), Department of Geography, at 785-532-3413. Thank you for your time.

Sincerely,

Felicia Rowan Wilcox
MA Candidate in Geography
Kansas State University

Figure A-2: Interview Questionnaire

1. For which development project [Kansas Speedway/Merriam Town Center/Merriam Village] did you move?
2. How did you first find out you would have to move?
3. How did you feel about having to move?
4. Did you attend any hearings or meetings hosted by the city about the development project? [If YES] How did the meetings go?
5. How did you feel about the development project [Speedway/Merriam Town Center/Merriam Village]?
6. How did you feel about your communications with city officials and developers—things like meetings, phone calls, and notices?
7. Were you satisfied with property compensation and relocation assistance you received?
8. Did you feel you had enough time to prepare for relocation—things like finding a new home, packing, and so on?
9. How did others in your neighborhood feel about having to move? What was your impression of how things went for them?
10. How easy or difficult was it to find a new home?
11. Did you feel you would miss your home or neighborhood after moving? [If YES] What did you feel you would miss?
12. When you had to move, how long had you been living in your home?
13. Did you own or rent your former home?
14. How well did you like your home?
15. How well did you like your neighborhood?
16. How did you feel about the people in your neighborhood?

Figure A-2: Interview Questionnaire—page 2

17. Did you have friends or family in your neighborhood?
18. What things did you especially like or dislike about your home or neighborhood?
19. Do you own or rent your current home?
20. How does your current home compare with your old home?
21. How does your current neighborhood compare with your old one?
22. Do you ever talk with anyone from your old neighborhood?
23. Have your feelings about the experience changed in the time since you moved?
24. Have your feelings about [the Speedway/Merriam Town Center/Merriam Village] changed?
25. Are there any comments you want to add about the experience that you feel are important but that I have missed?

Figure A-3: Sociodemographic Survey Questionnaire

The demographic questions below apply to the time period when you had to move. Please check one response to each question. If you cannot remember exactly the answer to a question, please make your best guess. Thank you.

1. Your gender

☐ Male ☐ Female

2. What was your age?

☐ 34 or younger ☐ 35-49 ☐ 50-64 ☐ 65 or older

3. Race/ethnicity

☐ White ☐ African American ☐ Native American or Alaskan Native

☐ Asian or Pacific Islander ☐ Bi-racial ☐ Other

4. Hispanic/Non-Hispanic

☐ Hispanic ☐ Non-Hispanic

5. What was your highest education level?

☐ Less than high school diploma ☐ High school diploma

☐ Some college or Associate's degree ☐ Bachelor's degree or higher

6. What was your marital status?

☐ Never married ☐ Married or co-habiting ☐ Divorced or separated ☐ Widowed

7. How many people were in your household (including yourself)?

☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 5 or more

8. How many children 18 or younger were in your household?

☐ 0 ☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 or more

Figure A-3: Sociodemographic Survey Questionnaire—Page 2

9. What was your annual household income (from all working members)?

☐ Less than \$25,000 ☐ \$25,000-50,000 ☐ \$50,000-75,000 ☐ More than \$75,000

10. What percentage of your household income did you spend on your monthly rent or mortgage?

☐ Less than 25% ☐ 25-50% ☐ More than 50%