Believing its Own Rhetoric: The Impact of Knowledge and Creative Development Accumulation on Racial-Ethnic and Occupational Segregation in Austin, Texas

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To structural change, and being brave enough to try it.

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Introduction

Austin is an exhausting place where racism smiles at you and does yoga and is a kind teacher and is such a good actor and is just trying to help you and just wants to know why you're so upset and thinks we should wait *to know more details and tells you the bomber was a nice, young man who was troubled and it's the smiling face of a white boy on a Statesman story about a murderer and it could never happen here and he was home schooled and just look at his mom's post from his graduation and it tells you maybe you shouldn't jump to conclusions and speaks shitty Spanish at you in hopes to make you feel more comfortable and has an all white cast and [f****] you at night but thinks you shouldn't be so angry all the time and needs you to understand the bomber was from a godly family and he was just so frustrated and dissatisfied with his life and ignores you in line at the pizza place and will tell you love is love is love in the same profile it asks for "No Asians, No Blacks" and it's not racist, just a preference and loves this cool coffee place where you get to hang with cats and once made that joke about hoodies and skittles but you didn't seem to find it funny and runs an independent bookstore and if you want racism to end, why do you always bring it up and is one of your students in that one class who is always making those comments and* ***thinks you're being very divisive*** *and if he didn't want to die then he shouldn't be resisting arrest and its parents came to this country legally so it doesn't see what the big deal is* ***and it calls itself socially liberal but fiscally conservative*** *and his improv show was so good and needs you to use punctuation because it can't possibly understand you otherwise and tells you to stop crying wolf and it asks you to stop making yourself uncomfortable,* ***you're looking for reasons to be angry*** *and loves playing Kendrick Lamar in the car and singing along to every word, every word and it calls the cops on the neighbors because they're so loud all the time and that's just how he is with all women, don't take it personally* ***and the department is absolutely not discriminatory and can't be racist because they're Mexican*** *and just wishes these people would stop blocking the street and gay pride is just not the right time to protest about Black Lives Matter and would love to have a conversation with you in private and just thinks we should be fighting the real enemy and if you would just give it a moment to explain itself and is so sorry that things got out of hand, it was just such a stressful day and* ***it just loves all the new business coming into the city*** *and it thinks that H&M thing was just way blown out of proportion and it wants to audition for RuPaul's Drag Race and you are so surprisingly eloquent and i don't mean to sound racist and how can we have dialogue if you're just going to be so angry and her husband is Puerto Rican and his best friend in college was Black and would just like you to read the book before you get so angry and* ***it can't understand why people get so upset and just wants to clarify that it's not officially sponsoring the event****, just making a little money off of it and says it has a constitutional right to free speech and it calls itself an ally when its being watched and it waits to get drunk to say racist shit and then tells you it's just a joke and no actors of color showed up so we just did the best we could and it calls you ugly at the bar and thinks you shouldn't speak Spanish because they can't understand what you are saying and asks you to overlook genocide and* ***it has a DACA Facebook filter but doesn't want to go to "that part of town"*** *and voted Democrat and feels if*

you got nothing to hide there's no need to be scared of cops and puts its fingers in your hair because y'all are cool like that and it is asking you to smile all the time and it shops at Whole Foods and it loves trap ***and if you don't like it here, then why don't you just leave*** *and it is so exhausting and it is so exhausting and it is so exhausting and it is so exhausting and it is so exhausting and it is so exhausting and it is so exhausting and it is so exhausting and it is so exhausting and I am so exhausted and I just want to know when we get a break, I guess.*

*for a long time now my refrain has been "we only got us," and i am unwavering in my refrain and still****, goddamn if this city doesn't make you feel so alone sometimes****. my brain is tired and my body is sick and i just want some water to sit by."*[1]

- Jesus Valles, Facebook, March 21, 2018

Austin, Texas, is America's biggest little college town. It is the thirteenth most populated city in the country, fourth most populated city in Texas, and one of the three fastest growing cities in the United States. It has been featured on fifty national lists and rankings since 2011 and has earned high marks in lifestyle-oriented categories including best cities for a particular age group, best real estate prospects, and best place to live in the United States.[2] Austin's economic outlook rates as highly as its lifestyle, with the city placing second, third, and fourth in Forbes' 2014 rankings of Best Cities for Future Job Growth, Top Large Cities for Jobs, and Most Creative Cities respectively. The city's placement amongst these lists offers every indication that Austin is capable of providing its current and future residents with great personal economic and social opportunity. However, while the city has grown in size and reputation as a job center, lifestyle leader, and economic stalwart over the years – Austin has historically performed above the national average during recessionary periods – Valles' Facebook post, while admittedly anecdotal, indicates a disconnect between the city's reputation and its substance.

[1] Posted publically on Facebook by Jesus Valles, 3/21/18. Accessed online 3/25/18. https://www.facebook.com/jivalles/posts/10101131414513810

[2] https://www.statesman.com/news/local/for-second-year-austin-named-best-place-live-america-news-and-world-report/1R3DZ3wmujbm8r7GakwaMO/

Anxious, fast-paced, and frustrated, Valles' account of his experiences as a non-White resident of Austin, Texas describes an urban environment steeped in covert racism and microaggressions; a jarring image of a city ranked as one of the best places to live in the United States. That the size of the city's African American population has steadily decreased since 2000, a trend unique to Austin compared to cities of similar size and rate of growth, is as unexpected as the content of Valles' post. Between 2000 – 2010 the percentage of African Americans living in Austin decreased by 1.3%. By 2017, African Americans made up 8% of Austin's population, having declined by a full 2% from 2000 and a full 4% from 1990, when the African American population had been at its peak population percentage of 11%.

A report on the geography of opportunity in Austin found that the city's Hispanic and African American populations are concentrated in "low opportunity" areas, stating that the City of Austin "shows racial segregation along opportunity lines" that may, due to issues of affordability, be forcing African American and Hispanic residents to seek opportunity elsewhere (Fernandez et al. 2013: 18). In a separate report, the top seven reasons given on a survey of 100 African Americans who left Austin to settle in the surrounding counties were, from greatest to least: affordability, dissatisfaction with the public school system, racism or a feeling of being unwelcome, feeling that they could have a higher quality of life elsewhere, desire for quiet, moved to escape overcrowding, and job opportunities (Tang et al. 2016). Research on the Austin metro area has since honed in on issues of affordability and the inequalities associated with it, finding that Austin is the most economically segregated metro area in the United States, ranking high in segregation by degree of educational attainment and employment in occupational groups (Florida and Mellander 2015). A separate report on economic mobility in counties in the United States incidentally found that growing up in Travis County where Austin is located limits a

child's future earnings potential regardless of family household income (Chetty and Hendren 2015).

Cities aligned with specific profiles of industrial sectors are said to "differ significantly in social respects" and present "different sets of social characteristics" than cities not participating in the same type of economic growth (Wirth 1938: 6). In the contemporary economy, creatively developing cities are uniquely unequal compared to cities that have maintained a greater share of manufacturing industry (Florida and Mellander 2015). Austin is a leading example of a knowledge and creative city in the United States. Its knowledge and creative developmental trajectory – one that has focused on the accumulation of science, technology, and cultural and arts related industry – has induced a knowledge and creative economy, where markers like share of adults with at least a bachelor's degree and share employed in the creative class have been closely associated with economic segregation (Florida and Mellander 2015). The city's net loss of African American residents in the past few decades, combined with Valles' post and other findings of racialized inequalities in Travis County, indicate that despite frequent triumphs in national city rankings, Austin may now be facing the same social and structural challenges found to impact its creatively developing peers.

Previous research on Austin and on creatively developing cities more broadly has focused on understanding the nature of the social polarizations associated with creative city development strategies. Less is known about the role of local governments and other elite development stakeholders in influencing inequality via policy decisions. I argue that knowledge and creative city development strategies and the decisions that guide them contribute to the construction of social structures of accumulation (SSAs). SSAs are holistic systems through which the content of major urban institutions like work and social life are influenced and made to progress under the

direction of local government and elites acting to protect and advance their own interests. They are designed to optimize their most economically promising elements. The formation of a new economy through the SSA activates a division of labor which serves to determine the value of the city's "human resources," its residents, whose location within occupational groups dictates their importance to the social structure of accumulation, its desired developmental outcomes, and ultimately, the city.

My dissertation seeks to examine the thesis that knowledge and creative city development SSAs function to restructure economically undesirable and consequently vulnerable populations out of the economic, social, and cultural institutions that organize urban life. Using Austin as a case, I hypothesize that the purposeful accumulation of knowledge and creative industry has induced economic and social polarizations in Austin by altering the city's ecology, thereby contributing to the lack of opportunity, social closure, and issues of affordability associated with the decline in Austin's African American population (Tang and Ren 2014) and concentration of Black and Hispanic residents in low opportunity areas (Fernandez et al. 2013). I have three research objectives.

Objective one: To determine the onset of the knowledge and creative development social structure of accumulation within Austin's trajectory and then, once established, examine its history and composition during various time periods using historical archival material and other primary source documents as evidence. Demonstrate that city government and other elite development stakeholders exercised agency throughout the development process by using the resultant historical timeline to create a trail of policy decisions leading to the city's contemporary economic and social arrangements.

Objective two: Track changes in degrees of residential segregation by race-ethnicity and employment in occupational groups in Travis County and throughout the Austin area during critical time periods of the city's development using the dissimilarity, diversity, isolation, and entropy indexes. Map changes in the percentage of racial-ethnic groups in census tracts between time periods in order to visually represent how patterns of residential segregation have changed in Austin over time.

Objective three: Examine the relationship between economic accumulations, labor market segmentation, and racial-ethnic group compositions by using spatial autoregressive models to model the relationship between changes in tract-level proportions of residents employed in professional and technical, service, and industrial occupations and changes in tract-level proportions of residents who are White, Black, or Hispanic during the critical periods of Austin's development as identified in objective one.

My research objectives are a progression of inquiry. How has the city developed over time, and why? Within the context of that development, what are the corresponding patterns of residential segregation and how have they changed? What is the relationship between the accumulation of knowledge and creative industry – specifically employment within the professional and technical occupational group – and the area's racial-ethnic composition over time? I have incorporated content analysis and close reading techniques, segregation indexes, mapping, and spatial autoregression in order to implemented a mixed-methods study designed to yield contextually-driven understandings of the relationship between the knowledge and creative development SSA guiding the City of Austin's economic and cultural development practices and the residential polarizations that have occurred in the city over time.

As a case study, my dissertation carries the advantage of examining causal mechanisms in close detail. In historical analyses and for the examination of path dependency and trajectories necessitated by objective one, the relationship between case studies and causal mechanisms allows for the construction of chains of events leading towards outcomes like the ones to be examined in objectives two and three (George and Bennett 2005). As previously stated, Austin is a highly ranked city and leading example of the knowledge and creative approach to development in the United States. Understanding its economic trajectory from a historical and contextually driven perspective allows for broader sociological meaning making around mechanisms of power and control in cities that are maintaining knowledge and creative development SSAs. Austin's rapid growth over a relatively short period of time directly coincides with socioeconomic polarizations and concerning trends in the city's racial-ethnic composition. My findings indicate that local government has exercised considerable agency in constructing the content of the city's knowledge and creative development SSA, often at the expense of Austin's most structurally vulnerable communities. The City of Austin's commitment to knowledge and creative development accumulation is significantly related to declines in the city's Black and Hispanic populations over the duration of key periods in Austin's developmental history.

An Interlude on Urban Sociological Theory for the American Southwest

There have been two major phases of urbanization in the United States: Fordist mass production, which saw cities develop around the promises of industry and mass production, and post-Fordist production, based in labor-intensive crafts and high technology (Dear 2000). Important sites of urban sociological theorizing – Chicago, Philadelphia, Boston – represent a class of Fordist cities that in their development and organization have contributed to human

ecology theory, invasion-succession, and observations on community development. However, not all cities to which American sociological theories have been applied fit the Fordist context in which they were developed. Cities in the American Southwest, like Austin, do not have the industrial, population, or migratory histories to support the application of theory developed in Rust Belt cities to their regionally distinct developmental patterns.

Contemporary urban environments are influenced by "science, industrialization, demographic change, urban growth, mass communication, nation states, social movements, and the rise of worldwide capitalism" (Dear 2000: 96). To first and briefly consider demographic change, major cities in the Southwest United States like Austin, El Paso, Albuquerque, Tucson, and Las Vegas were largely excluded from the Great Migration of African-Americans to predominantly northern cities during the early to mid-1900s. These same cities also host proportionately larger Hispanic populations than cities in other regions of the county, which impacts their social organization.[3] In regards to racial-ethnic composition, large Hispanic populations, like those characterizing the demographic profiles of Sunbelt cities, contribute to social-structural constraints upon African Americans by influencing patterns of Black-non-Black residential segregation (Iceland and Nelson 2008) and increasing competition for employment (Stainback and Tomaskovic-Devey 2012).

In regards to industry, scholarship of the last decade has argued that urban markets react to global economic change by pushing creative development strategies. Cities in the American south and southwest have demonstrated more flexibility in handling economic transitions than

[3] The estimated Hispanic population in the United States in 2017 was 17.6%. Using the 2017 five-year American Community Survey estimates, the proportion population of Hispanic or Latino origin in the Austin MSA was 32.2%, in the El Paso MSA 82.2%, in the Albuquerque MSA 48.5%, in the Tucson MSA 36.6%, and in the Las Vegas MSA 30.7%. This is compared to proportion Hispanic population of the five cities attracting the most African-American migrants during the Great Migration: New York (24.1%), Chicago (19.2%), Philadelphia (9%), St. Louis (2.9%), and Denver (22.9%).

cities formally entrenched in the manufacturing economy. Industrial composition is one dimension along which Wirth (1938), like Lloyd (2012), advocated for regionally motivated theories of American urbanization:

> …an industrial city will differ significantly in social respects from a commercial, mining, fishing, resort, university, and capital city. A one-industry city will present different sets of social characteristics from a multi-industry city, as will an industrially balanced from an imbalanced city (Wirth 1938: 6).

Urban change in Sunbelt cities should be examined on its own terms as a post-Fordist process, rather than under the assumption of similarity with often larger cities of a different class. The application of predominantly class-based urban sociological theory generated from old-guard metropolitan sites of sociological study to comparably under-studied Sunbelt cities risks naturalizing the social inequalities of contemporary development dynamics (Gottdiener 1985). My use of Austin, Texas as a case suits the argument that cities in the American southwest cannot be studied in the tradition of industrial cities in the North American Rustbelt (Lloyd 2012), as doing so risks misinterpreting systemic racialized social and structural exclusion as class-based processes rather than racial-ethnic or intersectional processes.

Review of Literature

Urban Sociology

The 21st century is characterized by swift technological change and an economic globalization that has forced cities to actively work at reaffirming and repositioning themselves as places of economic opportunity, particularly as new competitors emerge and develop marketing strategies for business acquirement in the global market. It was clear by the 1990s that capital was relocating to cities perceived of as being capable of supporting the "new" primary economic functions, namely the creation, exchange, and use of information (Hall 1997). These

new economic functions, which supplanted the old ways of manufacturing and handling, represent the culmination of decades of work towards the advancement of man over nature (Bell 1978).

From Service to Knowledge: Structural and Social Shifts

The United States began its transition to services as early as the 1940s (Hall 1997). The transition from industrialism, which favored production, to post-industrialism, which favors processing, has been a decades long effort. Service industries rose throughout the 1970s but were not yet independent enough to generate the revenue required to incentivize intensive urban restructuring (Roberts et al. 2000). By mid-century, manufacturing, while not obsolete, was becoming swiftly outmoded. Manufacturing became a leg for the new service economy to stand on, to the point that the two modes of economic production became nearly indistinguishable in some sectors (Powell and Snellman 2004). However, despite acting as a support structure to services, manufacturing continued to fall further into economic disfavor. Resource allocation became intensely stratified between the old and new economic systems. The gradual change from goods-based to people-and-interactions-based systems of economic transaction had an especially profound effect on cities. The shift to services coincided with the suburbanization of White, middle-class Americans and an increase in consumerism. These increased levels of consumption encouraged entrepreneurialism, which required a generalist, soft skills labor force for production support (Law 2009).

The knowledge economy emerged in part as a niche market to fill needs and deficits manifesting from the growths of the service sector and of innovation. A premise of the knowledge economy is that "knowledge can be embodied in both goods and services (Powell and Snellman 2004: 202). Different approaches to qualifying the definition and function of the

knowledge economy have identified disparate time periods for the sector's genesis as a mode of economic opportunity. One approach, positions the knowledge economy as a by-product of the science-based industries that materialized in the early 1960s and maintains that theoretical knowledge is a primary source for innovation, where new discoveries and new knowledge from those discoveries engender knowledge production ad infinitum (Powell and Snellman 2004). A second and less popular approach focuses on the macroeconomic context of the 1990s, citing unique financial-market developments as causing expansions in knowledge industry that boosted its productivity. Regardless, the knowledge economy is consistently defined as a mode which grants primacy to intellectual pursuits and applications over other options, where said intellectual pursuits and applications are typically designed to improve upon existing goods, services, and practices (Powell and Snellman 2004).

The co-dependency of the service and knowledge economies is similar to the relationship between manufacturing and services. In the beginning of the knowledge economy services supported the knowledge industry by creating demand for innovative, intelligently designed solutions to one of the most common problems in conducting business between persons - keeping the customer satisfied. That dependency grew, and by the mid 1980s the service sector was the largest consumer of knowledge-related technologies (Powell and Snellman 2004). The intense co-mingling of services and knowledge as economic modes proved to be a planning dilemma for cities. With both modes being profitable, cities had to determine which mode, specifically, they would choose to favor in further planning for economic growth, assuming that they even should deliberately favor one over the other.

The inertia behind the knowledge economy and the value of the goods being produced through it had a dispersive effect. Where services had benefitted from technological advances

and increased efforts at intellectual innovation, individual members of the knowledge sphere began to capitalize on others' dependency on their innate talents. The resultant creative economy thus includes industries involved in "the generation and exploitation of intellectual property" (Cunningham and Jaaniste 2010: 31). Creative industries are focused on promoting, not improving, goods that already exist. Like the knowledge economy, the creative economy is premised on a belief that certain individuals possess creative talents, skills, or other knowledge capable of enhancing the products of others. Creative industries make use of cultural forms including music, film, design, and other types of media as a means of promoting and transferring their creative outputs to the general public (Tepper 2002). The advancement of creativity as an economic form came about due to its close relationship with culture and cultural change. Knowledge and creative industries skillfully manage the generation of ideas. In the urban context, the creative economy manifests in a competitive aesthetic coupled with amenities-based growth strategies, each deliberately designed to attract knowledge and creative economy workers (Florida 2002).

Economic Transitions and Urban Redevelopment

No economic mode functions alone. The advance of services did not cause manufacturing to go extinct, just as the rise of the knowledge and creative economies did not signal the end of service and service-based transactions (Thompson 1975; Cohen and Zysman 1987). The requirements of the contemporary economy - information, processing, knowledge, and game between persons- are predicated on the presence of other structures. Heavy industry helped to create the type of society in which the pursuits of the service, knowledge, and creativity economies thrive. As such it is highly unlikely that any one city is completely devoid of

manufacturing, in the same way that it is unlikely for any one city to be completely devoted to pursuit of services or knowledge industry.

Still, global economic transitions are associated with societal restructuring. Neoliberalism and the rise of the competitive global economy has motivated cities to undergo intensive redevelopment in their bids to attract the knowledge and creative businesses and workers most associated with contemporary economic growth (Alderson and Beckfield 2004). Such knowledge and creative development strategies are representative of a class of social structures of accumulation, "distinct institutional arrangements" that reflect "the balance of power amongst capital, labor, and the state" (Lobao et al. 1999: 573). While the concept of the city as a creative hub is not new to the 21st century, critics of contemporary creative planning approaches argue that SSAs predicated on the belief that the accumulation of knowledge and creative industry will spur economic development risk misapplying that same accumulative process to urban sociodemographics:

> …the debate on the general role of creativity and innovation in urban development, interurban competition, and urban economic 'regeneration' should be based on a deeper understanding of how creative work that yields technological as well as artistic innovation is organized and embedded in urban socioeconomic settings. (Krätke 2011: 2)

The economic and social hierarchies that influence the composition of a knowledge and creative development SSA induce social polarization (Alderson and Beckfield 2004; Krätke 2011). The premise of the creative economy – an economy emerging from the accumulation of knowledge and creative industry and characterized by employment increases in technological, professional services, and arts & entertainment occupations – is that certain individuals possess talent, skills, or knowledge capable of enhancing the products of others. The strength and composition of a development SSA reflects the resources – economic, spatial, human, or

environmental – that city governments will attempt to levy in order to attract people and companies capable of transforming creativity, innovation, or culture into capital gains (Grodach 2012). The dominant structural location of knowledge and creative work within urban social realms contributes to a growing resource disparity between those whose skills contribute to the growth of an SSA, and those whose labor contributes only towards the maintenance, but not necessarily growth, of the SSA's power (Krätke 2011; Carr 2012).

Cities striving to achieve global status and remain competitive and connected within the world cities system will undergo intensive redevelopment designed to privilege their "secondary circuits" of capital, i.e., knowledge and creative industry, as part of their efforts to avoid peripheral positioning in the global economy (Alderson and Backfield 2004; Sassen 2006). Knowledge and expertise have become valuable commodities, with market specialization making essential workers who possess high levels of education and new, unique skill-sets. Market specialization and globalized production have additionally led to the re-evaluation of what skill-sets and occupations, exactly, are contributing more towards the realization of contemporary economic growth than others. The spectrum of valuable or not-as-valuable, useful or not-as-useful, and how we define essential businesses and workers in the 21st century polarizes labor and generates profound implications concerning the impact of work on social location and value within urban space (Skinner 2004).

Market restructuring motivates cycles of urban area de-and-reinvestment. The urban redevelopment which characterizes the late 20th and early 21st centuries has been a reactive response to a new division of labor between economic modes (Hall 1997). Macroeconomic change enables cities to redistribute their efforts and resources towards the industries and occupational types seen as having economic priority and higher potentials for growth and profit

(Walton 1993; Hay 2006). New industrial accumulations and the urban development initiatives that accompany them signal the onset of economic transition and carry implications for the sociocultural dynamics of urban space. For example, creative economies are premised on the belief that workers of the knowledge and creative class are more capable of generating capital than workers in other industries. The creative class thesis, encourages accumulation of knowledge and creative industry in urban areas and states that cities wishing to engage the contemporary economy must encourage the simultaneous development of soft infrastructure, "tolerance," and various other recreational and lifestyle amenities in order to appeal to the sensibilities and consumption patterns of the creative class workers responsible for generating capital in the contemporary economy (Florida 2002; Hoyman and Faricy 2009; Zukin et al. 2009).

In many cities, the social polarizations attributable to location within an occupational type has translated to location with spatial structure (Dear 2000). Society reproduces itself through the medium of space, and economic transitions are associated with societal restructuring. When an occupational type advances a municipality's economy, its relevancy is rewarded with access to structural opportunity. Critics of the creative class thesis have argued that catering to a specific occupational type leads to the structural marginalization of people whose work and productive power does not occur within the knowledge and creative sector (Hay 2006). As such, the market devaluation of labor is socially, structurally, and spatially pervasive; it strips urbanites of the primary resource, their labor, that they exchange in order to fully participate and function in city systems. Manufacturing workers and low-skilled industrial laborers, whose knowledge and skill-sets are considered furthest from workers in the knowledge and creative economies, are therefore made particularly vulnerable (Vachon and Wallace 2013).

Organizing Space: Segmentation by Race and Class

The organization of urban space is "'an expression of the social structure'" and as such serves as a means of understanding the role of social and economic hierarchy in organizing the society which occupies that space (Gottdiener 1985: 121). Rapid urbanization and growth intensive periods of city development exacerbate social and economic inequalities and contribute to polarization (Sassen 2006; Dear 2000). Segregation, sprawl, and concentrated poverty are the predominant social forces shaping the relationship between place and two formative elements of urban social identity: race-ethnicity and class (Squires and Kubrin 2005). Two prominent spatial and residential outcomes associated with economic transition, mismatch and gentrification, are discussed further below.

Spatial mismatch originated in urban sociology as a means of examining the impact of citizens' residential locations on their spatial proximity to another critical form of social organization, work (Wilson 1987). Racial residential segregation, especially Black-White segregation, has been found to contribute to spatial mismatch between clusters of racial enclaves and metro-area work opportunity (Wilson 1987; Massey and Denton 1998). Central to spatial mismatch theory was the premise that the relocation of work in the manufacturing industry to America's suburbs at the outset of the service economy contributed to social polarization by moving viable employment opportunities literally outside the reach of centrally located and/or poorly resourced low-income urban residents.

Racial residential segregation and proximity to poverty have been identified as patterned inequalities that "concentrate a host of problems and…shape opportunities and lifestyles throughout the life-cycle and across generations" (Squires and Kubrin 2005: 52). Spatial mismatch theory maintains that longer distances between residential location and quality or skill-

matched work opportunities has disproportionately impacted lower-income African Americans, where the severely limited structure of work opportunity contributes to poverty and isolation in inner-city areas (Wilson 1987).

In the contemporary economy spatial mismatch can be applied to the mismatch of location and skill requirements between jobs within the professional and ancillary services associated with knowledge and creative industry and the resource-poor or structurally disadvantaged residents whose neighborhoods are the most proximal to the central business or central city locations preferred by knowledge and creative startup businesses. Gentrification is a consequence of creative city urbanization that, like amenities development, represents a deliberate "production of urban space" to meet the needs of a city's more affluent citizenry (Hackworth 2002: 815; Zukin et al. 2009). Gentrification and its related development processes induce spatial and social reorganization, forms of interurban resource competition in which historically marginalized groups cannot sufficiently compete (Peck 2005).

Gentrification – broadly defined as neighborhood ascent through reinvestment - is often characterized by its effects, including: the displacement of tenured residents, the relocation of people with higher levels of educational attainment and/or middle-or-upper-socioeconomic class status to an area, and change to the overall "social, economic, cultural, and physical landscape" of neighborhoods (Owens 2012: 345). Gentrification is "strongly spatially dependent on historical patterns of neighborhood incomes," with low-income neighborhoods being more vulnerable to gentrification than high-income areas (Hwang and Lin 2016: 14). Neighborhoods subject to gentrification are commonly those that have undergone periods of disinvestment at the hands of the state or other powerful actors, like landlords or developers, who exercise control over physical or monetary resources (Freeman 2005). The process of gentrification begins when

interest in previously disinvested spaces - urban renewal programs, downtown redevelopment, and "changing demographics, tastes, and professional services" are all representative of new interest – sparks economic and social reinvestment in an area (Freeman 2005: 464). In knowledge and creatively developing cities, new waves of gentrification can be triggered not by residents seeking social diversity, but by "creative entrepreneurs and firms" seeking space – powerful stakeholders in contemporary urban development who use their considerable resources to influence policies guiding neighborhood change (Catungal et al. 2009: 1099).

Gentrification, displacement, and segregation are socio-spatial phenomena that encompass both residential and nonresidential change (Skizlioglu 2014). While potential outcomes of gentrification include decreases in segregation by income and decreased levels of White residential isolation, determining whether or not these changes have a net positive impact on all residents of the gentrified community requires an examination of the local context in which the neighborhood change has occurred. Focusing on segregation distracts from other harms gentrification may cause, including breakdowns of social networks, alienation or isolation from new neighbors, and cultural marginalization (Kirkland 2008). For example, in-movers to gentrifying areas are predominantly "higher socioeconomic status and more likely to be White" (Freeman 2005: 485), which may trigger social distancing between them and tenured residents.

Though recent research on racial residential segregation indicates that overall levels of metropolitan area Black-White and Black-non-Black segregation and isolation have declined, in inner-city neighborhoods specifically, it is the extra-mobility of White, college-educated households driving trends in desegregation (Hwang and Lin 2016; Iceland et al. 2013). While the tendency of research on gentrification and segregation is to celebrate the decline of White residential isolation, changes in the minority population of areas surrounding places of

predominantly White, non-gentrifying settlement remain linked to processes of White out-migration, which indicates that the White racial-ethnic groups is setting the pace of diversification (Crowder and South 2008). The centralization of high-skill jobs and workers to urban downtown cores necessitates the continued investigation into the racial-ethnic dynamics of gentrification processes, particularly given that "changes in the characteristics of in-movers could be the more important force in determining the way that neighborhoods change" (Hwang and Lin 2016; Freeman 2005: 487).

Marketing a Restructured Space

State intervention in contested space during periods of intense redevelopment influences the dissemination of old and new expressions of urban culture and reaffirms the power dynamics driving development processes (Gottdiener 1985; Gottdiener and Feagin 1988). Changes in government and local perceptions of a space spur change in the perceived quality and marketable characteristics of it (Hunter 1974), which motivates attempts to inspire new images and extra-local perceptions via marketing (Kavaratzis 2007). Place marketing is an effort on the part of government officials and cultural industry to exert control over cultural meaning making and community identity. Marketing, like redevelopment, is a long-term process that is carried out in stages. Once an audience and viable assets have been identified, next steps include 1) choosing a vision, 2) getting stakeholders on board, and 3) implementing projects (Kavaratzis 2007).

As a marketing strategy, the dissemination of an overarching, dominant or favored community identity requires the development or redevelopment of spaces which may already be culturally significant, but outside of the desired marketing schema. Theming, a strategic process of place differentiation designed to provide a substantive response to the question, "why come here as opposed to someplace else?", is one approach to the cultivation of hegemonic cultural

identity (Gottdiener 2001; Kavaratzis 2007). Theming an already developed space implies that occupants of the space prior to its theming, including cultural forms, businesses, or residents, were not perceived of by actors guiding redevelopment efforts as being suitable representatives of their desired cultural identity for the area.

Targeted diffusions of specific elements of cultural identity via theming and place marketing strategies are examples of capital manipulation to suit the interests of elite stakeholders in a city's growth and development. As a dissemination tool, place marketing has been criticized for using urban renewal as a foil for policies that favor the maintenance of marketable cultural products over the material presence of tenured residents (Fainstein and Judd 1999). The risks of place marketing and theming for cities is their potential to emphasis image over substance. By marketing cultural forms for consumption, city governments risk alienating the product and its derivatives from the people who inspired, but may not have the cultural or social capital to consume, the transformed version of the cultural product (Savage 2011).

Ultimately, state interventions in the development of spaces and social areas in extent neighborhoods betrays a desire for uniformity in the presentation of a city as an entity available for consumption and use (Dear 2000). Theming strategies emphasizing elements considered suitable or vetted for the cultural consumption of tourists or new residents represent an attempt to construct fixed urban experiences not necessarily in-line with the original cultural production or forms. Cultural production is a multi-leveled process (Pratt 2008), and disrupting it may hide, as opposed to resolve, social problems (Vivant 2013). Development based on "cultural consumption and socialization causes the disappearance of existing social, cultural places in the neighborhood" (Vivant 2013: 61) and risks interrupting the replicative relationship between culture as an element of social structure and the average citizen as a participant and cultural

producer within that structure. For lower strata residents, the arrival of people seeking access to "authentic" cultural experiences manifests as encroachment on the boundaries of their physical and cultural space. As such, the benefits and consequences of cultural development and place marketing are not equally felt. Communities without voice in cultural development processes – often the same as those subject to redevelopment - are less likely to benefit from it than others, even when it occurs in their own backyard (Hampton 2005).

The Sociology of Work and Occupations

Work is a central activity and fundamental social institution in the United States (Kalleberg 2009). As sites of social reproduction, cities encompass the modern division of labor and provide a framework for the social structures that inform quality of life (McCann 2007). Occupational role and career attainment have become critical determinants of social position and mobility (Baron and Bielby 1980). The majority of workers in the contemporary US economy are employed in the knowledge and service sectors (Scott 2009). However, changes in employment relations have challenged the degree of social mobility afforded to workers based on wages or occupational status (Maume and Wilson 2015). The growth of the low-wage service economy, coupled with the gradual decline of manufacturing and unionized jobs, decreases the odds that the current generation of workers will experience the wage growth and social mobility of previous generations (Maume and Wilson 2015). If we accept the argument that occupation plays a major role in locating individuals within society, the implications of a growing low-wage contingent of labor speaks to the future intensification of class-based stratification. Therefore, understanding the relationship between work opportunity and potential outcomes in local labor markets is critical in advancing theories on the impact of knowledge and creative development on urban inequality.

Marginalization in the Segmented Labor Market

Economic transition has the potential to worsen extent stratification. Initial employment trajectories for the United States were calculated to reflect American post-War stability and failed to adequately account for differences in the labor market in terms of segmented labor market opportunity. Labor market segmentation refers to the formation of distinct channels of employment based on their "exposure to or insulation from market and nonmarket pressures" (Kaufman 2001: 653). Observed by Bonacich (1972) at the onset of economic stagflation, increasing market specialization, globalized production, and persistent change in employment relations has continued to contribute to labor market "split." Re-examining the labor market in light of workers' differential access to stable employment reveals that the employment stability thought to characterize the new employment relationship is not only uncommon, but is influenced by level of socioeconomic advantage at labor force entry.

Privately owned knowledge and expertise are valuable commodities in the knowledge and creative economy. Workers who possess high degrees of educational attainment and new, unique skill-sets are essential to the specialized market, to the detriment of workers who cannot meet those employability standards. General skills and training requirements, race and sex-typed work tasks, growth in employment levels, economic buffering and slack in resources, and linkages to actors beyond the worker and employer are all factors which contribute to the segmentation of work (Kaufman 2001). Split labor markets intensify differences in access to stable employment and trap disadvantaged workers into secondary employment opportunities (Hollister 2011). The decline of full-time, standard working arrangements, coupled with a renewed emphasis on education, has restricted access to high-wage employment and consequently increased competition for lower-wage occupations over time (Kalleberg 2009;

Ben-Ner and Urtasun 2013). In addition to level of education, splits in the labor market are influenced by labor pricing structures, which are informed by ranking potential employees according to their desirability as workers based on perceptions of expected productivity and trainability (Kaufman 2001).

In the United States, social hierarchies of race and ethnicity are paralleled in labor costs, even within occupational sectors. One function of a split or segmented labor market is to develop a structure which prevents high and low-cost laborers from co-occupying the same occupation (Bonacich 1972). The result is social control via the institution of work. Employers and employees alike perceive non-White workers as having lower wage thresholds for comparable work, which leads to the exclusion of those workers from occupations with higher wage standards. Patterns of hierarchically organized racial preference in hiring are visible within and across occupational groups even when controlling for the local labor market's racial composition, job market location, and regional differences in degree of between-group occupational segregation (Kornrich 2009, Cohen and Huffman 2007).

Good Jobs, Bad Jobs, and Skills Bias

Work is driven by institutions that are themselves driven by the power dynamics of internal and external politics. Occupations associated with creative city development- financial services, legal and health care professions, business management, scholars, analysts and researchers, designers and architects, and jobs in the technology field- have all been found to engage in social closure, the practice of using privilege or power to restrict access to opportunity (Parkin 1974; Florida 2002; McVeigh and Sobolewski 2007; Byron 2010). Social structures of accumulation that privilege the retention of occupations known to engage in social closure prime

local labor markets to create and maintain racial-ethnic segregation in their desirable, higher-wage occupations. As McVeigh and Sobolewski (2007) argue:

> Occupational segregation in local labor markets…can (1) promote high levels of consensus among members of privileged groups in support of any political agenda that will preserve occupational segregation, and (2) weaken resistance from members of disadvantaged groups to any political agenda that preserves categorical inequality (457).

Highly prized skills associated with working in professional services or knowledge and technology sectors are closely tied to autonomy and identity, which motivates the idea that knowledge and creative workers uniquely require certain sets of amenities to feel content with urban life (Hampson and Junor 2010; Florida 2002). Specialized knowledge and the ability to behave autonomously at work are also tied with to occupational prestige, a form of social organization which rates occupations based on public perceptions of the skill required to complete the work and its use to society (Treiman 1977). Negative skill evaluations reduce the prestige of an occupation and jeopardize its position within the socioeconomic hierarchy by helping to legitimate unfavorable changes, such as decreased wages, which serve to further reduce workers' power and influence (Treiman 1977).

Many urban amenities, including social activities, shopping, and dining options, affect job opportunity in the low-wage service sector. As such, creative city development practices engender power dynamics in which the cultural expectations or perceived needs of the group occupying prestigious occupations informs the job prospects of other, lower-status residents. Employment concentration in service and knowledge sectors has been attributed to "slack" in metropolitan economic bases due to employment loss in other, older sectors, including working class manufacturing and agriculture (Storper and Scott 2009). Vulnerability to precarious work-

work that is "uncertain, unpredictable, and risky from the point of view of the worker"- has subsequently increased (Kalleberg 2009: 2).

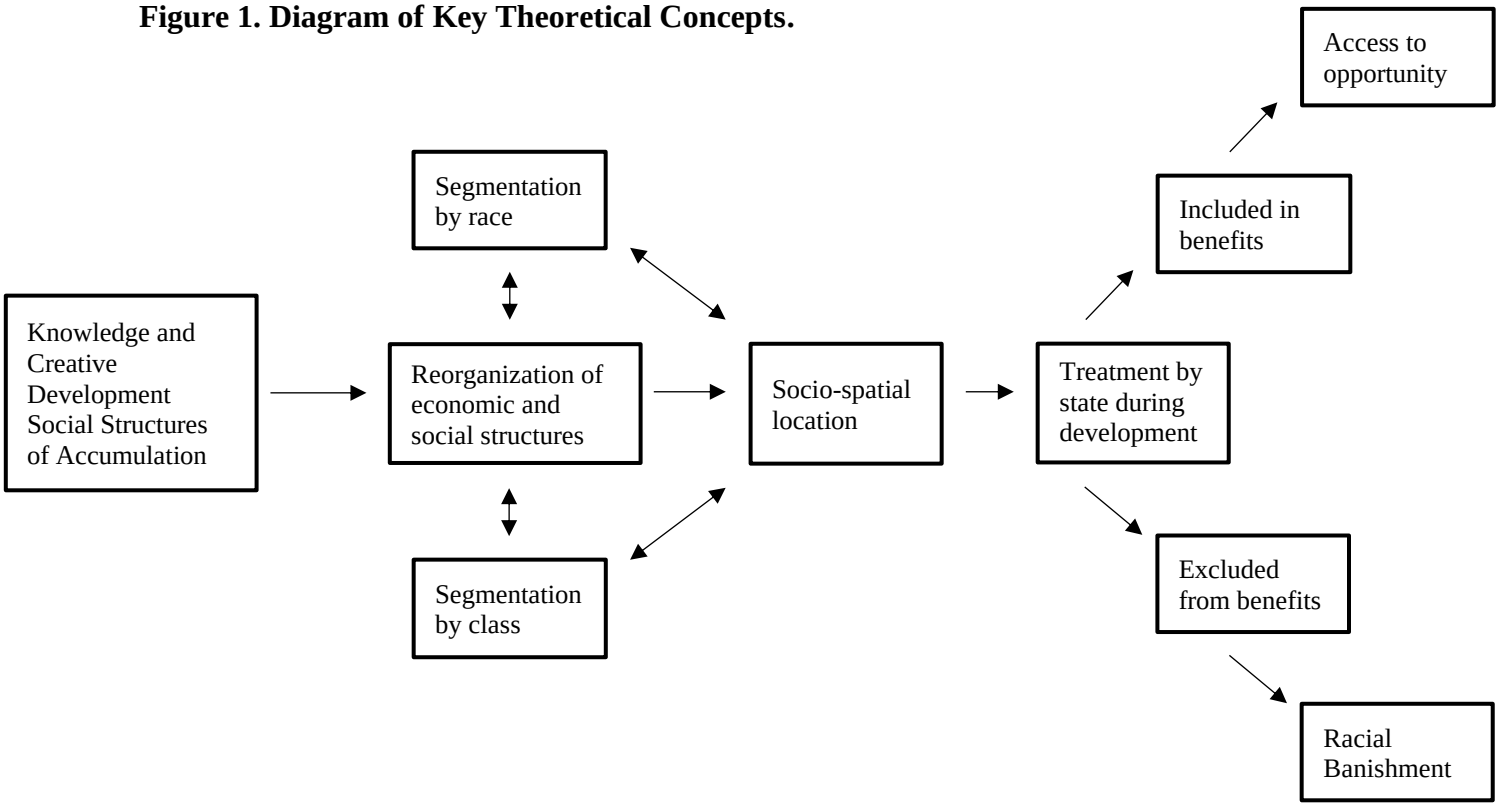
Precarious work often aligns with what is typically considered a "bad" job: work which offers no vertical advancement, benefits, or work-life balance, characterized additionally by minimal autonomy and low wages (Kalleberg 2011). It is disproportionately performed by the working poor. In the context of the knowledge and creative city, being poor and engaged with precarious work induces a form of double precarity: a position of vulnerability where external life-events or crises, such as eviction, cause job loss by interfering with the individual's ability to perform their precarious but still highly competitive job (Desmond and Gershenson 2016). The challenge of labor in the knowledge and creative economy is to determine how best to present, legitimize, and force the recognition of the invaluable skill sets workers across all economic sectors have developed in response to market change. Skill recognition is multi-dimensional. In addition to "seeing" skill, employers must give its possessor "respect and dignity – and [pay] for it" (Hampson and Junor 2010: 541).

My Contribution

The literature and concepts presented above provide an important theoretical base upon which to formulate new understandings on the role of the state in creating and maintaining the knowledge and creative development social structures of accumulation associated with exacerbations of urban inequality. My dissertation argues that knowledge and creative SSAs designed for the pursuit of global economic security in the contemporary economy are functionally incapable of accommodating the needs of citizens not structurally enabled to participate in the economic and social arenas favored by the economic orientation of such SSAs. Specific to my case, I argue that the highly centralized organization of political and

institutionalized power characterizing the knowledge and creative development SSA of Austin's late 20th and early 21st centuries engenders, through its pursuit of structures known for their own exclusionary processes, economic and social polarizations previously attributed to the market forces of urban redevelopment. Figure 1 provides a diagrammatic representation of my theoretical argument using key concepts.

Figure 1. Diagram of Key Theoretical Concepts.



Though couched in urban sociology or the sociology of work and occupations respectively, theoretical concepts related to economic transitions and their impact on the redevelopment and organization of urban space, place marketing, and marginalization attributable to labor market segmentation are bound together by a common process of racial-

ethnic exclusion. As such, the primary theoretical framework through which I will develop my contribution on the role of the state in knowledge and creative development is racial banishment. First introduced by critical geographers as a way to better understand the marginalization of Black communities in urban space, racial banishment theory argues that knowledge and creative development strategies reinforce the role of race-ethnicity in determining outcomes related to economic, social, and cultural opportunities in urban life (McKittrick 2011; Roy 2017). My contribution will be to synthesize concepts related to urban sociology and the sociology of work and occupations within the broader framework of racial banishment by identifying the role of the state in developing and executing policies associated with the exclusion of groups from the benefits of knowledge and creative development.

Identifying the Role of the State in Knowledge and Creative Development

My dissertation advances the use of historical archival materials, segregation indexes, and regressions of change in occupational group employment proportions on racial-ethnic compositions as a means of understanding treatments of urban space and communities within the context of knowledge and creative development SSAs. My contribution to creative cities literature is premised on the belief that knowledge and creative development policies constitute a de facto form of racial banishment, a social and spatial outcome made more severe than residential displacement or gentrification by the procedural and systemic nature of its occurrence:

> …the annihilation of black geographies in the Americas is deeply connected to an economy of race, and thus capitalism, wherein the process of uneven development calcifies the seemingly natural links between blackness, under-development, poverty, and place within differing global contexts (McKittrick 2011: 951).

Social structures of accumulation are tools designed by the state and other elites to advance structural forms capable of contributing towards the maintenance of their economic and social power. As engines of economic development, knowledge and creative development SSAs work to accumulate the industrial and occupational groups most associated with growth in the contemporary economy. Local governments will advance policies designed to privilege the needs of knowledge and creative industry in order to secure their competitive edge in the world cities system. The resultant developmental trajectory effectively formalizes occupational bias within policy, systematically devaluing the contributions of other non-knowledge and creative occupational groups to the health of the local economy.

Previous research at the intersection of urban sociology and the sociology of work and occupations has focused predominantly on peoples' "rights to the city," a phrase which encompasses the efforts of workers and consumers to maintain good standards of living and access to urban spaces during periods of knowledge and creative development (Greenberg and Lewis 2017). The content and approach of many right to the city campaigns are often not directly translatable from one city to the next. Local power structures, and the extent to which they are decentralized or centralized, are key factors in determining the success of right to the city activists at institutionalizing policies designed to disrupt urban social polarizations. Cities which allocate power from the bottom-up operate under a more decentralized system that empowers community coalitions of neighborhood organizations and labor unions to activate their agency and combat inequalities associated with the dual processes of labor market segmentation and urban redevelopment and renewal.

However, not all cities maintain the bottom-up power structure capable of accommodating these egalitarian efforts. Organized labor movements and unions are less likely

to be active and effective in cities with strong knowledge and creative economies (Vachon and Wallace 2013). Lack of strong labor union presence limits the power of community coalitions. As such, cities with a history of minimal manufacturing or heavy industry are more likely to have developed centralized power structures that allocate power from the top-down. In those cities, the ability of workers to intervene in developmental inequalities is circumvented by the elite class, whose role in the maintenance of the knowledge and creative development SSA is to protect their own, economically driven interests. While citizens who participate in knowledge and creative occupations would be more capable of posing interventions to polarization within a centralized power structure than people employed in service or industrial occupations, the odds that they would feel compelled to do so are not as high.

Spatializing the Sociology of Work and Occupations

Knowledge and creative development SSAs advance economic, social, and cultural arrangements that suit the needs of local government, as well as knowledge and creative workers. Spatializing the sociology of work and occupations is one avenue towards understanding the impact of occupational group accumulation on the redevelopment of urban space. A spatialized sociology of work and occupations emphasizes the intersectionality of the social and racial-ethnic hierarchies organizing both work and urban life. The same processes that induce social closure at work also induce it in the contemporary redevelopment of cityscapes. I argue that the order of those social and racial-ethnic hierarchies ultimately corresponds to elite perceptions on the profitability of various racial-ethnic and occupational groups as resources for a city to call upon or build capital from over the duration of the SSA. Urban precarity and spatial vulnerability in knowledge and creative development contexts is consequentially structurally and socially constructed, but carries predominantly racialized consequences.

As part of my contribution to creative cities literature I assert that top-down methods of urban development and planning preserve the rights of the capitalist class to organize the city to the detriment of less structurally-advantaged groups. The residential segregation, labor market segmentation, and urban renewal and redevelopment projects that disproportionately take place in spaces occupied by predominately non-White or lower income populations are not hapless economic outcomes in knowledge and creative cities. Rather, the racial banishment framework used in my dissertation argues that chronic bias in local governments' treatment of spaces and the communities embedded within them culminates in development policy which advances population banishment and removal under the guise of urban renewal. Consequently, part of what my dissertation will investigate is how development policies designed within the context of centralized knowledge and creative SSAs frame developmental narratives of urbanites falling outside of the purview of knowledge and creative development.

Urban Development and Entitlement to Space

Social structures of accumulation and the institutionalized regimes that ensure their continuation limit the capacity of urban policy makers to engage with equitable development strategies (Grodach 2012). For example, urban spaces that contain higher percentages of Black or lower-income residents are disproportionately subject to economic and social disinvestment (Freeman 2009; McKittrick 2011) which, over time, makes these areas substantially more likely to experience urban renewal (Fullilove 2016). That city governments may manipulate or exaggerate the condition of these areas to gain the blight designation required to make future, state sponsored efforts at redevelopment eligible for subsidized funding speaks to the appropriation of urban space for the benefit of accumulating capital first and preserving communities second (Greenberg and Lewis 2017). As such, my dissertation seeks to expand

theoretical considerations of spatial mismatch to reflect the treatment of disinvested neighborhoods in the age of urban redevelopment.

Amenities-centric redevelopments are often misapplied to previously disinvested space. As massive investments into space by local government and elite stakeholders, it is vital to the longevity of redevelopment projects that they target people, including tourists, new residents, and residents from outside the area of the amenity's location, who are capable of fully participating in the redeveloped and newly themed version of the host community's space (Kavaratzis 2007). However, the social and cultural amenities projects often couched in the redevelopment and renewal initiatives characteristic of knowledge and creative development policy may not accurately reflects the needs, consumption patterns, or even the cultural identity of tenured residents (Fainstein and Judd 1999; Savage 2011**)**. Place marketing strategies designed to secure developmental success and capital through controlling perceptions of a project's purpose, intended audience, and location represent impositions on the part of elite stakeholders into the meanings and functions of previously occupied space, and as such are tools designed to retrofit spatially mismatched development initiatives into projects aligned with extra-local, as opposed to local, visions on the potential of space.

Creative applications of spatial mismatch theory reiterate that the centralized concentrations of power prevalent to knowledge and creative development SSAs are not presently capable of simultaneously preserving the interests of elites while addressing the needs of marginalized populations. Economic and social polarizations as well as other burdens associated with contemporary urban development are the outcomes of acts undertaken by creators of the SSA to banish, rather than redevelop, structurally misaligned or stymied communities from spaces identified as being potentially economically productive (McKittrick

2011). Under the lens of racial banishment theory and grounded by concepts from urban sociology and the sociology of work and occupations, my dissertation contributes to literature on the roles of race-ethnicity and employment in occupational groups in determining one's relationship to the acts and actors embedded within the centralized power structures of knowledge and creative development SSAs. In doing so, this dissertation concludes with policy implications for the decentralization of power in knowledge and creative development SSAs, with the understanding that reframing the roles of the state, developers, and local community in the context of a growth trajectory may help advance more egalitarian and spatially aligned urban redevelopment and labor market policies in the contemporary economy.

Chapter 2

Welcome to Austin: Historicizing the Dialectical-Conflict of Growth and Development

Introduction

Austin, Texas is a bright and beautiful city. But half of the top ten major demographic trends recently identified by its city demographer are arguably negative. Urban sprawl has intensified amidst growing income inequality; the residential development taking place in Austin's urban core is both not enough, and too expensive, to sufficiently house new and tenured residents. The population share of families-with-children has decreased, with one study by the Institute for Urban Policy Research and Analysis at the University of Texas at Austin finding, "'there are now more dogs than children in east Austin'" (Tang and Falola 2018: 8). African American population shares have declined, with city demographer Ryan Robinson estimating that in as soon as a few decades, the population share of African Americans could be as small as 5%, with the majority of that percentage being pushed to Travis County suburbs.[4] And while Hispanic population shares have grown, dense clusters of Hispanic residents have formed in the suburban and rural portions of southeast Travis County, which contradicts the expectations of residential mobility and dispersion typically associated with proportionately large ethnic groups.

A green and lux natural environment and gleaming, new age skyscrapers paint Austin as an urban oasis in the heart of central Texas. However, the social stratifications implicated in the Top Ten Demographic Trends of the early 21st century betray a dark and deep vein of inequality running below the city's surface. The reality of Austin's growth over the past few decades is that the bulk of the knowledge and creative city development practices that have fueled it are carried

[4] Source: "Top Ten Demographic Trends in Austin, Texas." Compiled by City Demographer Ryan Robinson (no relation) using data from Census 2010 and the American Community Survey. Updated March 2016.

out in physical and social spaces previously relegated to disenfranchised groups. The entry of new development into these historically disinvested spaces represents an effort on the part of private developers and city officials to integrate greater swatches of space into the contemporary amenities associated with urban vitality and economic success.

Cities are "territories in which social reproduction – a notion intimately tied to…quality of life – takes place" (McCann 2007: 89). As such, determining who has been served by these knowledge and creative development practices is vital towards understanding the process by which inequalities become embedded into the social structures of cities over time. In the four years since the Top Ten Demographic Trends for Austin, Texas were released, the city has leaned into a tourism and economic campaign that projects an image of the city incompatible with the realities of its stratifications. With the City Demographer asserting that the trends reviewed above are related to gentrification, there is very little contemporary evidence to suggest that the city has not been aggressively campaigning for anything less than what has developed over the past decade. From population loss to the reimagining of local cultural heritage into stories palatable for international tourists, the City of Austin praises the "open-minded" character of its citizens while maintaining a practice of social and economic closure in its development policy.[5]

Path dependency is a mechanism for framing the trajectory and outcomes of decisions made at critical junctures in sequences of action, otherwise known as turning points (Rast 2009). Each step beyond the critical juncture of a decision-point serves to differentiate between the possible outcomes of a path. In this chapter I hypothesize that the rise of structural, spatial, and cultural stratifications in the physical geography of Austin, Texas is directly related to planning

[5] Source: The official website of Visit Austin. Path: Home/Plan a Trip/Cultural Heritage/BLACK AUSTIN. Accessed online 2/17/2020. https://www.austintexas.org/plan-a-trip/cultural-heritage/black-austin/

decisions made decades prior. By constructing an original, revisionist history of urban economic and cultural development planning and decision making in Austin, Texas, this chapter seeks to demonstrate that the City of Austin has practiced agency and skill in deploying its resources towards the purpose of maintaining a globally competitive edge.

The nature of urban development is such that every path taken is shadowed by outcomes attributable to the paths not taken. I use a dialectical conflict approach to construct a timeline of decisions that have comprised and impacted the City of Austin's economic and social trajectory thus far by juxtaposing the perspectives of local planning, government, and business elites against the perspectives of non-elite community members. The findings demonstrate that Austin's developmental practices and contemporary economy were forged from decades of social conflict, implicating local government and planning regimes as actors in the construction of events contributing to present-day social and structural inequities. Processes of racial and economic exclusion examined in subsequent chapters are therefore attributable to the actions of city government reviewed here.

Review of Literature

Unequal distributions of poverty across geographic areas has been previously associated with community or individual failures to integrate with city systems (Vaughan et al. 2005). Area disinvestment, a form of poverty attributable to lack of financial, economic, or political support, is a precondition of deterioration, a prerequisite for urban renewal (Mah 2017). In the absence or abandonment of infrastructure required to support basic goods, services, or businesses capable of employing local residents, communities begin to experience ruination, the literal neglect of people and space to the point of ruin (Mah 2017; Fullilove 2016).

Disinvestment and the ruination associated with it increase the likelihood that an area and the communities embedded within it will become subject to future attempts at urban renewal. The disinvestment of communities from space is a slow and violent process motivated by upper-to-middle-class lifestyle evaluations and ambitions. Position within racial-ethnic and class hierarchies color perceptions of neighborhood livability and influence determinations on the extent to which different neighborhoods should be structurally enabled to integrate into urban life. As time goes on, local government and other elite stakeholders frame disinvested neighborhoods as sub-optimal uses of space, regardless of the cohesive and culturally rich communities operating within them (Drake and Clayton 1945; Gans 1965). The capacity of urban areas for swift financial reinvestments after becoming disinvested reveals the extent to which exclusion from economic, social, and cultural structures creates vulnerabilities within community over time (Mah 2017). Their gradual reintegration into broader urban economic and cultural structures is subsequently phrased as redevelopment, reinvestment, or rehabilitation.

Processes of social marginalization and replacement attributable to area disinvestment and urban renewal are normalized via "the uneven development of official memory" (Nixon 2011: 66), a framing tactic which shifts blame for polarization or displacement on market events rather than on the choices of government leaders. Civically, it can take years, even decades, for socioeconomic inequalities to be recognized as negative population outcomes attributable to systematic neglect (Nixon 2011). In the context of urban planning and development, the slow violence of urban renewal, its unequal distribution across space, and the disenfranchisements attributable to it are further exacerbated by the narratives deployed to justify its happening (Nixon 2011).

Data & Methods

The research objective for this chapter, to construct a timeline of Austin's development history, is informed by data from historic archival and other primary source documents. The decision to use archival material for this project was driven by the assumption that "choice is not an isolated act, but rather one made in a context of many others' choosings" (Abbott 2001: 253).

Identification and Collection of Archival Documents

Collection of archival materials began in May 2018 in Austin, Texas and was conducted in October, November, and December of that same year, as well as in January, April, and December of 2019. City of Austin archival documents are archived at the Austin History Center (AHC), a specialized branch of the City of Austin public library system authorized to collect and preserve information pertaining to the history of Austin and Travis County. Documents and information falling under the purview of the AHC include the activities and correspondence of local government, businesses, resident and neighborhood groups, activists and non-profit organizations, and the personal files of important local figures.

While the public is welcome to conduct research at the history center using AHC archival materials, documents archived at the AHC are not permitted to leave the designated reading room and members of the public are not permitted to enter archival storage areas. Documents cannot be removed from AHC but may be photocopied or digitally copied to USB at the user's discretion. Collection of archival materials for inclusion in this study was designed around these constraints, and the knowledge that my time in the archival reading room would be limited. Collection of archival and primary source documents was a three-step process. The first step involved a preliminary search for documents via the Austin History Center's archival and manuscript index. AHC's archival and manuscript index is an online search engine operated by

the AHC designed to enable remote searches of the Austin History Center's manuscript catalogue.[6] Key words and phrases describing areas of interest relevant both to the research objective and contextualization of Austin's developmental history were input into the AHC archive and manuscript index. Pre-determined terms and phrases input into the AHC online manuscript index were: "economic development", "segregation", "racism", "cultural development", "development", and "neighborhood change." Terms and phrases which emerged during the research process and were input into the system were: "heritage", "heritage development", "heritage marketing", "cultural heritage development", "heritage tourism", "PACE", "Preserve Austin's Cultural Environment", "Passon heritage society", "Black heritage society", "historical preservation fund", "heritage tourism division", and "visitor impact task force."

Return of archival and manuscript index search results instigated the implementation of stage two of data collection. Each search terms or phrase returned a list of ascension numbers assigned to individual documents and document-series, the majority of which were hyperlinked to webpages detailing descriptions of their contents. Stage two of archival data collection involved the review of information provided in these hyperlinked pages to determine whether or not the manuscript could reasonably contain information pertaining to the economic, social, or cultural development of Austin. The number of individual documents filed under each accession number varied depending on the nature of the collection. For example, the accession number of a

[6] The link to the archive and manuscripts index is provided here: https://library.austintexas.gov/ahc/archives/home?search=heritage&field_accessno=&page=1. Archival documents and items are processed and indexed by AHC staff according to the guidelines of three subject terminology systems: Faceted Application of Subject Terminology (FAST), the Library of Congress Subject Headings list (LCSH), and the Library of Congress Name Authority File (LCNAF).[6] Document subject headings and index terms are derived from a two-step verification process. Archival staff first find the appropriate heading under the FAST system and confirm a corresponding heading in the LCSH/LCNAF system.

planning report may contain only the planning report, whereas the accession number assigned to the records of a neighborhood planning group may contain dozens of individual documents.

Access restrictions and time constraints – I was only able to access the complete records of archival documents when I was physically in Austin – necessitated the elimination of non-replicable microfilms and audio or visual recordings from the types of archival materials eligible for inclusion in this project. The decision to include or exclude documents from further consideration was informed by several selection criteria, including: my prior knowledge of the history of Austin, subject-heading (i.e. documents pertaining to racism or discrimination were always selected for further analysis), the document's source (i.e. government, important Austin figures, known activist organization), and ultimate relevance of contents as described (i.e. the individual family history of Walter Ewing Long, "the father of Austin city planning," is not relevant to this project, but documents related to his work as a city planner are).[7] The second stage of data collection yielded 54 unique accession numbers containing documents appropriate for close analysis.

The third phase of data collection was a multi-day, multi-year process of efficient, in-person document review in order to determine relevance of information to my research objectives. During these in-person visits to the Austin History Center, I would request that items contained under the accession numbers identified in phase two be brought up from the archives for personal review. Not all items contained under an accession number were requested: in some cases, the description of the accession number was detailed enough to enable the specification of which boxes from the collection, exactly, I wanted to review.

[7] Prior knowledge of Austin's history is dually informed by my own position as a "local" as well as a separate archival data collection effort undertaken in 2016. A similar selection process was used to identify 8 economic and cultural development planning documents. Their collection was undertaken by my Austin-based "research assistant," AKA my mother, who visited the archives and copied the identified documents on my behalf.

Documents that appeared relevant to the research objective upon initial review were digitally scanned to USB to be closely read and coded at a later date. The majority of data collected for this chapter of the dissertation come from primary sources. Documents scanned to USB range in type from City Council Meeting transcripts, neighborhood association meeting minutes, the recommendations of planning consultant agencies, city planning documents, the communications of non-profits with government officials, and communications between private citizens and city leadership. A total of 240 documents amounting to approximately 2000 pages were scanned to USB. A complete list of scanned documents, organized chronologically by decade, is available in the appendix.

Analyzing Archival and Primary Source Materials

All documents that had been scanned to USB were thoroughly and completely read post completion of the data collection effort. The primary methodological approach of this chapter is content analysis with close reading applied. Close reading is defined as the attempt to identify progressions for the purpose of constructing the environmental and social contexts impacting agents' mindsets. Close reading presumes that texts contain key terms which shape the content and progression of the ideas contained within them, allowing researchers to trace the construction and direction of arguments and actions. Research notes were taken as needed in order to preserve the context under which specific documents were created.

Seven thematic categories encompassing themes on development strategy, West Austin citizen development complaints, city official/department receives information regarding inequality, City takes actions to address inequality, East Austin citizen development complaints, indication of desire to pursue equality, and indication that the City did not believe accusations of

inequality were identified in the initial reading. Thematic categories were developed via inductive process; several specific instances were used to create an initial series of general codes, later refined during additional coding passes. A second round of open coding was conducted in order to identify the most relevant paragraphs from each document. The selected paragraphs were then subject to two additional rounds of iterative, inductive coding, with each paragraph being read line-by-line and coded for the thematic categories identified in the initial reading. Thematic categories were added, refined, or discarded during the analytic coding process.

Following the Path: Austin before the Boom and After

Geographic location has heavily influenced the City of Austin's deliberate pursuit of a development strategy based in the ideals and conditions of the knowledge and creative economy. Local topography and other environmental considerations, including the necessity of ecological and water resource preservation, prevented late-1800s Austin from following the precedent of other major Texas cities by engaging heavily with oil and gas or commercial agriculture (Orum 1987). A transportation-based economy was similarly out of the question as rail system expansion in Texas declined to pass through Austin while laying major arterial and other important industrial railways.[8] Geographic and infrastructural limitations in establishing heavy industrial or agricultural sources of economic capital led Austin city government to consider other potentially viable, non-industrial resources at their disposal. The identification of The University of Texas at Austin (UT Austin), established in 1881, as a potential resource represents the onset of the city's commitment to extra-industrial economic pursuits.

[8] There are some rail-lines in Austin. State Highway Loop-1, one of Austin's major North-South highways, runs parallel to what was the Missouri-Pacific Railroad's (now Union Pacific) line. The railway was first routed through Austin in 1915, decades after city officials decided to pursue knowledge and government services as an economic base. Due to its location, Loop-1 is affectionately and commonly known as "MoPac," after the original owner of the railway it runs next to.

Path-dependency, a variation of causal dependence in which earlier happenings affect the possible outcomes of event sequences occurring later in time (Sewell 2005; Isaac 1997), is a powerful tool in examining the reproduction and entrenchment of urban development strategies over time (Rast 2009). Since the late-1800s, the preservation of UT Austin's vast financial and educational assets via city investment and cooperation in research and other expansion projects has become an established priority of Austin city government, signaling over a century-long commitment to knowledge production. The partnership between UT Austin and local government is structurally and culturally pervasive; up until the early 2000s, Austin was predominantly characterized as a bigger-than-average college town.

Planning Inequity: An Abridged History of Austin's Development Policy: 1928-1982.

Previous studies examining the history of Austin (Orum 1987, Auyero 2015, Tretter 2016) have focused on the rise of the knowledge and creative sectors, specifically technology, in the early 1980s as a means of explaining the city's current and projected success. However, I argue that 1928 is the onset of Austin's path towards knowledge and creative development and the social polarization and racial banishment associated with such development strategies. Turning points generate from internal event sequences which entrench decisions and influence outcomes (Abbott 2001). Recommendations found in "A City Plan for Austin, Texas," published in 1928, identify Austin as a "cultural and educational center" whose future would be based not in industrial development, but on the cultivation and continued support for state and educational institutions in addition to cultural and environmental preservation (Koch & Fowler 1928: 3).[9] "A City Plan for Austin, Texas" was a significant turning point in Austin's development and is a

[9] Source: A City Plan for Austin, Texas. Koch & Fowler, 1928.

critical juncture in the path to the City's contemporary organization. The socioeconomic implications of the 1928 plan span decades. "A City Plan for Austin, Texas" is associated with the onset of redlining real estate practices and legalization of segregation in Austin city limits, formalizing the divide between Whites and non-Whites in the city. The 1928 plan also provided city leadership with an official recommendation to pursue knowledge and creative industries as opposed to other industry.

Planning documents published from 1943 and beyond describe events and internal logics indicative of path dependency originating from the recommendations given in 1928. Planning documents from 1943 and 1945 cite a concerning lack of heavy industry and note missed opportunities for railway reorganization and central business district investment.[10] A preliminary planning report written by the Austin city planning commission and published in 1947 bypasses the concerns of the decade's two previously commissioned reports in favor of echoing the recommendations of the 1928 plan: that Austin should preserve beauty and culture and fully cooperate with and prioritize the expansion of the University of Texas over other opportunities for land usage.

By the mid-20th century Austin's economy was dominated by the service and administrative sectors. Up to 25% of the workforce was employed in local, state, or federal government positions, with education, retail and wholesale trade, business management, and recreation acting as other major sources of employment (Wise 1954).[11] The narrow industrial representation characterizing Austin's economy was cited as problematic in 1958, with planning consultants arguing that a diversified industrial base would balance the city's economy and

[10] Both documents are the planning recommendations of G.S. Moore, a consultant hired by the City of Austin city planning division to construct updated development guidelines. His recommendations were published in two parts.
[11] Master Plan Proposal, City of Austin, Texas. Harold F. Wise. 1954

provide a more stable tax base for schools and other public facilities.[12] Similar concerns reappeared eleven years later in 1969, during Austin's participation in the Model Cities Program.

One hundred fifty municipalities participated in The Model Cities Program, a branch of the Great Society reforms and anti-poverty initiatives passed through legislation in 1966 under President Johnson. Austin's participation was based around improving its "target area," the historically Black, Hispanic, and poor neighborhoods located east of the city's downtown core and towards the south, southeast boundaries of the city. The mid-planning statement submitted in 1969 document states that the city's greatest need was for highly trained professionals, leading to increased need for paraprofessionals. Service occupations concentrated in health care, human services, and custodial/care institution are listed as requiring more personnel. Though the average unemployment rate in the Austin-area decreased from 1960 as a result of growth in government, educational, administrative, processing, and other light industries, the Model Cities First-Year Action Plan identifies spatial mismatch between available jobs in the target area, lack of large industrial employers, competition with other, more highly-educated residents, and inability to entice businesses to hire the "hard core" unemployed as reasons for minimal change in the target area's rate of un-or-under employment, specifically.[13] The action plan of the third and final Model Cities year states: existing and new industries locating in Austin from the mid-1960s required higher levels of education and skills than what residents of the program's target neighborhoods could match.[14]

[12] Source: The Austin Plan: Report Prepared by Pacific Planning and Research, Formerly Harold F. Wise Associates, Consultants to the Austin City Planning Commission. 1958.
[13] Source: First Year Action Plan for the City of Austin Model Neighborhood Program. Austin (Tex). 1970.
[14] Source: Third Year Action Plan for City of Austin Model Cities Program. Austin (Tex). 1973.

Consistent calls for and recommendations privileging light over heavy industry led the City of Austin's government and planning divisions to successfully exploit the presence of ideal conditions for the development of the service and knowledge industrial sectors. In the global transition from manufacturing to services, Austin successfully utilized the city's wealth of human capital as a means of sustaining and anticipating a new economic mode at a time when the greater United States was undergoing economic transience. However, as the Model Cities Program materials indicate, not all citizens were structurally positioned to be equal benefactors in the economic growth and stability associated with Austin's commitment to knowledge, service, and other light industry. Several other historical documents dated within the timeframe of the Model Cities initiative provide context for events leading up to and emerging from the plan.

The City of Austin's plan for their participation in the Model Cities program initiative was fraught with conflict from the start. In a letter to the Mayor and City Council dated 1968, a Model Cities task force member openly questioned the underlying motivations behind seeking program funds, stating:

> What I am afraid we may do instead is simply reorganize a number of established civic goals under new auspices and use Model Cities funding to achieve their accomplishment…The development of Town lake, the revitalization of Lower Congress Avenue, a Junior College, a Performing Arts Center – all are eminently worthwhile and desirable projects. The difficulty is, that few if any of them would more than marginally affect the lives and fortunes of those whom the Model Cities program, as I understand it, is chiefly designed to benefit. [15]

Two years later, in 1970, the concerns of the application process – that the purpose of pursuing Model Cities funding may be obfuscated by other municipal projects - manifest in the form of a

[15] Letter from Sam E. Dunnam, member of the Physical Facilities Task Force to the Mayor and City Council. Found within materials archived collectively under "Model Neighborhood Program: Proposed Application for Planning a Model Neighborhood, 1968 (A711.409764 Au)."

competing city-wide improvement plan organized by the City Manager as an alternative to Model Cities. The competing plan promised "effective, fast improvements in Austin, regardless of section of town"[16] and focused primarily on safety and aesthetics rather than the "people development"[17] and social problems – in health, education, housing, jobs, and recreational opportunity - slated for address in East Austin under the Model Cities initiative. Though the competing plan ultimately failed to gain traction, that members of city government would attempt to divert federal funds from a critically marginalized community in order to service other parts of the city, instead, speaks to a reluctance on the part of city officials to invest time and effort into the "people development" deemed necessary for integrating members of the East Austin community into Austin's growing knowledge and professional service economy.

Debate over the purpose, necessity, and role of Model Cities federal funding is only one example of the City of Austin demonstrating reluctance to undergo social-structural redevelopment to improve outcomes for Black residents. While reports from coalitions and committees chartered to investigate allegations of discrimination indicate little-to-no "overt, legally-definable discrimination" in Austin, these same reports identify de facto discrimination "in the persistence of traditional and largely unconscious barriers to equal opportunity for full citizenship."[18] City of Austin leadership can be implicated in the continuance of the de facto discrimination characterizing Austin's race relations in the 1960s. In 1964, in response to calls from the Committee on Human Relations to "make of Austin a place where equality of opportunity and social justice are recognized realities", a city council member claimed that

[16] Source: "News Release by Harry Akin regarding the Model Cities Program, 4/7/1970 (AR.Z.016)."
[17] Source: "Model Neighborhood Program: Proposed Application for Planning a Model Neighborhood, 1968 (A711.409764 Au)."
[18] Source: "Austin Equal Citizenship Corporation, finalized letter to Mrs. Reed and drafts (AR.2012.006)." This is a first-year report of this corporation chartered in 1966. Therefore, year of document is estimated to be 1967.

Austin "[got] along on a voluntary basis."[19] This is despite social closure taking place against African American members of city departments, claiming instead that the lack of Black workers in leadership or high-wage occupations was due to self-selection. Four years later in 1968, a fair housing ordinance against racial discrimination in housing, aggressively lobbied against by the Austin Board of Realtors and voted on by the citizens of Austin, failed to pass.

The 1974 Capital Area Manpower Planning Annual Report to the City Council provides further evidence of de facto discrimination within forms of structural opportunity, such as work, and details the continued necessity of intensive workforce development in East Austin despite the efforts of the Model Cities Program. The 1970 unemployment rate of the Black population, specifically, and of majority-minority census tracts in Austin were 2-4 times higher than the average urban area unemployment rate of 3.1%, which was itself lower than the national average. Blacks and Hispanics were found to be disproportionately employed in low-wage, low-status occupations, and structurally disadvantaged by extremely high competition for entry-level positions characterized by wages "below the national minimum."[20] In a second, formal attempt to bring "disadvantaged job applicants" up to the employability standards of the local economy, the Capital Area Manpower Planning initiative recommended specific workforce development in the areas of ranch and farm help, sales, and paraprofessional social services. However, these recommendations were counterintuitive. The same report earlier states that agricultural employment was projected to drop by 30% in the Austin area by 1980, found that qualified minorities were not being hired into sales clerk positions, and claimed that social service occupations were oversaturated.

The actions and decisions characterizing the City of Austin's planning process from the

[19] Source: "Report of City Council's Committee on Human Relations. (AR.1991.057)." 1964.
[20] Source: "The Capital Area Manpower Planning Council Annual Report (A311.11CA)." 1974.

early 1900s to early 1980s provide a contextual base from which to understand Austin's social and economic trajectory from the mid 1980s to 2020. Despite interest in "[providing] a stable, high level of employment and fully utilize human resources…"[21], the City of Austin repeatedly failed, even after receipt of federal funding, to make the social-structural improvements necessary to integrate marginalized communities into the local economy. Forgoing the industrial diversification first called for in the 1940s contributed to the extremely competitive environment for available low-skill, and consequently low-wage occupations of later decades. However, the "Austin Tomorrow Comprehensive Plan" drafted in 1977 fails to acknowledge the connection, citing insufficient or inappropriate education and skill attainment as the primary mechanisms behind persistent economic disadvantage and deteriorating housing conditions in the East Austin area.[22]

Progressive members of Austin city leadership faced internal and external resistance to the implementation of initiatives such as fair housing, the charter of a Commission on Human Relations, and the Model Cities Program, all intended to address the marginalization of East Austin citizens. Though a 1964 ordinance drafted in favor of instituting a Commission on Human Relations in Austin states, "…that prejudice, and the practice of discrimination against any individual or group because of race, creed, color or national origin, is contrary to good public policy and detrimental to the peace, progress and welfare of the city,"[23] there is little evidence to suggest that elite stakeholders in Austin's economic and social development willingly and adequately addressed the impacts of past prejudice against the East Austin area via planning efforts undertaken through the 1970s.

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[21] Source: "Austin Tomorrow Comprehensive Plan: City of Austin, February 1977. (A711.409764AuP693)."
[22] Source: "Austin Tomorrow Comprehensive Plan: City of Austin, February 1977. (A711.409764AuP693)."
[23] Source: "Report of City Council's Committee on Human Relations. (AR.1991.057)." 1964.

Two citizen's groups, the Black Citizens' Task Force (BCTF) and Austin Area Urban League, developed in response to unsatisfactory progress towards social and structural equality for Black and Hispanic citizens in Austin's metro area. In regards to employment, a letter from the BCTF to the City Manager dated 1978 alleges that affirmative action had yet to benefit Black workers, stating that Black employees in positions of authority within city departments had been embedded there by federal, as opposed to local programs, and were subject to harassment and intimidation while in their positions.[24] Additional documents from the BCTF from 1980-81 are similarly focused on affirmative action and employment, stating:

> Racism in the workplace is a cancerous growth spreading throughout the entire body of politics in the City of Austin. The insidious racial climate that targets African-Americans to be the last hired and the first fired is slowly strangling the life out of the African-American Community causing the loss of income and the loss of jobs…the present business and quality of life conditions that attract such firms as Semetech to the City of Austin will not seem so appealing when marred by the racism that exists in the municipal ranks.[25]

In their statement on racism in the workplace the BCTF unknowingly echoed a sentiment from 1968, that if nothing else, poor race relations have the potential to discourage competitive companies from locating in Austin. [26] Other BCTF documents offer more insight into the early 1980s racial climate, asserting that Black city employees lack access to intrinsic rewards enjoyed by their White peers, including job security, opportunities to advance, and wage increases.[27] In

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[24] Source: "Black Citizens' Task Force, letter to the City Manager regarding City Personnel Department and Affirmative Action (AR.2004.037)." 1978.

[25] Source: "The Black Citizens' Task Force Position on Racism in the Workplace. (AR.2004.037)." Estimated year, 1980 given content and context referenced in document.

[26] In a memo to the Human Relations Commission from Jack Otis, Chairman of Public Accommodation and Service Committee, Otis relays that a "top executive" from IBM was "humiliated" when trying to locate in Austin, and consequently left. In the memo Otis states, "the community lost the type of person we need no matter what race. Why. [sic]." Source: "Families Displaced By…packet, containing excerpts from Dick Gregory's address at the first Senior Class Dinner. February 1968. (AR.2012.006)."

[27] Sources: "The Black Citizens' Task Force letter to a council member regarding the 1980-81 general budget, September 22, 1980. (AR.2004.037)" and "Recommendations for and Implementation of the City of Austin Affirmative Action Plan, presented by The Black Citizens' Task Force. February 20, 1980. (AR.2004.037)."

an effort to address problems beyond labor market inequality, the BCTF announced the formation of the Austin Minority Coalition in 1982, purposed to presented a "united front to deal with problems that are common to the Chicano and Black people of Austin. "[28]

Like the BCTF, the Austin Area Urban League was similarly concerned with the continued, disproportionate un-or-under-employment of "Blacks and other minorities." Rather than wait for effective city-led initiatives, the Urban League developed a slate of programs designed to address various social problems previously under the purview of the City of Austin. In their first year of operation, the Urban League received $25,000 from the city towards their Economic Development & Employment Program and $13,000 for their home management and maintenance, employment services, public service employees, and community home improvement programs, all designed towards the purpose of making life about more than just survival for the city's Black and Hispanic residents.[29]

Spatializing the Dialectic of Austin's Economic Development: 1983-2003

Archival records indicate that citizen groups and neighborhood associations logged increased complaints and resistance to development policy in the late 20th century. By that time, the City of Austin's commitment to maintaining an advanced economy, despite protests from citizens not structurally positioned to participate fully in it, was the norm. The mid-1980s saw Austin on the precipice of stepping into the new, technology forward economy that would come to dominate the increasingly global, competitive market. With the University of Texas' science and engineering departments in a state of constant expansion (Orum 1987; Tretter 2016),

[28] Source: "Black Citizens' Task Force: Continuous Struggle for Black Equality, letter to the members of the Austin Planning Commission. March 8, 1982. (AR.2004.037)."
[29] Source: "Austin Area Urban League, 1st Annual Report: 1977-1978. (AR.20140.047)."

development incentives designed to bring more knowledge and creative industry to the area were formally established:

> In 1983, incentives were offered to attract the Microelectronics and Computer Technology Corporation, a research consortium of major U.S. electronics and computer companies. During the 1980s, the city also began to direct tax incentives *only* toward operations that involved research and product development, because these kinds of activities were more powerful in stimulating long-term innovation and high-wage job growth. A major 3M corporate R&D laboratory was recruited and a successful bid for Sematech was made in 1987. Sematech, a large research center/consortium dedicated to semiconductor process innovation, was supported by major federal government expenditures and contributions from corporate partners. This rapid expansion of the region's research and development, led by local economic development efforts, was crucial to the expansion and upgrading of major tech facilities such as Motorola (now Freescale), IBM, Advanced Micro Devices, and the region's continued successful recruiting of high-tech firms in rapidly changing microelectronics and computing sectors (Oden 2008: 29). [emphasis mine]

As city officials moved to incentive research and development and technological manufacturing, the attention of leadership and citizens alike turned towards developing Austin into a representation of new American progress. Preliminary concerns to this effect were concentrated around the state of Austin's central business district and downtown core, and the management of its revitalization.

Though interested in pursuing economic growth and development, the City expressed a desire to maintain a high degree of control over initiatives aimed downtown and the areas immediately surrounding it. A 1983 memo from the director of planning to the chairman and other members of the planning commission reminds its recipients that the fundamental principle of downtown planning is to maintain a compact central business district. Arguing that growth would be naturally controlled by, "the capacity of the overall metropolitan economy to absorb each additional increment of physical growth," the director of planning asserted that the

commission's principle concern would be to determine "the appropriate geographic location for certain magnitudes of development."[30]

However, not all City of Austin departments approved of the planning commission's approach to managing Austin's growth. Inter-department conflict stemmed from the perception that "anything the developers [sic] want, they get; and that the neighborhoods and citizens of Austin are suffering and paying." Board members of the Parks & Recreation Department (PARD) argued that Austin was "fighting for its existence" and required new, "high tech," "entrepreneurial," "visionary" alternatives to industrial-age growth management policy that matched its burgeoning high tech economy. PARD called for "pathfinding" leadership - active, rather than passive, development characterized by constantly searching for and seizing opportunity. Yet the problems and conflicts between the City and Old West, South, and East Austin indicate that for some areas and residents, path confirmation, and continued conflict over the impact of development, would be the more likely scenario as Austin progressed.

Documents from the early 1980s indicate that in areas located proximally to downtown, problems attributable to Austin's earlier developmental paths were emerging. While the problems varied, the areas which experienced them share three things in common: proximity to downtown, high percentages of Black or Hispanic residents, and lack of agency in the development process. In Old West Austin, whose name stems from Austin's smaller, original footprint, the City of Austin Planning Department flagged what they called the "most unusual population shifts" in the city, citing sharp decreases in the minority population of the neighborhood – particularly troubling given that Old West Austin contains Clarksville, the first Black freedomtown west of the Mississippi - alongside marked increases in the White

[30] Source: "Memorandum to Gilbert M. Martinez, Chairman and Members of the Planning Commission from Richard R. Lillie, Director of Planning regarding Downtown Development Concepts. (AR.2011.008)." Year 1983.

population.[31] In South Austin, residents faced what one attorney claimed was an illegal municipal annexation of their area, which resulted in their disenfranchisement from voting in a local bond election.[32] In East Austin, in response to a city ordinance to curb prostitution in the area, the Black Citizens Task Force levied charges of misappropriation of federal funds and poor problem prioritization against the City:

> East Austin has always been prostituted...There have been many, many times when East Austin qualified the city for federal funds and those funds were reprogramed to other areas. That's a form of prostitution! When voters voted for certain improvements in East Austin, and those funds were reprogramed to other areas – that's a form of prostitution! When a community is saturated [sic] with drugs, which happens to be a mind and body killer, and you choose to focus on street prostitution, that's another form of prostitution…Red-lining by financial institutions in East Austin. That's another form of prostitution. When developers and slumlords buy up property in East Austin, and then not develop or maintain that property that's a form of prostitution...So East Austin has always been prostituted. It is more visible now than ever. Look at the rest of this city, then drive though [sic] East Austin, then you realize just how long East Austin has been prostituted.[33]

Rehabilitating and reinvesting in Austin's downtown core, including the major East Austin commercial corridors running perpendicular to it, became primary objectives for development plans designed and undertaken in the last decades of the 20th century. The "Austinplan" was the City's most notable planning opportunity in the 1980s and carried with it the potential to introduce a new turning point into Austin's development trajectory – one which could prioritize equitable development and curb the displacement of residents from areas such as Old West Austin. Purposed to serve as an updated city plan, the Austinplan planning initiative took several years to develop. Various task groups representing different city sectors and

[31] Source: "Letter to Members of the Steering Committee and CCDWA re. the Old West Austin Neighborhood Plan Preliminary Draft. May 11, 1983. (AR.2005.023)." Year 1983.
[32] "Memo to Stuart Henry regarding South Austin annexation/vote on charter amendments. (AR.1991.044)." Year 1985.
[33] Source: "Memo from the Black Citizens Task Force titled Prostitution in East Austin, 10/24/85. (AR.2004.037)." Year 1985.

demographic groups were organized to consult on various stages of the plan. The objectives of the Austinplan were to enhance the vibrancy of downtown, encourage a stable economy, develop affordable housing, insure delivery of basic human services, prioritize opportunity for recreation and cultural activities, explore different transportation options, and preserve and enhance Austin's environment and natural settings via land use planning.[34] The guiding, umbrella framework for all Austinplan objectives was to "[preserve] and [protect] values related to those attributes of the community that reflect clear value and warrant preservation….reaching beyond adequacy and developing innovative solutions to future problems."[35]

While the vision of the Austinplan – to plan a city that could "[provide] a floor of minimum life support for each person's survival…preventing neglect, deprivation and damage to persons and groups" – was admirably stated, an examination of the prioritization of individual objectives within each vision reveals paths not taken towards the stabilization of Austin's minority population.[36] When asked to rank various objectives falling under the housing initiative, members of the Austinplan steering committee ranked the mitigation of negative impacts from displacement from changing neighborhoods last, with their third lowest priority being determining actions the City could take to improve deteriorating residential environments. Ranked highest for housing was the preservation and protection of *stable* residential neighborhoods, followed by the preservation of historical, architectural, and cultural values of residential neighborhoods.[37]

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[34] Source: "Materials for March 31, City of Austin Austinplan Steering Committee. March 31, 1986. (AR.2014.011)." Year 1986.
[35] Source: "Introduction and Guiding Concepts, Austinplan Task Group Evaluations. (AR.2014.011)." Estimated year 1986.
[36] Source: "Materials for March 31, City of Austin Austinplan Steering Committee. March 31, 1986. (AR.2014.011)." Year 1986.
[37] Source: "Materials for May 12, City of Austin Austinplan Steering Committee. May 12, 1986. (AR.2014.011)." Year 1986.

The prioritization of economic objectives was similarly questionable. Ranked lowest under meeting future economic needs was the City's role in promoting equal employment opportunity, a known and systemic issue in the Austin area. Under creating economic opportunity, the role of the City in training or preparing the workforce for existing and future employers, a long-favored approach towards promoting social mobility in East Austin, especially, ranked last. That promotion of equal employment opportunity, especially, ranked low directly contradicted a resolution made by the City of Austin's Pay Equity Task Force two months prior in March 1986, committing to the elimination of wage disparity and advocating for pay equity and fair compensation based on job content, qualifications, skill, and responsibility.[38] Developing an equitable structure of work opportunity was also deemed low priority, despite background reports noting increased income gaps between minorities and "the average Austinite," and below-median family incomes in all but one majority-minority census tract.[39] The most highly ranked economic priorities were relatively broad and oriented towards structural maintenance, like protecting the stability of Austin's employment base and determining the trade-off between economic opportunity and environmental protection.[40]

The disparity in issue ranking between Austinplan steering committee members and the Pay Equity Task Force speaks to poor communication and coordination between city development initiatives. A study of planning and growth management sponsored by the League of Women Voters flagged the need for improved regional and metro coordination as well as

[38] Source: "Resolution of the Pay Equity Task Force regarding Classification/Compensation Study. March 13, 1986. (AR.2007.001)." Year 1986.
[39] Source: "Austinplan: Background Report for Austinplan's Economic Development Task Group. May 27, 1986. (AR.2014.011)." Year 1986.
[40] Source: "Materials for May 12, City of Austin Austinplan Steering Committee. May 12, 1986. (AR.2014.011)." Year 1986.

uniform enforcement of policies and ordinances.[41] Representativeness of committee membership is also at issue. Austinplan steering committees were composed predominantly of city department personnel and members of the community. Though applauded for incorporating more community interest groups into the planning process than other cities, a post-planning study conducted in 1990 found that community participants in the Austinplan planning process were not representative of Austin's general population, and were both more highly educated and of higher income than the average citizen.[42] In contrast, members of the Pay Equity Task Force included representatives from organizations such as the League of Women Voters, Worker's Equity Network, the BCTF, Hispanic Chamber of Commerce, Austin Neighborhoods Council, and the State Department of Human Services.[43] The non-representative composition of Austinplan steering committees contradicts recommendations from the League of Women Voters' growth management study, which called for "continued broad citizen support."

Other groups and organizations levied criticisms. The south-southwest neighborhood of Castlewood-Oak Valley, encompassing the eleventh planning sector of the Austinplan, stated in their planning feedback packet that they disagreed with the affordable and low-income housing objectives laid out for their area and reiterated that lack of adequate employment opportunity and professional office space were their sector's biggest needs[44] – information previously gathered

[41] Source: "A View of the City: A Study of Planning and Growth Management in Austin, Texas from the League of Women Voters of the Austin Area. April 1986. (AR.2011.008)." Year 1986.
[42] Source: "Putting Austinplan in National Perspective: Differences and Similarities with other Local Comprehensive Plans. (AR.2014.011)." Year unknown, estimated 1989 or 1990. Estimate derived from content of report, including references to other documents, events, and city personnel.
[43] Organizations represented in the Pay Equity Task Force were: League of Women Voters, Austin Neighborhoods Council, Austin Chamber of Commerce, Worker's Equity Network, Black Citizen's Task Force, Hispanic Chamber of Commerce, Radian Corporation HR Administration, State Department of Human Services, and the University of Texas – Austin.
[44] Source: "Sector 11 Neighborhoods Council Feedback Packet for Castlewood-Oak Valley Neighborhood Association (COVNA). (AR.1991.044)." Year 1988.

by the City nearly a year prior.[45] In regards to equity development, the president and chief executive officer of the Austin area Urban League explained her 1987 departure from the organization by stating her frustrations with the city's lack of progress towards equity: "'[Austin gives] lip service to a lot of social issues, but we never really develop any plans or strategies to make things change.'" The article adds, "the Urban League must continue its valuable work, but it can be done only in a state of reality. Austin has an immense capacity for believing its own rhetoric, then doing little to match it." The "re-segregation" of Austin's schools and the "endless, distracting civic debates" "bogging down" job-related projects were cited as evidence of the city's inaction towards issues of equity.[46]

The Black Citizens' Task Force considered the mitigation of discriminatory policies within city departments as one such bogged down job-related project. In a letter to Mayor Lee Cooke and the Austin City Council the BCTF wrote:

> We are constantly amazed and horrified by the continued oppression that African-Americans suffer at the hands of governments/governmental agencies that exist to facilitate and perpetuate the goals of the white power structure. This council is no different from the governments that exist on the state and national levels, in that, it actively seeks to maintain the status quo of this society by developing policies that negatively affect the poor and other disadvantaged populations, especially people of color. For instance, the council is in the process of preparing a city budget that is filled with budget cuts, layoffs and furloughs, that will be most harmful to disadvantaged and disenfranchised populations.[47]

[45] Source: "Austinplan: Community Workshop 2, Planning Alternatives, Sector 11. March 1987. (AR.2014.011)." Year 1987.
[46] Source: Article from the "Austin American-Statesman." "Urban League's Harrison leaves Austin vital message, 11/25/1978. (AR.2014.047). Year 1987.
[47] Source: "Black Citizens' Task Force, letter to Mayor Lee Cooke and Austin City Council Members regarding Continued Oppression of African-Americans. August 25, 1988. (AR.2004.037)."

A year later, in response to continued pressure from the BCTF, the City reaffirmed its official commitment to affirmative action while simultaneously claiming insufficient funds for the implementation of new grievances processes for personnel.[48]

In the context of these, and other conflicts over the trajectory of Austin's development during the Austinplan era, the priorities of the economic development task force were ultimately circumvented in favor of executing the original mission of the Austinplan. A milestone report on the progress of economic development plan implementation indicates that objectives around human resource development were reprioritized. The workforce equity and opportunity initiatives recommended for adoption centered around "investing in Austin's human capital" to better suit the needs of "firms associated with economic excellence." [49] Substantively critical to the milestone report and initiatives contained within it is a formal acknowledgement of the concentration of disadvantaged workers in and near the East Austin area. Specific equity and opportunity development initiatives mentioned in the milestone report include prioritizing employment and better job opportunities for the un-and-underemployed, a commitment towards the provision of high-quality education for all, the undertaking of efforts to incorporate disadvantaged people into Austin's core economy, and encouraging the development of minority and women-owned business enterprises.

Despite their reprioritization, the economic development recommendations and strategies adopted by the Austinplan planning commission cannot be characterized as path finding. They follow the trajectory of the City of Austin's pre-established and preferred paths towards Austin-area workforce development. In their push to maintain Austin's competitive ability to

[48] Source: "City of Austin, letter to Dorothy Turner, President of the Black Citizens Task Force. June 26, 1989. (AR.2004.037)." Year 1989.
[49] Source: "Austinplan: Economic Development plan for Implementation, Milestone III Report. December 1987. (AR.2014.011)" Year 1987.

accommodate and anticipate the personnel needs of the knowledge economy, the planning commission claimed:

> The strength of Austin's future economy depends upon matching the labor needs of new and existing firms with the skills of Austin's workers on the ability of its workforce to meet the needs of employers. A well trained labor force is an important factor in any firm's locational decision…As Austin's economy becomes more diversified, education and training programs must also change to help Austin's work force adapt and maintain competitiveness. (formatting and emphasis in original).[50]

The planning commission further recommended that City of Austin economic recruitment efforts focus on firms associated with "economic excellence"[51] that could "provide a full range of quality jobs for Austinites while preserving Austin's cultural and environmental amenities."[52] These recommendations are the same as those made decades prior in A City Plan for Austin, Texas.

The Austinplan planning process was sandwiched by inter-departmental tensions. Where in the beginning it was PARD expressing dissatisfaction with the city's approach, at the end it was the Austin Human Rights Commission. Upon confirmation of the city's recommitment to previously tried and questionably successful approaches to equity development, the Austin Human Rights Commission called for the reactivation of both the Austinplan Task Groups and the Citywide Sector Council, advocating for a more thorough integration of the needs and desires of the city's marginalized ethnic and economic groups. In a memo to the City Council, the director of the planning department relays the Human Rights Commission's criticisms of the

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[50] Source: "Austinplan: Planning Commission Recommendations, adopted unanimously 9/27/1989. (AR.2014.011)." Year 1989.

[51] Source: "Austinplan: Economic Development plan for Implementation, Milestone III Report. December 1987. (AR.2014.011)" Year 1987. Firms associated with economic excellence include: light manufacturing, prototype development, adaptive engineering, testing, scientific and medical instruments, scientific and technology-based business services, electronic design and graphics, film and video, electronic mail, consulting, pharmaceuticals, agriculture, organic pest control, alternative energy equipment, "etc."

[52] Source: "Austinplan: Planning Commission Recommendations, adopted unanimously 9/27/1989. (AR.2014.011)." Year 1989.

Austinplan, citing several discrepancies between early planning objectives and the adopted proposal as the Human Rights Commission's primary concerns. Discrepancies included the exclusion of programs affecting "basic human needs and basic human rights," the removal of objectives towards the provision of affordable and public housing for the economically disadvantaged, the elimination of program monitoring and evaluation for provision of services to marginalized groups, and a failure to establish funds for ethnic cultural programming. The disproportionately high dropout rate of non-White Austinplan community participants was also cited. The Human Rights Commission relayed that Black and Hispanic participants who dropped out of the Austinplan process had indicated feeling that the process was "entirely in the control of powerful Anglo developers, and that their views wouldn't be taken seriously. They were afraid of being co-opted, with their participation being used to validate what they felt was not going to be an end product they could support."[53]

The challenges of the Austinplan, and the 30-year timespan its plans were projected to cover, did little to sway the city from undertaking other significant development initiatives going into the 1990s. The redevelopment of Austin's downtown and surrounding commercial corridors, R/UDAT (Regional/Urban Design Assistance Team), began in 1990 with the Central East Austin Market Analysis. Whereas the Austinplan was regionally focused, the purpose of R/UDAT was more narrow; to guide the redevelopment of downtown Austin and maximize its potential as an economic center and tourist destination for central Texas. Though designed around the needs of the downtown area, easterly located neighborhoods and commercial corridors immediately surrounding or feeding into downtown were also incorporated into the R/UDAT planning and

[53] Source: "Memo to City Council Subcommittee on Austinplan from Norm Standerfer, Director Planning Department regarding Board and Commission Recommendations on Austinplan. (AR.2014.011)." Year 1989.

program implementation process, as their proximity was thought to impact downtown's growth potential.

R/UDAT's preliminary Central East Austin Market Analysis was a baseline study of the condition and readiness of the East Austin economic corridors located proximally to downtown, with priority given to the "severely distressed" Airport Blvd, East 11th St., Manor Rd., Rosewood Ave., East 7th St., East 12th St., E. MLK Blvd., and Springdale Rd. commercial corridors. The study found that despite limited public investment and highly visible deterioration in the corridors of study, "pockets of stability [existed]", with "strong, well established neighborhoods" lining each corridor. High concentrations of low income households were found to contribute to a lack of new neighborhood commercial development, with established businesses being small, minority-owned, reliant upon customer loyalty for their longevity, and lacking investment capital.

Economically, the Market Analysis indicated that development and redevelopment opportunities and incentives contained within the City of Austin's "Enterprise Zone" could be beneficial to the area, and recommended that the city continue to target East Austin for community development block grants and Capital Improvement Projects, arguing that public money could leverage additional, private funds. In regards to social and community development, resident focus groups asserted that "the media, the city, and community residents helped to reinforce the negative image by only concentrating on the negative aspects of the community," with community members accusing the city of failing to take action on rehabilitating the neighborhood via collection of back taxes or condemning structures on abandoned and vacant properties. Despite these criticisms, Market Analysis goals for community development were predominantly business-oriented and included such recommendations as to

"foster neighborhood business growth and development" and "stimulate and increase the consumer base," rather than explore options to rehabilitate the area's reputation. [54] The Central East Austin Market Analysis reinforced the city's commitment to downtown and East Austin commercial corridor development via their R/UDAT planning initiative. In their implementation report to City Council, R/UDAT relayed their motivation for pursuing economic development in East Austin, stating:

> … actions must be taken to ensure that East Austin participates in and benefits from downtown development. A weakness of downtown, identified by R/UDAT, is that IH-35 acts as a barrier between downtown and East Austin. The separation of East Austin from downtown is 'visual, psychological, physical and inescapable.' The approach advocated by R/UDAT is one of inclusiveness, that recognizes the interdependence between the minority communities of East Austin and downtown. The vision, endorsed by our subcommittee, is that East Austin must share in economic benefits. Downtown's interest will be served and advanced by investment in development and linkages with East Austin.[55]

R/UDAT's development philosophy was that Downtown Austin is the heart and identity of the community, "[symbolizing] the values you hold and [telling] people who you are…everybody's neighborhood."[56] As such, development in the interests of advancing the prosperity of Downtown Austin is a recurring theme in R/UDAT planning documents. R/UDAT operated from the perspective that all communities would benefit from the revitalization of downtown, and tasked communities in close proximity to the area to directly, rather than implicitly, contribute to and invest in plans for downtown's success.

However, R/UDAT planning philosophy – that development should benefit Downtown first – reinforced extent power imbalances and complicated East Austin's ability to participate

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[54] Source: "City of Austin Central East Austin Market Analysis. August 1990. (AR.2014.047)." Year 1990.
[55] Source: "R/UDAT Implementation Committee Report to the Austin City Council, March 20, 1991. (AR.1996.017)." Year 1991.
[56] Source: "Notice of Meeting Concerning Downtown Revitalization from Representatives of Various Neighborhood Associations. May 27, 1992. (AR.2011.008)." Year 1992.

equitably and fully in the planning process. The Bennett Consolidated case which unfolded on the East Austin 11th St. corridor in the early 1990s is one example of tension between East Austin business owners and R/UDAT policy. In 1993, the Bennett Consolidated development corporation attempted to initiate plans for a shopping center situated in the blocks between East 8th St., East 11th St, and IH-35. Developers framed the shopping center as a positive investment in the East Austin community, touting 2000 permanent jobs, preferential contracts for minority contractors and subcontractors amounting to $60 million during construction, new stores, and an estimated $6 million in tax revenue to Austin per year.[57]

Despite strong support from the East 11th Street Village Association and other small business owners on the 11th St. corridor, the City of Austin opposed the project, citing Bennett Consolidated's failure to provide proof of financing as reason for their lack of support. In response, Bennett Consolidated claimed that despite early difficulties they had secured project financing from trusted backers and were prepared to invest millions of dollars in the East Austin community. The firm additionally protested that the City had unfairly expedited the shopping center's paperwork and zoning timetable at a pace not applied to other projects of similar scale, threatened to change the zoning of the project's projected lot, failed to respond to communications from the firm, refused to consider the Bennett project for inclusion in tax increment financing, and privileged the requests of other developers over their own.[58]

In a press release doubling down on their support for the Bennett Consolidated project, the East 11th Street Village Association wrote:

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[57] Source: "Brief from Bennett Consolidated regarding the Capital Town Center. 8/2/1993. (AR.2014.047)." Year 1993.

[58] Source: "Flyer and Press Release Materials for Build East Austin regarding Lack of Economic Development in East Austin from the East 11th Street Village Association and the Black Elected Officials. (AR.2014.047)." Year 1994.

> This community has historically experienced a discriminatory practice of having its input unsolicited, wishes ignored, and needs unmet. We call upon our duly elected Mayor to carefully and deliberately review his actions related to this project, and be aware of the profound and lasting messages your actions send to the total community. From the tax dollars generated, to jobs created, the community as a whole would derive tremendous benefit from the success of this project. We offer you the opportunity to revitalize downtown Austin while also providing a vehicle for bridging the economic and cultural chasm that IH-35 represents between East and West Austin.

Though ultimately abandoned, the Bennett Consolidated project gave way to new, city-sponsored redevelopment projects in the East 11th and neighboring East 12th Street commercial corridors.[59] Drafted as the "Consolidated Plan" (no relation to Bennett Consolidated), projects developed for East 11th and 12th Streets focused on improving the social and cultural health of the corridors and their surrounding neighborhoods by making improvements that would encourage private investment. The Consolidated Plan incorporated recommendations from the Central East Austin Market Analysis community focus group by including plans for the elimination of physical blight influences via the acquisition and demolition of properties, redevelopment of substandard structures, and construction of new office facilities. Economically, the Consolidated Plan called for a "revitalization" of the area, citing unemployment rates twice as high as the county average for African-Americans and slightly higher than average unemployment for Hispanics as reasons to focus "special attention" on enterprises that could benefit minority populations.[60]

In contrast to the East 11th and 12th Street corridors, where development initiatives focused on priming the area for market participation, workforce planning initiatives for the

[59] The tract of land targeted for the Bennett Consolidated project is now occupied predominantly by three large apartment complexes. As of March 2020, the cost of a studio apartment in the "Eleven" by Windsor apartments was $1630. A 1-bedroom in the "AMLI Eastside" apartments starts at $1826. At the Tyndall luxury condos, 1-bedrooms start in the $300s.

[60] Source: '1995 Consolidated Plan, City of Austin, Texas. (A362.5 Au)." Year 1995.

capital region describe a metropolis already engaged with the market: "consumer choices and market forces are the driving force in the economy of the Capital Area Planning Region."[61] Greater Austin area workforce development goals called for a focus on "high skill, high wage occupations most likely to be in demand as the Capital Region develops into a world class, globally competitive economy." Targeted industries for "quality" development were business and professional services, local government, special trade, electronic equipment, recreation, and miscellaneous retail.

However, city government was not the only stakeholder concerned with the trajectory of Austin's regional economic and labor force development in the mid-1990s. Members of the private business community organized a task group around what they called, "Austin Vision 2010," a "workable plan to forge a partnership between industry, business, government and academia to produce a trained market ready work force to meet area employment requirements."[62] Austin Vision 2010 was organized under the belief that the business community, especially employers, were "the stewards of [the] city and region's economic health."[63] Small group breakout sessions identified Austin's desired reputation as an affordable, livable city with a high quality of life, an informed and educated populace, job and educational opportunities, and "ok" diversity, and called for continued focus on target industries such as research and development, multi-media, software, other technologies including semiconductors, travel and tourism, and low-wage floor industries such as warehousing, shipping, and freight.[64] Participants in the Austin Vision 2010 planning process were primarily private employers or

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61 Source: 'Quality Work Force Planning: Labor Market Information Report, Capital Region. (A311.1209764 Qu)." Year 1995.
62 Source: "Flyer for Austin Vision 2010, Strategic Priority: Market Ready Workforce. 12/5/1995. (AR.2014.045)." Year 1995.
63 Source: "Letter to Charlyn Cook from David Bodenman regarding Invitation to participate in Austin 2010 Vision plan and work session. 8/15/1995. (AR.2014.045)." Year 1995.
64 Source: "Austin Vision 2010: Strategic Priorities & Implementations. 9/5/1995. (AR.2014.045)." Year 1995.

groups representing the interests of private employers, including the Greater Austin Chamber of Commerce, Task Force of Austin's Major Employers, and the Austin Downtown Management Organization. Representatives from City of Austin departments are not listed amongst Austin Vision 2010 planning meeting attendants.

Non-business stakeholders openly questioned the influence of private investors and business owners on Austin's development trajectory and called for the City of Austin to critically consider the dysfunctions of their economic initiatives. In 1996, a grassroots social justice organization located in East Austin, People Organized in Defense of Earth and her Resources (PODER), released their analysis of the impact of the City of Austin's industrial incentives package for Advanced Micro Devices (AMD), a major employer and participant in Austin's technologies manufacturing industry. In their report, PODER claimed that residents of the Montopolis neighborhood, a predominantly low-income, majority minority neighborhood in south east Austin where AMD was located, received only a fraction of the estimated monetary benefits associated with AMD's presence in the city compared to the net benefits enjoyed by the greater Austin area. PODER wrote:

> There is a decided mismatch between AMD's high-tech labor needs and the skill level of Montopolis residents. Explicitly, the Montopolis community is rich in labor, but not educated enough to supply high-tech, high-paid labor to AMD. Due to this disparity, it is highly unlikely that Montopolis residents benefit from the jobs that are created by AMD. Furthermore, it has been noted… that these residents shoulder a disproportionate burden of the external costs attributed to AMD's manufacturing process.[65]

In addition to identifying skill mismatch and disproportionate cost-bearing burdens, PODER questioned the City's defense of incentives packages as job creating for at risk

[65] Source: "The City of Austin's Economic Development Strategy and Its Impact on Low-Income Communities: An Analysis of the City of Austin's Industrial Incentive Package for Advanced Micro Devices and the Benefits to Residents of the Montopolis Community. 12/13/1996. (AR.2012.015)." Year 1996.

communities, citing an increase in the unemployment rates for both the Montopolis neighborhood and the city from 1980 to 1990 despite AMD's locating there. PODER's concerns about inequitable costs and returns on technologies industry development for the Montopolis area notwithstanding, in 1996 the City of Austin passed an ordinance expediting approval of a site plan for another technologies company, Tokyo Electron American Inc., .2 miles outside the common boundaries of the Montopolis neighborhood. The ordinance waived requirements for variance requests from the Planning Commission as well as cut and fill limitations within the Land Development Code. In the ordinance, the City Council declared that "an emergency exists," calling Tokyo Electron's development vital not only to the "health and growth and development of the City," but also to "the immediate preservation of the public peace, health, and safety."[66]

In solidarity with PODER's report, and commenting on the irony of Austinites' dedication to environmental protection while seemingly ignoring the potential health impacts of technologies manufacturing on the city's vulnerable populations, the Black Citizens' Task Force released a scathing statement condemning the outcome of a 1997 election in which environmental protections were won for Austin's natural springs, creeks, watersheds, and endangered species of salamander, but not for citizens living east of IH-35:

> The White environmentalists in Austin have never cared about the environment in East Austin. They have done nothing in the Black neighborhoods. They do not care about Black children or Black people…The Austin environmental movement is anti-human. It has no human feelings and no human face. Springs and salamanders are more important than people. The anti-human environmentalists have built an evil anti human green political machine. This evil green political machine is anti-Black and pro-salamander. This evil green political machine has taken over the Austin City Council. The leaders of this evil green political machine think they can sit beside their salamander, springs and decide who will represent Black people. They think they can ignore Black issues in favor of salamanders…

[66] Source: City of Austin Ordinance regarding locating of Tokyo Electron American, Inc. Facilities. (AR.2012.015). 1996.

> You have won the first battle; but you will loose [sic] the war you have declared. You will not chose [sic] our representatives nor define what constitutes Black political issues in Austin.[67]

A year later in 1997, the findings of a land use and zoning report conducted by the city for East Austin aligned with PODER's and the BCTF's allegations of disproportionate and potentially burdensome industrial development in the east and south east areas of the city. The report found that proportionate to its size, East Austin hosted more and less restrictive commercial zoning than Austin as a whole, and concluded that the overestimation of demand for industrial land in prior decades was "never great enough to warrant the cost of consolidating many single family lots into a single large scale industrial site."[68] The land use and zoning report confirmed a negative impact from a developmental trajectory set 30 years prior during planning for the Austin Tomorrow Comprehensive Plan, during which environmental mapping had found West Austin unsuitable for manufacturing and other industrial development, but indicated several appropriate pockets of land east and south east of IH-35.[69]

Racial-Ethnic Competition in the Right to Heritage and Space: 1980-2017

The City of Austin has a long history with undertaking efforts towards the preservation of its unique cultural scene. First identified as a cultural center in the 1928 City Plan, numerous subsequent planning and program development documents throughout the years have included commitments to the maintenance and protection of cultural iconography in the Austin area. Cultural development is inextricably tied to the city's past and future economic success, with

[67] Source: "Untitled Document from the Black Citizens' Task Force collection regarding The Spring Election of 1997. (AR.2004.037)." Year 1997.
[68] Source: "East Austin Land Use/Zoning Report, in response to a 12/12/96 Resolution by the Austin City Council. 20-Feb-1997. (AR.2011.037)." Year 1997.
[69] Source: "Austin Tomorrow Comprehensive Plan: City of Austin, February 1977. (A711.409764AuP633)." Year 1977.

half of all programs and offices contained under the City of Austin's economic "prosperity engine" being associated with the cultural arts, heritage tourism, or music and entertainment.[70] Per a report on the economic impact of the creative sector in Austin, "the sum is greater than the parts; and the parts have become so interconnected as to make traditional distinctions between them almost meaningless" (Txp. Inc. 2012).

Austin's most recognizable cultural framework is "Keep Austin Weird," the popular and official slogan of the Austin Business Alliance (Long 2010). While keeping it weird has approached ideological status in the greater Austin area, the phrase is relatively new compared to other, deeply entrenched cultural framing and preservation tactics undertaken by the City of Austin. Early efforts towards the specific preservation of Austin's heritage appear in my sample of archival materials as early as 1953, when the Heritage Society of Austin was founded. An independent organization, the constitution and by-laws of the Heritage Society declare the group's commitment to the preservation of items, locations, and buildings of historical, traditional, or cultural value, and promise to work towards the perpetuation of traditions and folklore that "beautify and enrich the community life of this city."[71] Documents calling for "Fellow Texans" to join in the preservation of "Texas" heritage, specifically, reveal anxiety around the loss of Texas' undefined cultural history at the hands of "powerful forces of change" influencing the city.[72]

Founded as an independent nonprofit organization, the Heritage Society of Austin quickly gained political legitimacy in the eyes of local government. Drafts of motions to support

[70] Source: austintexas.gov/department/economic-development. Accessed online 3/11/2020.
[71] Source: "The Heritage Society of Austin: Constitution and By-Laws. (AR.P.010)." Year unknown. Estimated year is 1953, given the year of the organization's founding and content of the materials.
[72] Source: "Texas Historical Foundation, letter to 'Fellow Texans' regarding Heritage Preservation. (AR.Z.035)." Document undated, year unknown.

the forming of an official city-sponsored committee dedicated to the preservation of Austin's cultural environment list the Heritage Society of Austin as a like-minded organization whose membership on and support of the new committee would contribute to its legitimacy. The draft further states that professional citizens, "architects, artists, decorators, educators, banks, lawyers, publishers, realtors, writers, teachers" would be needed to help identify items worthy of preservation and explain the anticipated economic benefits of doing so to others.[73] The Heritage Society was further legitimated in 1973 when, in drafting an ordinance to create the City of Austin's Historic Landmark Preservation Board, the author wrote that board membership would include members of the Heritage Society of Austin alongside architects, the historical survey committee, and real estate appraisers with knowledge and experience in the history, art, and architecture of the city.[74]

Historic preservation in the greater Austin area and Travis County begin with the designation of sites located primarily in the central downtown and east, far east areas of the city. The five sites located east of IH-35 in 1976 were the French Legation and the Fontaine House, both located off the E. 7th St. corridor, the German Free School on E. 10th St., and the McKinney Homestead – the agricultural and slave plantation of one of Austin's first 300 colonists.[75] In regards to ethnic history and heritage in the 1970s, membership of the ethnic history association formed for the 1976 Austin Bicentennial Celebration indicates that the majority of members were white-ethnic European and identified as German, Italian, Swedish, Lebanese, Scottish,

[73] Source: "Suggested Resolution or Motion to Support: Committee to Preserve Austin's Cultural Environment. (AR.Z.035)" Year 1966.
[74] Source: "Memo to Mr. J. Roy White regarding Modeling an Austin Historic Preservation Ordinance off of a Similar Ordinance in Dallas. (AR.1998.003)." Year 1973.
[75] Source: "Historic Preservation in Texas, Volume II Part I: Historic Sites Inventory. 1976. (AR.1998.003)." Year 1976.

Scots-Irish, Czech, Swiss, and Polish, as well as Jewish and American Frontier. Non-white racial-ethnic member identities were Black, Mexican-American, and Chinese.[76]

Formal planning considerations for natural and cultural resource preservation, still in their nascent stages in 1977, called for strategies that would:

> Emphasize cultural preservation for the sake of maintaining an accurate visual and written record of the area's heritage. Encourage historical and cultural district designation. Promote restoration and rehabilitation of existing structures over new construction in redevelopment projects, in order to preserve the cultural heritage of a community and best utilize existing structures. Include in cultural preservation plans, remnants of unique natural sites in urban areas and other natural resources that have contributed to the region's cultural heritage.[77]

Concerned that the history and heritage of the Black experience in Austin and Travis County was without representation in historical and heritage preservation practices, the W.H. Passon Historical Society worked intensively towards incorporation by the Secretary of State throughout the 1970s, gaining incorporation in 1979. The society was formed after an "overwhelming response" to inquiries regarding local Black heritage yielded a "yearning and a readiness for a common denominator denoting a historical perspective." Resolving to cooperate with other historical organizations in Austin and the state, the primary goals of the society were to: secure and preserve materials and artifacts related to Black Culture in Austin and Travis County; encourage and promote "ethnic observances which reflect the heritage of the Black American"; and, "recognize and reward those efforts of individuals and organizations which protect, enhance and reflect respect for Austin's Black Heritage."[78]

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[76] Source: "Spirit of '76: Austin's Bicentennial News. Ethnic History Association Chooses Steering Committee. (AR.Q.020)." Year 1975.
[77] Source: "Planning Considerations for Natural and Cultural Resource Preservation: Capital State Planning Region. July 11, 1977. (AR.1998.003)." Year 1977.
[78] Source: "W.H. Passon Historical Society, Inc. Purpose and Brief History. (AR.2004.027)." Exact year unknown, approximately late 1970s given contents of document.

Sensing a desire for a more inclusive approach to heritage preservation and promotion, the Austin Ethnic History Association organized the "Austin Folk Festival," an event designed to promote the "shared interests, experiences, problems, ideology, heritage, etc." common between Austin's many ethnic groups.[79] Promotional material for the festival acknowledges a need for programming celebrating a broader expanse of Austin's ethnic heritage and history, and acknowledges the many ethnicities "which have built – and are building – Austin." Despite efforts to increase inclusivity, recommendations from the Historic Landmark Commission for the development of the East 6th and 7th St. commercial corridors indicate a desire to preserve the white-ethnic history and heritage of East Austin. Offering an abridged history of the isolation of East Austin, the Historic Landmark Commission stated that "some of the most significant cultural and historical resources in the city" stem from the early German and Swedish settler families who located in East Austin in the mid-1800s.[80] The recommendations came at the onset of renewed interest into the revitalization of the East Austin area. In the same year, 1984, groups listed as representing "Texas Ethnology" in materials for a Texas History Appreciation week show an overwhelming majority of white-ethnic groups, with only three non-white racial-ethnic groups - Afro-American Texans, Native American Texans, and Mexican Texans - listed.[81]

Incorporating cultural, historical, and heritage preservation into formal planning initiatives continued with the Austinplan. Where earlier planning efforts acknowledged but did not plan for cultural preservation and development, the Austinplan included a cultural affairs mission statement calling for the creation of a long-range cultural affairs component of

[79] Source: "'This is Austin!' Description of the Austin Ethnic History Association's 'Austin Folk Festival' Event. (AR.Q.020)." Year unknown, estimated year 1980 given content and events referenced in document.
[80] Source: "Historic Landmark Commission Hearing: Master Urban Design Plan, East Sixth & Seventh Street Commercial Corridor – East Austin Economic Development Strategy. (AR.1991.099)." Year 1984.
[81] Source: "History Appreciation Week, October 29, 1984 – November 3. (AR.2004.27)." Year 1984.

comprehensive planning, for the purpose of enriching lives by preserving and nurturing "the artistic, social, intellectual and historic resources of the community."[82] A report detailing the context for cultural affairs evaluation lists Austin's available cultural resources as being its heritage, artistic environment, and quality of life in the downtown area, stating that:

> The preservation and transmission of cultural heritage is important because it provides a sense of history to the community. Cultural heritage is reflected in the ethnic traditions of the citizens of Austin, such as the Cinco de Mayo Fiesta, the Juneteenth celebration, the activities of the descendants of Czech and German immigrants and the presence of various temples, mosques and churches.[83]

Social goals and objectives contained under the mission of long-term cultural affairs planning included promoting vitality and excellence in local arts and cultural activities. Economic components focused on the growth and enhancement of cultural tourism and arts industry, as well as the promotion of downtown as the cultural center of the region.[84]

In keeping with these objectives, urban design elements of the Austinplan resolved to align Austin's image with its natural and cultural heritage, and planned to protect "positive" and "desirable" features of neighborhoods while emphasizing city amenities and "key characteristics."[85] However, the sectoral nature of the Austinplan created room for the inequitable distribution of labor related to the keeping of these objectives. Whereas community planning workshops for sectors located to the north, northeast, or southwest of downtown focused on employment opportunities and maintenance of positive community identity, workshops for Sector 12, encompassing a large southeastern portion of the city proximal to

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[82] Source: "Overview of Austinplan. February 1987. (AR.2014.011)." Year 1987.
[83] Source: "Austinplan: Cultural Affairs Elements. Milestone Report: Context for Evaluation. (AR.2014.011)." Year 1987.
[84] Source: "Austinplan: Cultural Affairs, Strategy for Action. Milestone II Report. (AR.2014.011)." Year 1987.
[85] Source: "Austinplan" Urban Design Element, Strategy for Action. Milestone II Report. (AR.2014.011)." Year 1987.

downtown, indicate a focus on cultural affairs. Goals for majority-minority Sector 12 focused on preserving the area's "specialized historical and architectural features, atmosphere, and flavor" while promoting "harmonious cultural and ethnic diversity."[86] Final planning recommendations for the Austinplan, adopted two years later in 1989, echo this sentiment, positioning cultural affairs development as a means to improve relations and communications between socially and ethnically distinct populations. Final thoughts for the Austinplan were that cultural facilities and the restoration of historic structures would enhance downtown and central East Austin as "the primary cultural focus of central Texas," noting that "as we plan for the future, it becomes increasingly important to strengthen ties to the past, not only in terms of preserving historic buildings but also in recognizing past social heritage and educating citizens about this heritage."[87]

The R/UDAT planning process doubled-down on the reimagining of downtown into a cultural center for all Texans by asserting that "Downtown Austin is every Texas citizen's neighborhood."[88] R/UDAT confirmed the trajectory initiated by the Austinplan; heritage tourism and marketing would be essential tools in the development of downtown and East Austin.[89] Though the R/UDAT cultural arts sub-committee claimed to recognize the diversity of Austin's cultural composition and advocated for the development of cultural trusts, bonds, and marketing plans, cultural leaders in the city of Austin questioned R/UDAT's commitment to and knowledge of cultural offerings from non-White racial or ethnic groups. In a letter to the cultural arts sub-

[86] Source: ''Austinplan: Community Workshop 2. Planning Alternatives, Sector 12. March 1987. (AR.2014.011)." Year 1987.
[87] Source: "Austinplan: Planning Commission Recommendations. Adopted unanimously 9/27/1989. (AR.2014.011)." Year 1989.
[88] Source: "Vision Statement and R/UDAT Implementation Committee Action Items for Downtown Austin. (AR.1996.017)." Year 1990.
[89] Source: "R/UDAT Implementation Committee Report to the Austin City Council, March 20, 1991. (AR.1996.017)." Year 1991.

committee, the Mexic-Arte Museum strongly protests the committee's recommendations, claiming that the individuals responsible failed to coordinate with a larger, more comprehensive arts plan and intentionally left organizations out of the R/UDAT implementation process. The letter points out various inaccuracies and deficiencies in the sub-committee plan, including its failure to recognize Mexic-Arte's designation as a visual arts museum - "Is it that our focus is not European-American, so therefore we are not considered a museum. [sic]" – or mention the needs of the Mexican-American and African American communities in regards to space for art.[90] Internal R/UDAT communications regarding the letter indicate a belief that, given Mexic-Arte's criticisms, the comprehensive arts planning efforts being spearheaded by PARD offered a "more encompassing canvasing of all interests" than plans developed by R/UDAT.

The 1990s were an exercise in path confirmation for Austin's cultural arts and heritage development trajectory. Economic development calls to action in the latter half of the decade affirm heritage tourism and marketing as essential tools for downtown and East Austin development. Tourist marketing recommendations call for the development of programs to capitalize on existing historical sites by making them more interesting, accessible, and attractive. In contrast to R/UDAT's cultural affairs efforts, calls to action from the City of Austin directly state that the East Austin community should participate in tourist planning to help take advantage of and maximize linkages to downtown.[91] Planning principles of the East Cesar Chavez neighborhood planning team denote a sense of excitement and responsibility over the prospect of participating in the preservation of the area's history and heritage. Still, goals towards that objective were more cautionary than goals set forth by the city, stating explicitly that actions

[90] Source: "Letter from Mexic-Arte Museum, Multi-Cultural Works to Mr. Lewis Wright for R/UDAT. January 8, 1992. (AR.1996.017)." Year 1992.
[91] Source: "City of Austin: A Call to Action, Economic Development. 9/17/1997. (AR.2011.037)." Year 1997.

towards the protection and preservation of the neighborhood's cultural identity, history, and landmarks must be done "without displacing people."[92]

The East Cesar Chavez neighborhood planning team's commitment to cultural and heritage preservation and development without displacement foreshadowed tensions which came to a head at a City Council meeting held in May 2002. At this meeting, the Greater East Austin Neighborhood Association states that they did not support ongoing historic zoning efforts in their area, referring to is as a "gentrification tool" that raised property taxes to untenable levels for East Austin residents. Community representatives and activists from East Austin addressed the Council, saying:

> We fought this issue. And we are right and you are wrong. You know that you are wrong! You haven't brought any economic development in our neighborhood. But now you want to push us out. We are tired of your tricks. Is there any councilmember in here that can step up and say stop, stop the insult, comes out in the newspaper, west meets east. I haven't met anybody from the west. Let me ask you this: did the Heritage Society forget who was here first? [Asking audience member] Rev..who was here first? [To council] Why is it now German, Italians and Irish? You are wrong. And I'm embarrassed at you.[93]

An Austin Historic Walking/Driving Tours brochure offers insight into the above comment by showing how the Historic Landmark Commission was presenting the history of the East Austin area in the early 2000s. The brochure's description of the East Austin area focuses heavily on its frontier history and settlement by German and Swedish immigrants, referring to the area's contemporary majority-minority demographics by saying: "A change in the ethnic background of the area occurred, however, around the beginning of the 20th century…Black and Mexican-

[92] Source: "East Cesar Chavez Neighborhood Planning Team PRINCIPLES. (AR.2011.037)." Year 1998.
[93] Source: "Closed Caption Log, Council Meeting, 5/9/2002. Members of Greater East Austin Neighborhood Association and PODER speaking. (AR.2012.015)." Year 2002.

American families began moving into the area occupying many of the homes originally built by the Germans and Swedes."[94]

Representatives from PODER further noted in the council meeting that historic zoning had encompassed much of the East Austin commercial corridors from 7th Street to 12th Street, and claimed that despite the increased valuation of historically designated homes, "…they haven't done any structured improvement," asking, "Why would we preserve some historical finding and not the historic people that have lived there?" The question reveals a distinct difference in the presentation of East Austin's history between formal city initiatives and residents living in the neighborhood. The representative from PODER explained the displacement occurring in East Austin, telling Council:

> …the big difference that I might say about gentrification in East Austin, because people say what's happening in – you know, in [predominately white areas such as] Hyde Park, happening in Travis Heights is that the people in that area are being replaced with high class whites. But the people in East Austin are not being replaced with higher class Mexican and African Americans. They are being replaced by high class white people, and that makes a big difference...this is just a displacement of what is happening and how the growth of the city along with smart growth pushing everything to the central city without protecting East Austin with rent control freeze, affordable housing district, so forth. This is what is happening to us.

A representative from El Concillio, a coalition of Mexican-American neighborhood associations, also addressed the Council at this meeting. He relayed the story of a property owner whose home had been given historic designation without the owner having requested it or even knowing who designated the property as such. Aligning with PODER and other representatives of the East Austin community in their assessment of historic zoning as a displacement tool, El Concillio challenged the Council with allegations of inequitably enacting policies to protect the sanctity of

[94] Source: "Austin Historic Walking/Driving Tours. Presented by The Historic Landmark Commission of Austin. (AR.2004.027). Year unknown, estimated to be 2000 given context and events addressed in document.

neighborhoods: “once [the Council has] reached that barrier, of I-35, everything – every rational reason why to protect” disappears.

Council members’ responses to the community varied from concern – one wanted more clarification as to whether zoning or proximity to downtown drove up housing costs – disbelief – the Mayor questioned if property values where just increasing naturally due to the market – and claiming ignorance – one member said he had never been made aware of a gentrification report’s findings, to which a representative from the Neighborhood Housing and Community Development committee said the report and subsequent recommendations had been forwarded to his desk months ago. The meeting transcript indicates that community testimony did little to sway items on the evening’s agenda. Despite East Austinites’ testimony, the Mayor moved forward with designating May 12-18th as National Historic Preservation week in Austin, to recognize the celebration of history, heritage, and “preserving the spirit of place.”[95]

However, community reports from an African American Quality of Life Study conducted a few years later in 2005 indicate that while Austin may have succeeded in preserving the spirit of place, the City of Austin had been losing its real cultural “soul.” In their report, members of the East Austin community and the City Manager agree that Austin was experiencing a “soul sickness,” brought on by the absence of independent African American art and cultural institutions, a lack of citywide celebrations of Black heritage, and “a history of under-funding and neglect.” Pointing to the history of being under-funded and under-resourced, the quality of life report alleged that a critical step in advancing the quality of life for Austin’s Black residents

[95] Source: “Closed Caption Log, Council Meeting, 5/9/2002. Members of Greater East Austin Neighborhood Association and PODER speaking. (AR.2012.015).” Year 2002.

would be to "stop killing the soul of Austin" by creating opportunities for investing in the culture, community, and people of East Austin.[96]

The City of Austin's commitment to the preservation of history and heritage has continued into its more contemporary development policies. Several ordinances and resolutions related to the historical and heritage aspects of cultural arts have been passed since 2010. A commonality between these ordinances is a commitment with managing historic and heritage development as a means of increasing tax revenue from tourism dollars. The first resolution, drafted in 2011, was that properties designated historic will be privy to a technical and loan assistance program to better enable their restoration. The resolution was drafted as a means of recognizing the significant contribution history and heritage development make to the local economy and tax base, and as a way to practice "stewardship of the local tax base" through the preservation of cultural elements related to the "general welfare of all its residents".[97] A resolution on the City's use of hotel occupancy tax (HOT) dollars, passed in 2016, indicates a preoccupation with seeking and maintaining public confidence in the City's use of tax funds. The HOT resolution established the Visitor Impact Task Force, whose membership was comprised of individuals nominated to the position primarily by the economic opportunity committee, Historic Landmark Commission, the Downtown commission, or the Parks department.[98]

With the Visitor Impact Task Force established, a third resolution, passed in 2017, allocated 15% of HOT towards the operation and maintenance of historic facilities and sites. The allocation was a hefty increase from the .1% allocated in the 2016 FY.[99] The increase in HOT

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[96] Source: "Drat: African-American Quality of Life Community Report. Report to City Council, October 27, 2005." Year 2005.
[97] Source: "Resolution No. 20110804-029. (AR.2015.009)." Year 2011.
[98] Source: "City of Austin Resolution No. 20160818-075." http://austintexas.gov/edims/document.cfm?id=262468. Year 2016.
[99] Source: "Visitor Impact Task Force: Final Report to Austin City Council." https://www.austintexas.gov/edims/document.cfm?id=279988. Year 2017.

funds towards historic preservation was ordained despite a study indicating that visiting historic sites was the primary activity of only 9% of visitors to Austin, less than the 10.5% of visitors to the state of Texas doing the same, and far less than the 25% of Austin visitors whose primary activities were dining and shopping.[100] A report from the Visitor Impact Task Force to the Austin City Council stated that nearly increased HOT funds should be allocated inclusively to reflect the diversity of the community. The task force report recommended that administration of historic preservation and heritage grant funding be transferred to a non-profit organization or city department with an advisory board. Though administrative transfer took place in 2018, a resolution passed in the same year directed that stakeholders were to be consulted during the fund allocation process. Stakeholders were listed as the: Historic Landmark Commission, Tourism Commission, Downtown Commission, Urban Renewal Board, Parks and Recreation Board, and the Austin Independent Business Alliance. Per this resolution, community members or organizations are not listed as stakeholders in the allocation of HOT funds to heritage or historic sites.[101]

Economic, Social, and Cultural Conflicts in Austin's Contemporary Development

The City of Austin's development incentive and exceptions program continued into the 2000s with the negotiation of an incentives package for Intel. The package amounted to millions in abatements for energy, water, and construction costs, as well as expedited or waived development permits and fees. The City of Austin recommended that the Council approve the package on the basis that Intel was a major employer that was willing to locate in the downtown

[100] Source: "City of Austin Resolution No. 20170831-060." http://www.austintexas.gov/edims/document.cfm?id=286474. Year 2017.
[101] Source: "City of Austin Resolution No. 20181004-003." http://www.austintexas.gov/edims/document.cfm?id=307769. Year 2018.

Desired Development Zone (DDZ).[102] Meanwhile, tension regarding the potential for economic growth and development outside the DDZ in East Austin commercial corridors was high. A "community and economic development corporation" established in 2000, the Austin Revitalization Authority (ARA) describes itself as a facilitator of residential, commercial, and cultural and historical development within the 11th and 12th Street area.[103] However, a letter to "friends" regarding the ability of 12th Street property owners to have input into the ARA's plan for the East 11th and 12th Street corridors indicates that ARA's facilitation of development may not have had room for cooperative approaches, with property owners writing:

> The whole East 12th St. plan should be tabled and reevaluated, there has been no thought or constructive benefit for the East 12th St. property owners to contribute to our community and the city we love. We have sent you correspondence over the past two years and still have not gotten a response... ARA is making it very difficult for anybody to voice their concerns regarding this issue. You impose deadlines for us to respond and you go ahead and ignore us and make your own decisions. What is the intention of the ARA for this area? To leave it in a continued state of depression? We think so…. You must be aware that you are raping this area to keep it in a state of non-growth and again a future slum, leaving the same stigma that it has today and will continue to have if we allow the ARA to continue with this plan….[East 12th St. property owners are] concerned and responsible citizens and are entitled to make their own decisions.[104]

In a separate letter to the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), the 12th Street Property and Business Owners' Association argued that the use of federal funds towards a plan calling for commercially inhibitive zoning was illegal, and formally asked HUD to send a representative to verify the legality of the ARA development plan.[105]

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[102] Source: "City of Austin Recommendation for Council Action regarding: intel Incentives Improvements. 5/11/00. (AR.2012.015)." Year 2000.
[103] Source: The Austin Revitalization Authority: Latest News. http://austinrev.org. Accessed online, 3/15/20.
[104] Source: "Letter from Richard E. Ferris to 'Friends' regarding: The Ability of East 12th St. Property Owners to have Input on ARA Plan. 4/20/2000. (AR.2016.0320." Year 2000.
[105] Source: "Letter to Mr. Lawrence Wilkinson, U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development and Lloyd Doggett, Mayor Kirk Watson, cc'd., regarding: ARA C.D.P. Plan. From: 12th Street Property and Business Owners' Association. 7/31/2000. (AR.2016.032)." Year 2000.

The ARA development plan for the East 11th and 12th Street corridors was not the only program in the works for East Austin in the early 2000s. In 2001 City Council requested a report on gentrification as a means of gaining understanding into the residential turnover processes taking place in East Austin. The report indicated a "belief" that middle class African-American households were leaving core east Austin and being replaced by Hispanic households, with "Black east Austin and Hispanic east Austin [continuing] its northward march." A list of actions taken by other cities to combat gentrification, and justifications as to why the City of Austin could not take those actions, was also contained in the report. Where solutions such as rent control were deemed inconsistent with Texas state law, other solutions, including lawsuits seeking financial remedy for alleged failure to address low income housing affordability and squatting to force the conversion of abandoned buildings into low income housing, were deemed inappropriate expressions of City policy, stating: the "City would not sue itself."[106]

In a memo to the Mayor and City Council, the City Manager revealed that several East Austin neighborhoods, including those in close proximity to the East Austin commercial corridors targeted for development in the 1990s, had seen the largest percent decreases in Black population in the city. The share of Hispanic households was found to be decreasing in west and East Austin. Conversely, the share White population had increased in several of the areas where Black and Hispanic population shares decreased. To combat loss in population shares, the gentrification report committee recommended an "equitable development" approach. However, the equitable approach appeared to be a double-edged sword. The City Manager indicated that actions associated with equitable development – mixed homeownership with rental,

[106] Source: "Gentrification Committee Notebook. May 2001. (AR.2005.023)." Year 2001.

neighborhood-driven development, availability of social services, and presence of community amenities – "may make a neighborhood a likely candidate for gentrification…"[107]

With the gentrification report offering little by way of definitive housing or community development recommendations, a separate report fielded by The Austin Equity Commission (AEC) a few months later approached the issue via workforce development and opportunity structures. Having found that Austin's poverty rate had not drastically declined despite the city's economic prosperity, the AEC argued that the City was unrealistically assuming that market forces would enable people to move out of poverty. While the AEC argued that the City should continue its own efforts and programming for workforce development, it also compelled the City to offer economic incentives to businesses that would commit to hiring local residents, paying a minimum wage above the federal minimum, and providing training. Despite the city's successful, largely sectoral approach to economic development, the AEC noted that the city had failed to foster the type of skill acquisition that could lead to steady employment, higher wages, and career advancement. Echoing an insight first made in 1987, a member of the AEF stated: "Austin has many highly successful initiatives, but we have never operated them at the scale necessary to make real progress. The situation is further complicated by shortcomings in federal and state policy, which restrict eligibility for services to certain groups of individuals."[108] In the meantime, the Urban Renewal Agency continued their mission of slum and blighting influence removal within designated urban renewal areas. In 2002, all designated urban renewal areas in Austin were associated with the East 11th and 12th Street project area. Efforts and actions taken to encourage redevelopment activities in the project areas included the acquisition of 20 parcels of

[107] Source: "Memo to Mayor and Council from Jesus Garza, City Manager regarding: Gentrification Report. 6/14/2001. (AR.2012.015)." Year 2001.
[108] Source: "Improving the Odds: Building a Comprehensive Opportunity Structure for Austin. Interim report of The Austin Equity Commission. June 28, 2001. (AR.2012.015)." Year 2001.

land, the relocation of 9 families, the transfer of two historic units to City ownership, the selling of 6 parcels to the ARA, and the relocation of business tenants from East 11th Street.[109] The actions taken by the ARA are in opposition to actions recommended by PODER in a discussion paper they wrote on smart growth and gentrification in East Austin. In their paper, PODER asserts that gentrification in East Austin can be stemmed with community-forward initiatives such as community land trusts, neighborhood plans, inclusionary zoning, regional housing fund, and neighborhood abatement districts. PODER cited the fact that 72% of all tax foreclosures in Travis County took place in East Austin in 2001 as evidence of the extreme property threat East Austinites were facing in the early 2000s.

In their report to the City, the Urban Renewal Agency stated that goals for the 2002-2003 fiscal year were to complete the relocation of business tenants on East 11th Street and develop and implement acquisition strategies for business tenants on East 12th. Continuing their opposition to the redevelopment of the corridor and actions of the ARA, the 12th Street business and property owners wrote a second letter to HUD formally complaining of what they alleged to be unlawful and wrongful discrimination by the City of Austin. The letter calls the activities of the City of Austin regarding urban renewal projects as self-serving, fraudulent, discriminatory, and done in bad faith. The 12th Street Business and Property Owners Association asserts that the City was out of compliance with HUD on several grounds, most notably: City of Austin owns property in the project area and will financially benefit from renewal, the City of Austin has not directly invested bond funds into the area, City of Austin failure to submit a Workable Program for Community Improvement as required for receipt of Urban Renewal funds, there was no citywide Citizen's Participation committee, and the project's lack of a subcommittee with membership comprised of

[109] Source: "Urban Renewal Agency of the City of Austin: FY 2001-2002 Report. October 2002. (AR.2002.037)." Year 2002.

representatives from the project area.[110] The 12th Street Business and Property Owner's Association expressed frustration at their inability to participate in the planning process for their corridor, citing a tight connection between ARA and City government as the reason:

> Perhaps in frustration and out of a sense of total discouragement, our Association has not attended a hearing or two where we knew we would be railroaded by the political machine. After all, ARA hires a former assistant City Manager (Myron Marshall) who used to manage and supervise your office and is cozy with the majority of City Council members. Between your office and Marshall's ARA, things tend to get 'fixed' before the City Council hearings. This is probably our fault. We need to go on record and lose on the record to document our case to HUD of the shameful way Urban Renewal is being handled in Austin.

The ARA released a newsletter in response to the allegations levied against them. They claimed that the plan under contention was a plan originally crafted by the ARA from 1997-1998 and adopted by City Council in 1999. The plan was then amended by City Council to better fit and accommodate development projects and changing community priorities. Though the ARA recommended changes to the Urban Renewal Board in the execution of the 11th and 12th Street renewal plans, the organization argued that ultimately, changing the plan to accommodate the desires of one "interest group," the 12th Street Business and Property Owners Association, would come at the expense of the broader community. The ARA newsletter offers insight into the mindset of the organization, with the wife of the ARA president and author of the newsletter writing:

> I sat in on those early ARA meetings and watched as [ARA president] and ARA Chair Charles Urdy, a former Austin Mayor Pro Tem, worked patiently for years to bring consensus to the various neighborhood groups who – convinced they had been lied to, disregarded and disrespected by the city of Austin for decades in its disastrous efforts at urban renewal – no longer believed that positive change was possible whenever the local government was involved. I saw black and brown

[110] Source: "Letter from Leonard O. Mann, President of the 12th Street Business and Property Owners Association to Mr. Mel R. Martinez, Secretary of Housing and Urban Development regarding: Formal Complaint of Unlawful and Wrongful Discrimination against the City of Austin. 9/6/2002. (AR.2016.032)." Year 2002.

> folks, who could have achieved positive results by forming coalitions, alliances and mutual agendas the past several years, lunge for each other's jugulars.

The newsletter goes on to claim that inter-group conflict was and had continued to be one of the most pertinent issues East Austin faced, citing the near cooptation of two neighborhood associations by newer, White residents as an example. In these examples, the new White residents are said to be "politically connected white folks who opposed ARA and then tried to take it over" in order to subvert the ARA's and the neighborhoods' agendas.[111] The 12th Street Business and Property Owners' Association disagreed with that representation. In a third letter to HUD, the business and property owners alleged that the ARA was an agent of the City. The business and property owners asserted that the ARA was under pre-and-post review processes with the City on the expenditure of funds, does not receive sufficient funds for action in target areas regardless, and that the ARA and East Austin area are held to standards and restrictions not applied to other development corporations or areas of the city, such as the Downtown Austin Alliance and West Austin communities.[112]

Concerns over the direction and balance of power for East Austin's development were the primary topics of conversation in community townhall meetings. Residents of the East Austin community pushed for actionable solutions on housing, including housing discrimination and rent control, and tax credits. The townhall took place at the heels of the City of Austin's adoption of Chapter 380, a piece of Texas state legislation which enabled municipalities to offer economic development incentives. In Austin, Chapter 380 provides performance-based incentives qualifying companies that indicate a competitive relocation or expansion project for the City.

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[111] Source: "Setting the Record Straight: ARA Respondents to Questions and Comments Regarding Development in Central East Austin. (AR.2008.003)." Year 2003.

[112] Source: "Letter to Mr. Gary Sweeney, Director Southwest HUD, Texas State Office Fair Housing and Equal Opportunity. From, 12th Street Business and Property Owners' Association. 2/3/2003. (AR.2016.032)." Year 2003.

Residents at the mic demanded to know why incentives and tax breaks were being given to development corporations but not residents, and implored the council to include them in the planning process. Though the sheer volume of townhall participants prevented City Council representatives from addressing every question, residents were able to gain some concessions, such as the acknowledgement that taxes were disproportionately high in East Austin.[113] The Austin Human Rights Commission agreed, finding that urgent action was needed to remedy the impact of gentrification in East Austin:

> …since the adoption of several East Austin neighborhood plans in the new City of Austin Neighborhood Plan Project, residents have felt the burden of increased property taxes and increase rental rates…People of color who at one time had to no other choice [sic] but to live in East Austin are now being pushed further east and/or out of Austin.[114]

Growing concerns about the status of Austin's African American community prompted the African American Quality of Life Study. The study was designed to determine if the quality of life for African Americans in Austin was different from the quality of life for White Austinites or African Americans living in other cities. In a presentation to City Council, Chief Michael McDonald delivered a series of talking points on factors found to contribute to the decline and displacement of the population and lower quality of life. The studied identified Austin's lack of welcoming environment as the core issue facing the African American community, with poor race relations contributing to challenges in the critical realms of arts and entertainment, work, police community relations, investment in East Austin, housing, education, and business and economic development. The job market was identified as a problem of particular longevity, with community respondents reporting an inability to find jobs with wages capable of supporting a

[113] Source: "Notes from CP&R Townhall Meeting, 12/7/04. (AR.2008.009)." Year 2004.
[114] Source: "Austin Human Rights Commission, Minutes. (AR.1991.057)." Year 2005.

family. In regards to the City's approach to labor force and job development in East Austin, participants of the quality of life study said:

> …it is a problem for the community to be underutilizing its capital investment. Its people investment. People talked about the need for varied options. To make sure that while we are recruiting high tech businesses, that we are also recruiting low tech businesses and semi-skilled businesses. That regardless of what type of businesses that we are recruiting, that there are opportunities for advancement and access to higher paying jobs once we get in.[115]

In addition to lack of job opportunity, the quality of life study identified a critical absence of "a viable social infrastructure" for African Americans, which makes it difficult to attract and maintain African American residents. Though Austin ranked nationally as a number one travel destination, best place to live, and even top place for Hispanics to live, Chief McDonald communicated to the council that no reputable African American publications had ranked Austin on their own lists. The main takeaway: "…one of the things that was very, very obvious was that not all in Austin have equally benefited from the city's financial success."

Short and long-term solutions to the problems identified in the African American Quality of Life Study came out one month after the City Council meeting at which the report's findings were presented. Immediate workforce and business development initiatives included the actual enforcement of minority and women-owned business ordinances, partnering with the African American Chamber of Commerce to locate and expand incentives for Black owned businesses, to review the City's hiring procedures to ensure that the number of African Americans in city government and management positions is proportionate to the population, and link corporate recruitment incentives or penalties to African American hiring opportunities. Echoing recommendations made by PODER in 2001, solutions towards neighborhood stability as a means

[115] Source: "Talking Points, Chief Michael McDonald. City Council Presentation. May 26, 2005. (AR.2005.026)." Year 2005.

of strengthening social ties included developing a land-bank with seed deposits being city-owned lots and striking properties from tax roles or creating tax abatement zones for certain residents.[116] In a follow-up report delivered to City Council five months later, the quality of life study team emphasized that the study represented an "unprecedented opportunity for the City's leadership, in partnership with the community, to change the course of history in Austin."

Discussion

Decades of purposeful economic planning and the maintenance of a specific concentration of government and educational services and other light industry positioned the City of Austin to catch the knowledge and creative economy at its emergence in the early 1980s. The city's preparedness to transition from a service to knowledge economy in the latter half of the 20th century is a testament to the resources Austin had planned to bring to the table: a highly-educated pool of workers, a desirable physical environment, space available for redevelopment, and a local government excited by the prospects and promises of a competitive, new approach to economic growth.

The purpose of this chapter was to construct a revisionist history of the City of Austin's planning practices to determine the extent to which the accumulation of knowledge and creative planning decisions over time influenced contemporary social and structural inequalities in Travis County. The findings indicate that Austin's present condition, specifically trends of African American population loss and Hispanic residential clustering, are the product of decades of conflict between elite and non-elite stakeholders in the city's developmental trajectory. By taking a dialectical conflict approach, this chapter has highlighted the agency and skill with which city

116 Source: "'One Team, One Dream': African American Community Quality of Life Presentation. Community Position Paper. June 23, 2005. (AR.2005.026)." Year 2005.

government and planning officials have influenced an unequal geography of social, political, and cultural ruin across Travis County through the mechanisms of language and power.

Close readings of planning documents and other communications between development stakeholders reveal that throughout the knowledge and creative development process, the city has deployed the strategic use of language to help justify efforts, influence public perception, determine inclusion or exclusion from policies over time, and co-opt pain. Documents from major pre-2003 planning eras and long-term initiatives, including Model Cities, the Austinplan, R/UDAT, and heritage development, are dotted with language that frames the areas and communities under planning review as being detrimental to the overall health and image of the city in their present forms.

For example, when criticized for their narrow focus on East and Southeast Austin neighborhoods, Model City grant administrators placated concerns about unequal allocations of federal grant money by promising that development initiatives would make the targeted areas "of interest to the rest of the community."[117] Almost two decades later, a planning report for the Austinplan espoused a similarly worldly rhetoric, stating that while "the desirable features" of inner-city neighborhoods should be preserved, the primary goal was engendering neighborhood identities that would "contribute positively to Austin's image." "Livable" neighborhoods would be protected under the Austinplan, so long as they could balance citywide needs and expectations on top of their own.[118] The Austinplan community workshop for Southeast Austin doubled down on the importance of image, arguing that residential and commercial areas should contribute to "a wholesome community" – language not found in community workshop summaries for any

[117] Source: "Model Neighborhood Program: Proposed Application for Planning a Model Neighborhood. (A711.409764 Au)." Year 1968.
[118] Source: "Austinplan: Urban Design Element, Strategy for Action, Milestone II Report. (AR.2014.011)." Year 1987.

other planning sector.[119] R/UDAT strategies for implementation and calls to action were similarly vague. In defining the eligibility of spaces for protection from development, planning documents maintained only that downtown commercial expansion would be kept from encroaching on "established neighborhoods."[120]

Efforts at heritage development also contained language subject to interpretation. With the goal of developing an Austin that reflected a profitable central Texas heritage in mind, the plurality of cultures and lifestyles in the Austin area posed a problem for city officials and other influential stakeholders, who ultimately set standards as to the value buildings, homes, or traditional customs had to contribute to the city before their preservation would be considered. In their constitution and by-laws, The Heritage Society of Austin swore only to preserve and perpetuate customs, traditions, and folklore that beautified and enriched community life.[121] R/UDAT, which incorporated The Heritage Society of Austin into their cultural and heritage development planning teams, echoed these sentiments, but added that official preservation efforts would prioritize buildings that could "enhance Downtown's character and boost its tourism."[122] Upon the formal integration of heritage tourism into the city's Economic Development Department, a new goal, to promote the histories and places that support the "economic vitality" of the Austin region, was added to the city's heritage development framework.[123]

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[119] Source: "Austinplan: Community Workshop 2, Planning Alternatives, Sector 12. March 1987. (AR.2014.011)." Year 1987.
[120] Source: "R/UDAT Austin Implementation: A Call to Action. (AR.2004.027)." Year 1992.
[121] Source: "The Heritage Society of Austin: Constitution and By Laws (AR.P.010)." Year unknown, estimated 1950s.
[122] Source: "R/UDAT Austin Implementation: A Call to Action. (AR.2004.027)." Year 1992.
[123] Source: "The Heritage Tourism Division: Heritage Tourism." Accessed online 2/16/2020. http://www.austintexas.gov/heritage-tourism

Building function-oriented development justification frameworks like the ones outlined above has enabled the City of Austin to disassociate suffering from policy via narratives of the "greater good." Contemporary efforts at disassociation include the co-opted use of phrases such as the "Soul of Austin" or "Austin's Soul." Originally used in the early 2000s to convey the severe, negative impact that the continued displacement of Austin's Black community was having on the city's character, culture, and identity, the phrase "Soul of Austin" is presently used as the East Austin area slogan for the official 2019/2020 Insider's Guide for tourists.

Conclusion

Creative city urbanization is based on the idea that "one person's economic and social inclusion is premised on someone else's exclusion" (Tonkiss 2017: 189). The results of this chapter suggest that city governments have agency and power in determining what the content of their excluded categories will be. The tremendous power exercised by the City of Austin in maintaining control over the framing and narrative of redevelopment projects taking place in formally majority-minority spaces codifies the servile, sacrificial nature of the relationship between East and West Austin. The cumulative and multi-dimensional impacts of Austin's many exclusions over the course of its history – of heavy industry from the economy, of African-American and Hispanic residents from West Austin, of East Austin from structural and financial support, and of East Austinites from their own history – has contributed towards the physical and social ruination of people and communities deemed secondary to the pursuit of Austin's success.

In a racially bifurcated city like Austin, the "embeddedness" of racial-ethnic and class-based social categories into physical space naturalizes their official and developmental treatment during periods of growth and renewal (Savage 2011). The City of Austin expedited plans for the settlement of high tech manufacturing in southeast Austin despite projected employment

opportunities and capital gains addressing virtually none of the needs self-identified by the community in planning and City Council sessions. Historic preservationists worked to disassociate the century long legacy of Black and Hispanic residency from East Austin as a way to advance a central Texas heritage with a broader and more marketable touristic appeal. Black Austinites credibly alleged twice in official City of Austin communications and forums that the environment of an endangered species of salamander was being given more developmental protection and consideration by local government than was the provision of services or protection for African American communities.

The excluded category in Austin's redevelopment context was established the moment the 1928 City Plan was ratified. Despite decades of struggle, complaint, and developmental conflict striving to mitigate the harm associated with location within the excluded group, its membership was reestablished nearly 60 years later in 1990, when planning and development officials decided that the East Austin commercial corridors were vital towards the downtown area's revitalization and tourist marketing. While there is no way to extrapolate on what the salamanders' outcome may have been had they been located east of IH-35 instead of tucked safely away near west-oriented Barton Springs, the documents analyzed here demonstrate that enduring legacies of race and class-based stratification engendered a development climate in which East Austin's future was almost entirely out of its own control.

The slow violence of Austin's developmental history and the disproportionate impact it has had on areas east of IH-35 is the product of repeated failures on the behalf of planners and government officials to act in the defense of the disinvested, disenfranchised communities occupying their excluded category. Planning language promising to maintain livable, established neighborhoods of good character with desirable features and a wholesome image automatically

exclude, by design, the predominantly Black and Hispanic neighborhoods east of IH-35 that have been subject to decades of disinvestment and were known to be physically deteriorated and underperforming as a result. As such, the primary beneficiaries of economic exclusion in Austin have been the local government and developers whose actions provided the city with a sufficient area of land with which to induce downtown revitalization and redevelopment (Hamnett 1991).

In making historically Black and Hispanic communities suddenly and disproportionately responsible for the economic growth and prosperity of the entire city, despite their systematic exclusion from it, the City of Austin effectively made the needs of East Austin residents subservient to the needs of its citizens living everywhere else. The present chapter has found that framing narratives of development as acts of servitude has enabled the City of Austin to maintain a competitive economic edge via the sacrifices of an excluded group. Gentrification, loss of community, cultural disenfranchisement, and disproportionate tax burdens have all been flagged by Black and Hispanic residents as problems co-occurring alongside the City of Austin's major planning and development initiatives. However, city intervention in these processes has been made to look impossible, unreasonable, and even unlawful when juxtaposed against the possibility that doing so could jeopardize Austin's economic progress.

Chapter 3

Mapping the Greater Good: Racial-Ethnic and Occupational Group Segregation in Travis County from 1980 – 2017

Introduction

City of Austin development initiatives have come short of acknowledging the enduring and disproportionately negative social and economic impacts of the 1928 City Plan on East Austin's developmental trajectory. Though city-sponsored near-admissions make it clear that the 1928 plan built a geography of inequality over Travis County –

> Austin's leaders in 1928 adopted a progressive city plan. The first since 1839, this plan marked a turning point for urban design and framed the Austin of 1992…. But at the same time, planners callously and irresponsibly fenced off part of the community by racially segregating East Austin. This decision to fragment its people and commerce would strain Austin's social fabric for decades. [124][strikethrough in original]

- the basic principles of urban policy –to encourage growth, equity, and diversity (Fainstein 2005) - have been consistently misapplied in Austin. Writing on the social impacts of the 1984 Bhopal chemical disaster, Rob Nixon observed, "the fallout outlasted the empire responsible" (2011: 63). In Austin the fallout from the early political regime's efforts at creating an East-West divide has lingered in the framework of the city's more recent development strategies despite the human and political deaths of the people who laid their foundation.

The City of Austin's post-Civil Rights era planning initiatives have failed to make significant departures from the blight removal strategy that inspired the 1928 plan's creation (Orum 1987). Urban renewal was originally purposed for blight removal. It is steeped in race and class based disenfranchisements and made complicated by the intrinsic connection and

[124] Source: "Downtown Austin: A Call to Action. R/UDAT Proposed Draft #2. April 2, 1992. (AR.1996.017). 1992.

embeddedness of social categories into physical space (Fullilove 2016). As previously demonstrated in chapter 2, the fallout of urban development in Austin has been disproportionately felt by marginalized groups precisely because urban renewal initiatives and their impacts cannot be disentangled from the communities, neighborhoods, and people who occupy the disinvested space (Savage 2011). The social and spatial boundaries that make up the divide between West and East Austin, or White and non-White Austin, are consequently layered with decades of inequality.

The gradual integration of lifestyle, leisure, and cultural development into economic policy has left the City of Austin with a complicated urban life support system in which the successes of the city's political, economic, cultural, and social realms are inextricably tied to the ideology of its development policy. In preparing the physical landscape of the greater Austin area to absorb the impact of the city's impressive economic growth, the urban renewal and redevelopment policies designed to lessen strain have incidentally manifested a secondary, polarizing process of determining the extent to which certain populations can be present in specific geographies and when, over the course of the city's growth, it is acceptable for them to be there (Fullilove 2016). In Austin, socio-spatial polarization and the removal of blight from the city's population has fallen primarily along two dimensions, race-ethnicity and class.

The purpose of chapter two was to construct a revisionist history of the social, developmental, and political conflicts contributing to the City of Austin's contemporary condition. The purpose of the third chapter is to spatialize the impact of pursuing the accumulation of knowledge and creative development on patterns of residential segregation by race-ethnicity and occupational group employment over time. Several measures of segregation, including the dissimilarity index, the isolation index, and Theil's multi-group entropy index are

utilized as a means of understanding the impact of developmental processes on socio-spatial residential patterns and vice versa. The present chapter quantifies the impact of the City of Austin's economic and cultural development policies on minority share racial-ethnic and occupational groups in areas of contested space over the course of the city's development trajectory. By doing so, I hope to encourage the recognition of Austin's Black and Hispanic communities as citizens that have been made to suffer unmitigated losses of space, community, and opportunity over the duration of Austin's knowledge and creative development.

Review of Literature

The Supreme Court's ruling on the case of *Kelo v. City of New London* (545 U.S. 469 [2005]) explicitly enabled the use of eminent domain for the purpose of economic development in the United States. Under *Kelo*, the general benefits a community stands to enjoy from economic growth qualifies private redevelopment plans as public use under the Fifth Amendment. The implications of the ruling are that redevelopment undertaken for the benefit of the greater good enables governments and private developers to exercise eminent domain over property, a condition which allows it to be transferred from one private owner to the next, even at risk of abandonment, as justified by prospects of future economic and community benefit (Dean 2007). In their analysis of the *Kelo v. City of New London* decision Dean concluded:

> More troubling than the majority's legal reasoning is the policy it promotes: a perverted variation of the 'manifest destiny' concept of the nineteenth century, only inner cities are the new frontier and urban minorities are the new Indians. And like the Apache, Utes, and Sioux of the old American West, the poor and disempowered will be forced to vacate the communities and properties that rightfully belong to them in the name of progress, or better yet, economic development. (2007: 55)

The Supreme Court's ruling on *Kelo v. City of New London* illuminates the multi-dimensioned character of inequality. In addition to inequalities of income, space, and other resources, residents of areas vulnerable to redevelopment face an "'unequal allocation of personhood'" that is spurred by political disregard and manifests as "disparities of dignity, autonomy, freedom, opportunity and self-determination" (Tonkiss 2017: 188).

In the knowledge and creative class of cities, economic development entails the redevelopment of space to accommodate the perceived needs of the people responsible for generating the economic benefits that urban restructuring claims to support (Florida 2002; Dean 2007). Historically Black and Hispanic neighborhoods are more likely to be subject to such redevelopment (Freeman 2016). In Austin, the majority of the planning documents analyzed in chapter two advanced narratives which framed the City of Austin's redevelopment initiatives as having been undertaken for the greater good and economic advancement of the Austin area. However, these same documents indicate that the lots purchased by the City and later abandoned or sold to private developers were predominately clustered in areas located east of IH-35, which aligns with Dean's (2007) concerns regarding the unequal application of economic justification in the taking of eminent domain in majority-minority spaces.

Poverty of personhood is strongly associated with a lack of integration into an area's greater geography (Vaughan et al. 2005). Like poverty of income, poverty of personhood reflects an absence of opportunity (Tomaskovic-Devey 1987). In urban areas where stratification is influenced by "the organizational structure of industrial capitalism" (Beck et al. 1980: 713), the accumulation of skilled people in skilled places has less to do with housing price elasticities (Berry and Glaeser 2005) and more to do with the opportunities afforded to them across the geographies of their space. Though social categories are embedded in physical space (Savage

2011), attained status' such as work, or ascribed status' like position within racial-ethnic structural hierarchies can afford well-resourced populations with opportunities for extra geographic mobility and power. Understanding the degree of relationality between groups within urban space - how the whims or movements of one class may impact another (Savage 2011), or how demographic characteristics have been made determinants of poverty (Tomaskovic-Devey 1987) - is central to advancing theories on manifest destiny and the allocation of personhood in creative class cities.

Hypotheses

The analysis of archival documents undertaken for chapter 2 supports the assertion that Austin's Black and Hispanic racial-ethnic groups have been disproportionately impacted by "greater good" redevelopment initiatives. The majority of the urban redevelopment policies analyzed in the previous chapter contain arms which have targeted the historically Black and Hispanic neighborhoods located east of IH-35. The location of these policies along the timeline of Austin's developmental trajectory suggests that the physical space and communities located east of IH-35 became valuable to the City only after it was determined that their deterioration was negatively impacting the economic prospects of the downtown area.

In spatializing the impacts of Austin's developmental trajectory over the last 40 years the present chapter seeks to establish evidence of ruin that "[disrupts] dominant narratives of development and regeneration" (Mah 2017: 201). While I hypothesize that county-level segregation by race-ethnicity and occupational group will have ultimately decreased between 1980-2017, the bifurcation of the city into east and west, and the differential treatment of directional sub-areas during major development processes, necessitates the creation of additional hypotheses capable of accounting for smaller pockets of segregation within Austin's

manufactured geography of inequality. Table 1 provides a synthesis of hypotheses regarding the anticipated direction of change in rates of residential segregation by race-ethnicity and occupational group from 1980 – 2017, organized by segregation index and sub-area. The isolation index is not applicable to the measurement of segregation by occupational groups and is therefore not provided.

Table 1. Hypotheses indicating direction of change in rates of residential segregation per type of index, by race and occupational group and directional sub-area.[125]

	Hypothesis: Segregation, measured per index, will increase, decrease, or stay the same from 1980-2017 in a directional sub-area by race or occupational group.		
Directional sub-area	**H1: Dissimilarity**	**H2: Isolation**	**H3: Entropy**
Travis County (a)	WB: (-) WH: (-) BH: (-) HS: (+) HI: (+) IS: (+)	B: (-) H: (-)	Race: (+) Occupations: (-)
North (b)	WB: (-) WH: (-) BH: (-) HS: (-) HI: (-) IS: (-)	B: (-) H: (-)	Race: (+) Occupations: (+)
West (c)	WB: (+) WH: (-) BH: nc HS: nc HI: (+) IS: (+)	B: (+) H: (-)	Race: (+) Occupations: (-)
Northwest (d)	WB: (+) WH: (+) BH: nc	B: (+) H: (+)	Race: (+) Occupations: (-)

[125] Table key for table 1: WB refers to White-Black group comparison, WH refers to White-Hispanic group comparison, and BH refers to Black-Hispanic group comparison. B refers to Black isolation. H refers to Hispanic isolation. HS is a Professional and Technical – Service occupations comparison, HI is a Professional and Technical – Industrial occupations comparison, and IS is an Industrial-Services occupations comparison. (+) indicates that the measure is hypothesized to increase, where (-) indicates that the measures is hypothesized to decrease. An nc indicates that no significant change is expected.

	HS: nc HI: (+) IS: (+)		
Central (e)	WB: (-) WH: (-) BH: (-) HS: (-) HI: (+) IS: nc	B: (-) H: (-)	Race: (+) Occupations: (-)
South Central (f)	WB: (+) WH: (+) BH: nc HS: (-) HI: (+) IS: nc	B: (+) H: (+)	Race: (+) Occupations: (-)
South (g)	WB: nc WH: (-) BH: nc HS: (-) HI: (-) IS: nc	B: (-) H: (-)	Race: (+) Occupations: (+)
Southeast (h)	WB: (+) WH: (+) BH: (+) HS: (-) HI: (+) IS: (-)	B: (-) H: (+)	Race: (+) Occupations: (+)
East (i)	WB: (-) WH: (-) BH: nc HS: (-) HI: (-) IS: nc	B: (-) H: (-)	Race: (+) Occupations: (+)
Outskirts (j)	WB: (+) WH: (+) BH: nc HS: (+) HI: (+) IS: (-)	B: (+) H: (+)	Race: (+) Occupations: (+)

By Race-Ethnicity

I hypothesize that changes in racial-ethnic segregation in Travis County vary by directional sub-area and location relative to the downtown core. While I anticipate that the levels

of segregation between the White, Black, and Hispanic racial-ethnic groups in Austin will decrease at the county level over the course of 1980 – 2017 across all measures, I also hypothesize that in some areas, the degree of segregation between racial-ethnic groups will increase.

The planning history and dialectic constructed for the second chapter has informed the hypotheses for changes in degree of segregation by racial-ethnic group combination and location relative to downtown presented here. For the 1980 – 2017 time period, I hypothesize that White-Black dissimilarity and Black isolation will increase in the west and northwest directional sub-areas, but that White-Hispanic segregation will decrease despite a hypothesized increase in Hispanic isolation. Segregation in the west and northwest directional sub-areas is hypothesized to behave as such due to those areas' relative racial homogeneity and general lack of susceptibility to significant development initiatives as per their environmentally protected, residential, and fairly affluent nature.

I hypothesize that the north directional sub-area, a Hispanic residential enclave that contains land zoned for research and development, will experience a decrease in dissimilarity between all three racial-ethnic groups from 1980 – 2017 and a decrease in Black isolation. The same decrease in dissimilarity and isolation is hypothesized for the central directional sub-area. I expect increased dissimilarity between Whites and other racial-ethnic groups in the southcentral directional sub-area, which is grounded by the popular South Congress Street and has become increasingly expensive given its proximity to downtown and major outdoor amenities. To that end, I also hypothesize an increase in Black and Hispanic isolation in that area.

I anticipate that the greatest changes in Travis County's racial residential patterns will be located in the south, southeast, and eastern directional sub-areas, as each of these areas contain

the highest proportions of Black and Hispanic residents and have been consistent targets for redevelopment over the course of Austin's knowledge and creative development trajectory. I expect to see a decrease in dissimilarity between Whites and other racial-ethnic groups in the south and east directional sub-areas, but no change in the degree of dissimilarity between the Black-Hispanic groups. I hypothesize that dissimilarity will increase between all three racial-ethnic groups in the southeast area. I hypothesize that Black isolation will decrease in the south and east directional sub-areas, and that Hispanic isolation will increase in the southeast area. In tracts representing the concentric "outskirts" of Travis County, I hypothesize that dissimilarity between Whites and the other racial-ethnic groups will increase. While I expect that Black and Hispanic isolation will also increase, I anticipate no change in the Black-Hispanic dissimilarity of the outskirt tracts.

By Occupational Groups

I hypothesize that the developmental processes expected to impact racial-ethnic group patterns will impact patterns of residential segregation by employment in occupational groups as well. I expect that occupational group entropy will decrease in Travis County overall and in each directional sub-area from 1980 – 2017. As with race-ethnicity, I expect that residential patterns will remain fairly consistent in the west and northwest directional sub-areas. I hypothesize that dissimilarity between the professional and technical occupations (POTs) and services will remain consistent in the west and northwest directional sub-areas from 1980 – 2017. However, I do anticipate an increase in residential dissimilarity between those employed in POTs-Industrial and Industrial-Services in those same areas. In the north directional sub-area immediately adjacent to the northwest area, I hypothesize a decrease in dissimilarity between all three occupational groups.

The central directional sub-area of Travis County is subject to population change as a spillover effect of its proximity to downtown and the University of Texas main campus, two areas heavily impacted by development initiatives in the early 1990s. In terms of residential segregation by employment occupational groups, I expect that dissimilarity between POTs-Services in the central directional sub-area will decrease, but that dissimilarity between POTs-Industrial and Industrial-Services will increase. I hypothesize the same relationships in the southcentral area with one exception; I expect that dissimilarity between Industrial-Services will not change in that area.

Residential dissimilarity between people employed in POTs-Services is expected to decrease in the south, southeast, and east directional sub-areas. No change is expected in the degree of dissimilarity between Industrial-Services in the east and south directional sub-areas, but POTs-Industrial dissimilarity in those areas is hypothesized to decrease. POTs-Industrial dissimilarity is expected to increase but residential dissimilarity between Industrial-Services is expected to decrease in the southeast directional sub-area. Residential dissimilarity between people employed in POTs and any other occupational group is hypothesized to increase in the outskirt tracts of Travis County, but dissimilarity between Industrial-Services is expected to decrease.

Data & Methods

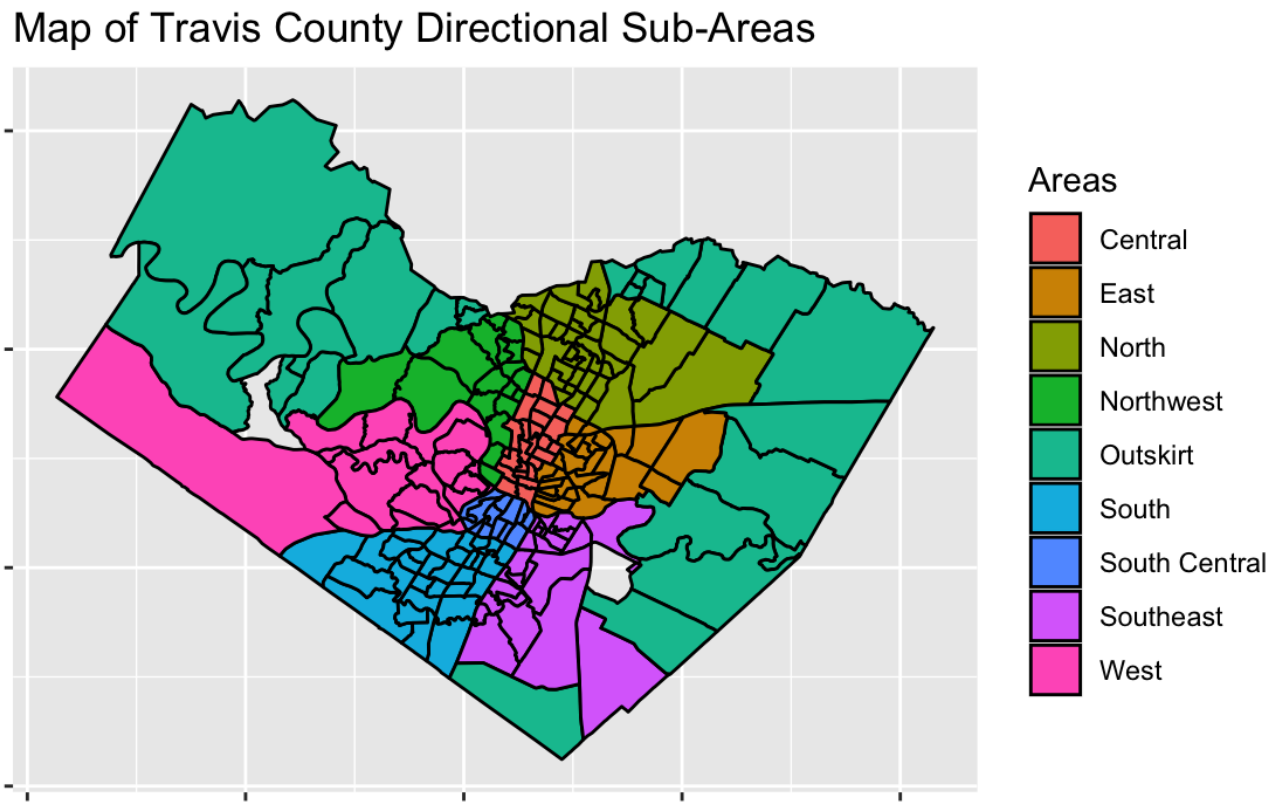
Geographic Area of Study

All residential tracts within Travis County, Texas were eligible for inclusion in the quantitative portion of this dissertation (n = 215). Travis County is one of five counties contained within the Austin-Round Rock Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA) which is additionally

comprised of Bastrop, Caldwell, Hays, and Williamson counties. An MSA is defined as a geographic area containing at least one urbanized location of 50,000 or more inhabitants, plus its immediately surrounding areas. Austin, Texas is the principle city of the Austin-Round Rock MSA and the county seat of Travis County. Census tracts from other counties in the MSA have not been included in the calculation of segregation indices or spatial models. County-level population proportions from Bastrop, Caldwell, Hays, and Williamson counties have been included in the mapping process, as doing so more accurately visualizes the research hypothesis that Austin's Black population has been pushed out of the city's urban core and into the surrounding extra-suburban areas over the course of the city's knowledge and creative development accumulation.

Segregation indices were calculated at the county-level, i.e. for all census tracts in Travis County, as well as at the directional sub-area levels. Directional sub-areas are groupings of census tracts that acknowledge and control for the differential impact of the 1928 City Plan, the City of Austin's history of neighborhood development initiatives, and contemporary patterns of gentrification in various locations throughout the city. The 9 directional sub-areas of Travis County are: 1) central, 2) north, 3) northwest, 4) west, 5) south, 6) southcentral, 7) southeast, 8) east, and 9) the concentric outskirts. The delineation of tracts into directional sub-areas was informed by their geographic location relative to downtown, real estate mapping tools, and locations relative to natural and manmade boundary demarcations such as rivers, highways, and other heavily trafficked roads. Figure 2 shows the 9 directional sub-areas of Travis County. A list of census tracts contained within sub-area is provided in Appendix B.

Figure 2. Map of Travis County showing census tracts divided into their nine directional sub-areas.



Quantitative Data Sources

Data for the spatial mapping, measures of segregation, and spatial regression models implemented in the present and next chapter come from the Neighborhood Change Database (NCDB) and the American Community Survey (ACS). Data for the years 1970, 1980, 1990, 2000, and 2010 were sourced from the NCDB long form release in partnership with Geolytics. The NCDB has been designed to allow researchers to examine change in population characteristics over the past five decades and is based on information provided by the United States Decennial Census (US Census). The NCDB is aggregated at the census tract level. An advantage of using the NCDB over historic U.S. decennial census data is its normalization of

census tracts, the process of redrawing area maps and applying weights to data from previous decades to have the same census-tract area boundaries as those drawn in 2010. All quantitative data for this dissertation have been normalized to 2010 census tract boundaries, which enables the comparison of spatialized data across multiple decades.

NCBD data from 2010 are sourced directly from the ACS, which is a long-form nationwide survey sponsored by the United States Census Bureau. Unlike the short-form decennial census, the ACS contains detailed information about population, economic, and housing characteristics. Data is collected from a subset of the American population with new households being randomly selected for participation each month. It is estimated that about 1 in 38 U.S households receive an invitation to participate in the American Community Survey per year.[126] Data from 2017 have been sourced from the ACS 2013-2017 summary file, wherein data were collected from each of the five years within that time period and centered by the ACS around 2015.

Though valuable to the study of American socio-demographics, the ACS struggles with estimation accuracy and is often plagued by large margins of error. ACS 5-year estimates have smaller margins of error than 1-year estimates, which helps increase the statistical reliability of results for smaller geographic areas such as census tracts. Still, the five-year estimates are not perfect. Additional strategies in the quantitative analysis towards the mitigation of remaining estimation bias are discussed further in chapter 4.[127]

[126] From https://www.census.gov/content/dam/Census/programs-surveys/acs/about/ACS_Information_Guide.pdf, accessed online 11/4/19.

[127] An additional, latent bias-reduction factor is that in a separate study on the spatial variation of ACS estimation quality in the United States, Folch et al. (*Demography* 2016) found that Travis County was a cluster of low-uncertainty tracts, meaning that estimates for census tracts in Travis County are more likely to be reliable.

Determining Compatibility between Sources

The number of decades under study and use of multiple data sources requires consideration for the equivalency of racial-ethnic groups between decades and between data sources. The selection of racial-ethnic group categories for inclusion in this dissertation was influenced by Travis County demographic composition and migratory patterns as well as availability of equivalent categories between the NCDB and the ACS.

As part of their mission to provide researchers with data appropriate for longitudinal studies, the NCDB includes equivalent racial-ethnic group measures for the years 1970, 1980, 1990, 2000, and 2010 using a method developed by the Urban Institute's Population Studies Center. Racial-ethnic crosswalks – data keys which show the compatibility of variables between decades - have been released to help researchers maintain group consistency for studies spanning decades from 1970-2010. The following racial-ethnic groups were used in the quantitative analyses for chapters 3 and 4[128]:

1970 – 2017: Whites, defined as White + any other race, assign to White.

1970 – 2017: Blacks, defined as Black + any other race, assign to Black.

1970 – 2017: Hispanics – the NCDB asserts that the formatting of this question, which consistently asks about identification with Hispanic or Latino ethnicity across decades, does not necessitate bridging between years.

Compatibility of occupational groups between decades and data sources also needed to be considered. That occupations have newly emerged, become obsolete, or been redefined over time makes it difficult to match specific occupational categories within and between the NCDB and

[128] The coding scheme for share White, share Black, and share Hispanic used by the NCDB and selected for use in this dissertation introduces the potential for counting errors in the calculation of racial-ethnic proportions. For example, assigning someone who identifies as White + *any other race* to White risks assigning people with Hispanic ancestry that racially identify as White to two categories, White and Hispanic. This coding scheme also introduces the possibility that bi-racial people are counted twice. It is not possible for me to make adjustments to the categorization of individuals in data that has been aggregated to the census tract-level. A second series of analysis has been run to compensate for the potential inaccuracies induced by this coding scheme and my selection of it.

ACS using crosswalks. It became necessary to construct broad occupational groups from categories available in the NCDB and ACS to preserve the ability of this dissertation to make comparisons across decades. The three occupational groups constructed for this dissertation were professional and technical, services, and industrial. Occupations that fall within the professional and technical category include professional and technical occupations and executives, managers, and administrators excluding farms. Occupations within the services category are sales workers, administrative support and clerical workers, and service workers. Occupations in the industrial category include precision production, craft, repair, operators, assemblers, transportation and material moving, nonfarm laborers, farm, forestry, and fishing. Only the professional and technical occupational category is consistently defined across all decades. Sales workers were added to the services category beginning in 2010, as the NCDB did not include that occupation in their categorization before that decade. The industrial occupational category also underwent changes in 2010, going from being composed of manufacturing and agriculture from 1970-2000 to materials and heavy industry from 2010 onward.

The occupational groups selected for this dissertation were informed by three factors: their compatibility between decades and data sources, their ability to approximate the occupational categories contained with City of Austin workforce and economic development strategies – knowledge and creative, service, or industrial, and previous research by Florida and Mellander (2015), who examined economic segregation in U.S. metro areas by employment in creative, service, and working class occupations. Still, a weakness of this dissertation and of occupational groupings in general is the inability of broad categories to adequately capture variations between the occupations contained within a single large group. The US Census'

practice of grouping occupations into "job families"[129] prevents researchers who work with aggregated data from accurately accounting for differences between occupations in terms of power, prestige, average pay, degree of educational attainment required, or skill-set. Despite these deficits, working with occupational categories more broadly is appropriate given the purpose of the dissertation, which is to determine if the accumulation of occupations falling with the professional and technical job family has impacted the socio-spatial dynamics of Austin and Travis County over time.

Calculating Racial-Ethnic and Occupational Group Segregation

Residential segregation is often measured using a variety of dissimilarity and exposure indices. Three indexes were calculated for this dissertation: the dissimilarity index, the isolation index, and Theil's multi-group entropy index. The dissimilarity index was calculated between White-Black, White-Hispanic, and Black-Hispanic racial-ethnic groups for all decades under study. The dissimilarity index was calculated between Professional and Technical-Services, Professional and Technical-Industrial, and Services-Industrial occupational groups. Entropy index values for racial-ethnic groups and occupational groups were only calculated once, as the nature of that index is such that all groups are included in its calculation. Isolation indexes were calculated for Blacks and Hispanics. Each index was calculated at the county-level and directional sub-area levels, with each directional sub-area being treated essentially as an independent county during that process. All indexes were calculated using the open-source statistical software R.

[129] The US Census asserts that the purpose of a job family is to "put all people who work together into the same group regardless of their skill level." Source: United States Census Bureau FAQs. Accessed online 3/30/2020. https://www.census.gov/topics/employment/industry-occupation/about/faq.html

Each index, though differentially purposed, contributes to understanding the nature of residential segregation and locational attainment in Travis County. The purpose of using three different measures of residential segregation – dissimilarity, isolation, and multi-group entropy - is not to prove hypersegregation, but rather to show the various dimensions along which the City of Austin's developmental trajectory may have contributed to socio-spatial patterns of segregation over time.

The Dissimilarity Index

The dissimilarity index is a measure of evenness which captures the degree to which different groups are evenly spread among neighborhoods in a city. The dissimilarity index indicates the percentage of a group's population that would have to move in order to have an "'even' residential pattern – one where every neighborhood replicates the racial composition of the city" (Massey and Denton 1998: 20). Calculating dissimilarity between racial-ethnic groups creates a comparison between the groups, with the measurement denoting the evenness of the smaller group's distribution across space compared to the larger group. The formula used to calculate the dissimilarity index is[130]:

$$\frac{\sum_{i=1}^{n}\left(t_i\left|p_i - P\right|\right)}{2TP(1-P)}$$

Scores for the dissimilarity index can range from 0 – 1. Values approaching 1 indicate that the proportion of a group's membership in a tract is not equal to the proportion of group membership

[130] Formulas for the dissimilarity, isolation, and entropy indexes are sourced from "Appendix B: Measures of Residential Segregation" from the United States Census Bureau. Accessed online 8/7/2020. https://www.census.gov/topics/housing/housing-patterns/guidance/appendix-b.html

in the population as a whole. Dissimilarity index values of .60 or above are indicative of very high segregation, with values between .40-.50 denoting moderate segregation, and values of .30 and below showing fairly low levels of segregation.[131]

The Isolation Index

Exposure indexes measure the sociological effects of segregation. The isolation index is a type of exposure index which measures the probability that members of a minority group are living within the same census tract (Massey and Denton 1989). As "the percentage of same-group population in the census tract where the average member of a racial/ethnic group lives," the isolation index measures how isolated an individual is from their own group by calculating their exposure to other members of their group. [132] Scores for the isolation index can range from 0 - 100, with higher scores indicating that the average group member is only around other people from their group. Considered another way, an isolation score approaching 100 would indicate greater average group member isolation from members of other, different groups, while a lower score would indicate isolation from one's own group. A note on the isolation index is its susceptibility to group size; the value of the index is likely to increase over time if the small group grows in population. The formula for the isolation index is:

$$\sum_{i=1}^{n}\left[\left(\frac{x_i}{X}\right)\left(\frac{x_i}{t_i}\right)\right]$$

[131] Source: Brown University Diversity and Disparities Project. Page, Residential Segregation. https://s4.ad.brown.edu/projects/diversity/segregation2010/Default.aspx. Accessed online 4/14/2020.
[132] Source: Brown University Diversity and Disparities Project. Page, Residential Segregation. Section: Exposure Indices. https://s4.ad.brown.edu/projects/diversity/segregation2010/Default.aspx. Accessed online 4/14/2020.

Given the City of Austin's developmental history, this study posits that isolation can be either an agentic choice or form of de facto social displacement depending on the isolated group's position within the racial-ethnic hierarchy, spatial location, and treatment within the broader developmental context.

The Entropy Index

The entropy index measures how evenly the population of a geographic area is divided between groups – it measures diversity by determining how evenly a unit's population is divided among categories. A high entropy score is indicative of greater diversity of groups and equal proportions of all groups, whereas a low score is indicative of less. The maximum value of the entropy index is defined as the natural log of the number of groups used to compute the index value. For this dissertation, the maximum value of entropy for both the racial-ethnic and occupational group calculations is log 3, or 1.10. The formula for the Theil's multi-group entropy index is:

$$\sum_{i=1}^{n}\left[\frac{t_i(E-E_i)}{ET}\right]$$

Changes in Residential Segregation, 1980-2017

Austin's geographic location within Texas and the United States more broadly has played a major role in establishing the base of the region's racial-ethnic population trajectory. Occupationally, Austin's central Texas location and competition from cities like Houston and Dallas contributed to the city's exclusion from major rail lines, oil and gas, and agricultural development, which stunted the growth of heavy industry in the region. The consequent lack of

jobs in unionized industries known to provide employment opportunity and income stability for African Americans meant that Austin was excluded from being a destination city during the Great Migration of African Americans from the south to the north during the early to mid-1900s. Rather, the city's most significant population event for establishing a base African American population stems from the late 1800s, when emancipated slaves inherited land from former plantation owners and established Freedomtowns and other Black residential enclaves in parcels of land unoccupied or considered undesirable by Whites.[133]

Though Austin has never historically been on course to host a large Black population, as a Sunbelt city, Austin performs as expected in terms of Hispanic population growth. Austin's relatively large Hispanic population proportion originates from several factors, including Texas' status as a former Mexican territory, migration from Mexico during the Mexican Revolution, and relocation due to agricultural sector labor shortages attributed to the Immigration Acts of 1921 and 1924 (Saenz and Cready 1997).

Racial-Ethnic Segregation in its Historical Context

Owing to its location and early history, Austin's population leading into the onset of its knowledge and creative development accumulation was fairly racially homogenous, with 88% of Travis County being White, 11% being Black, and 15% identifying as Hispanic in 1970. Eight of the city's nine directional sub-areas were composed of at least 90% White residents. The eastern directional sub-area contained the highest proportions of non-White residents with 34% Black and 24% Hispanic residents respectively. Two other directional sub-areas, southcentral and

[133] Source: Letter to Members of the Steering Committee and CCDWA re. the Old West Austin Neighborhood Plan Preliminary Draft. May 11, 1983. (AR.2005.023). 1983.

southeast Austin, contained at least 20% Hispanic residents. There was no directional sub-area in Travis County in 1970 in which Whites were not the largest racial-ethnic group.

Groups like the Black Citizens' Task Force (BCTF), Austin Area Urban League, and the city's Commission on Human Relations faced significant social and political barriers in their fight to insure racial equity in Austin through political processes. Though one councilmember claimed that socially Austin "[got] along on voluntary basis," the failure of an anti-discrimination housing ordinance to pass in a popular vote, difficulty securing political and public support for the Model Cities project, and evidence of social and structural marginalization – ranging from residential segregation to a disproportionate concentration of Black and Hispanic residents in low-skill, low-wage work – indicates that the City of Austin's race relations going into the 1980s, and consequently into the onset of the City's knowledge and creative development phase, were fraught with inequality.[134]

Segregation index values for 1970 and 1980 quantify the degree of racial residential segregation in Travis County as Austin entered into its first two decades of intensive urban development.

Table 2. Racial Segregation Index Values for Travis County, Texas, in 1970 and 1980.[135]

Year	Ent	D.wb	Iso.b	D.wh	Iso.h	D.hb
1970	63	.72	53	.42	34	61
1980	73	.64	45	.42	35	55

[134] See Chapter 2, section "Planning for Inequity: An Abridged History of Austin's Development Policy, 1928-1982" for details.

[135] Table key for racial segregation indices: Ent refers to the Theil's entropy index. D.wb is the White-Black Dissimilarity Index, Iso.wb is the Black Isolation Index. The remaining shorthand follows a similar convention. D.wh is the White-Hispanic Dissimilarity Index, etc. D.hb is the Hispanic-Black Dissimilarity Index, etc. In the interest of space, all racial segregation index tables will be presented in this shorthand.

The values for White-Black dissimilarity and Hispanic-Black dissimilarity indicate high, though improving levels of segregation between those groups from 1970 - 1980. White-Hispanic dissimilarity remained at a moderate, consistent level between decades. Black isolation from other Black residents decreased by 8%, which indicates that racial-ethnic group dispersion increased over time. The change in the value of the isolation index for Black residents from 1970 to 1980 shows that the probability that the average Black resident in Travis County was living in areas with only other Black residents decreased over the course of the decade. The value of the Hispanic isolation index increased by 1%, such that the probability that the average Hispanic resident was living in areas with only other Hispanic residents increased. The value of the entropy index also increased, which aligns with findings from the Black isolation index that show increased racial-ethnic group dispersion.

Figure 3 maps the percent White population in the Austin-Round Rock Metropolitan Statistical Area in 1980 by census tracts. The figure shows a cluster of census tracts located in the east directional sub-area with a noticeably smaller percent White population than tracts located in the other sub-areas of Travis County or in the greater Austin-Round Rock MSA. Figures 4 and 5 map percent Black and Hispanic population in the Austin-Round Rock MSA in 1980 and corroborate that areas containing smaller proportions White population as seen in Figure 3 were occupied by higher percentages of Black and Hispanic residents during that same decade.

Figure 3. Map of Austin-Round Rock MSA showing Percent White per Directional Sub-Area in Travis County, 1980.

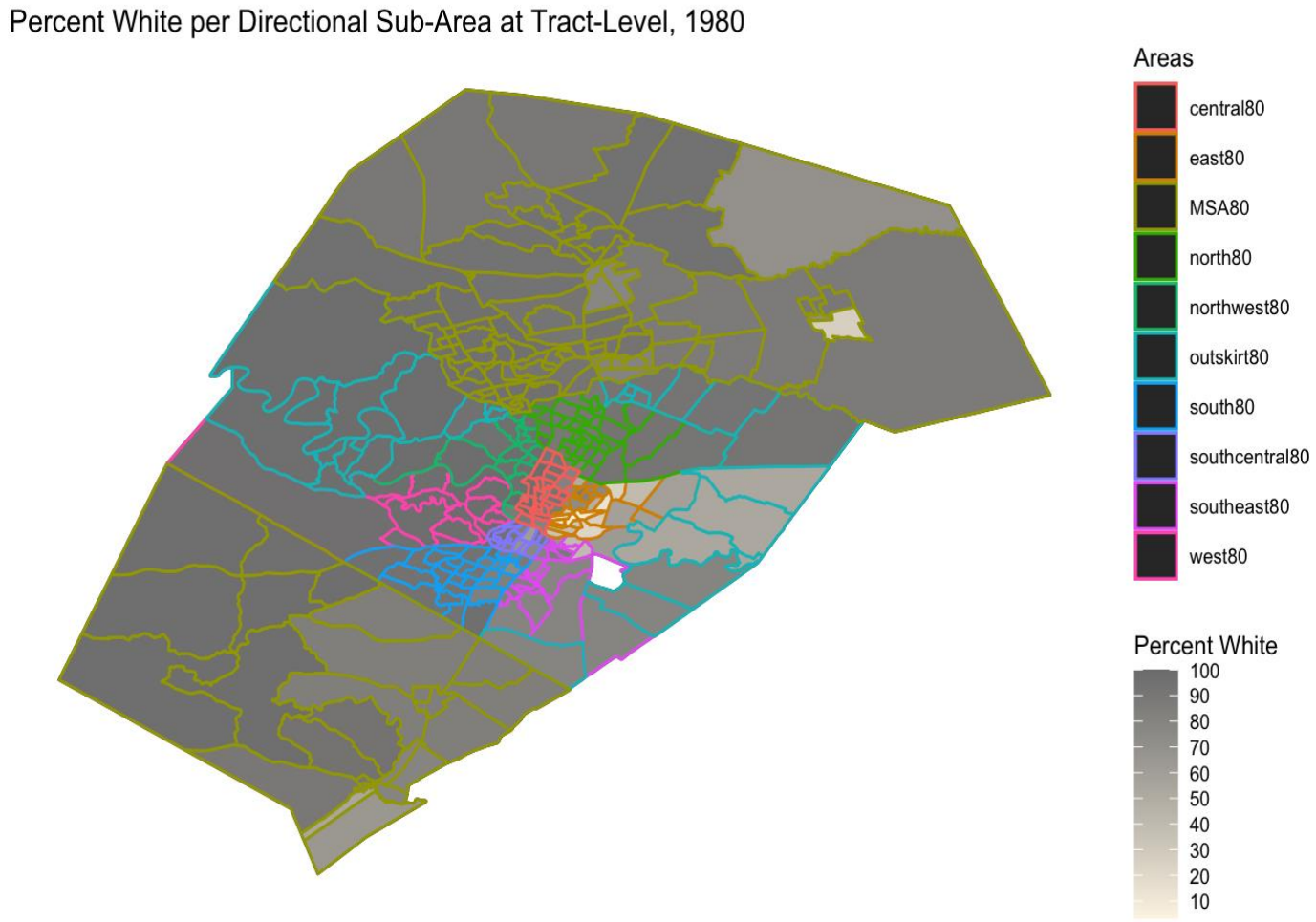


Figure 4. Map of Austin-Round Rock MSA showing Percent Black per Directional Sub-Area in Travis County, 1980.

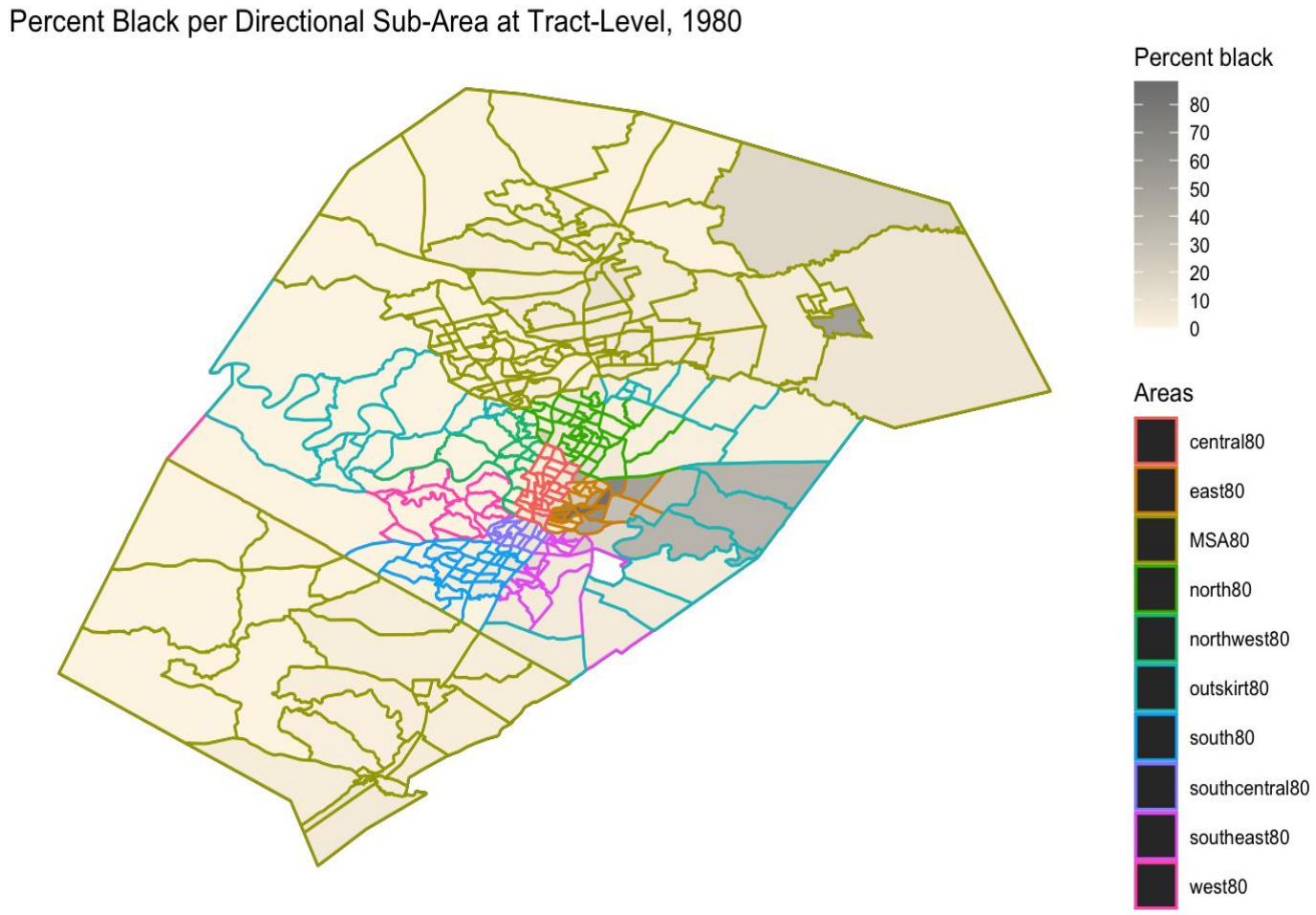
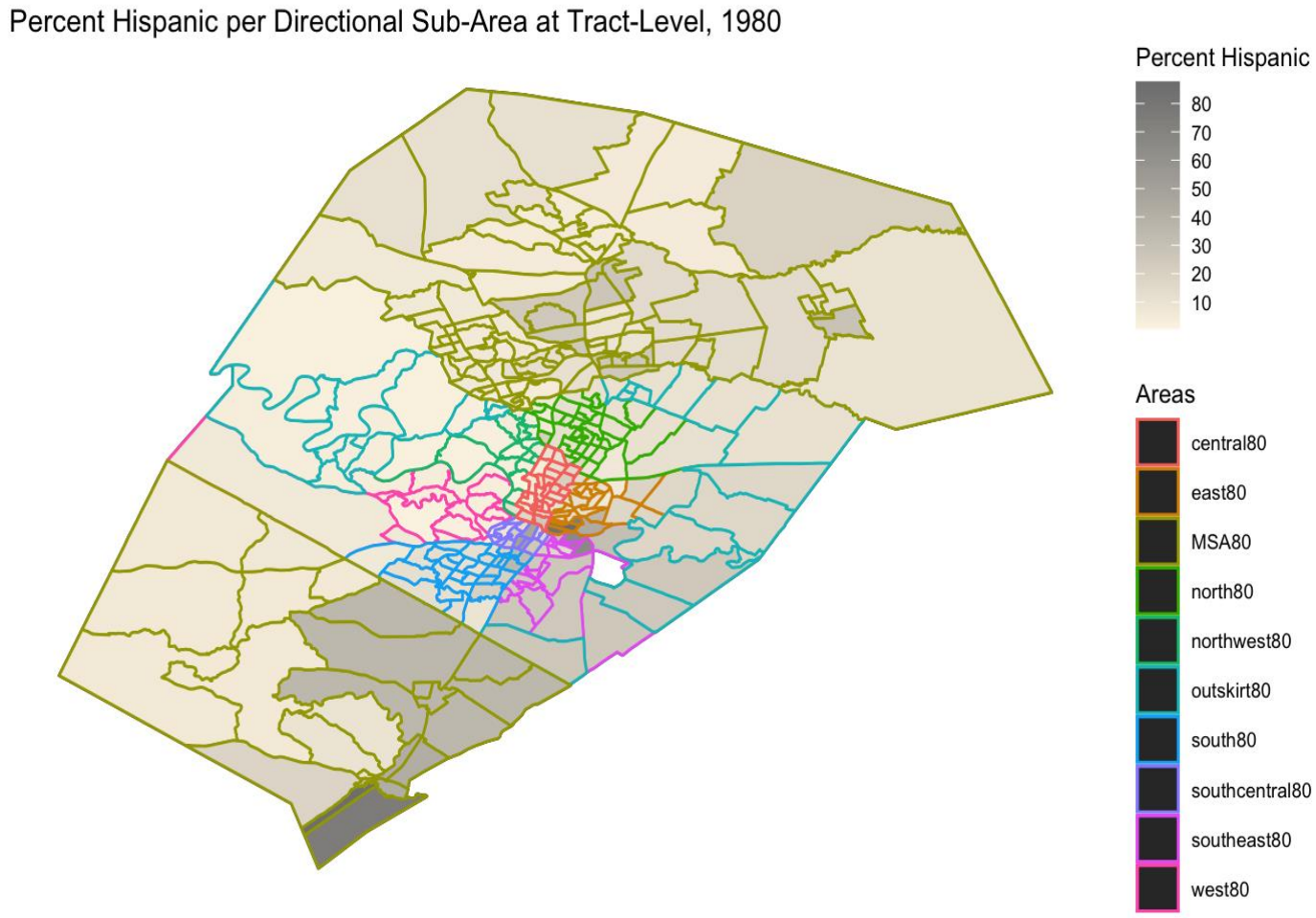


Figure 5. Map of Austin-Round Rock MSA showing Percent Hispanic per Directional Sub-Area in Travis County, 1980.



Figures 3-5 visualize some of the racial residential patterns and baseline population statistics available to Austin city planners going into the 1980s. The City of Austin's economic and cultural development hallmarks from the 1980s are fairly thematic. Policies from the decade focused on the eastern directional sub-area, which housed the smallest proportion of White residents in Travis County at the time, and emphasized stability during growth. In contrast to earlier questions around the necessity of East Austin's revitalization during the Model Cities program period, 1983 saw City of Austin planners determine that the eastern directional sub-area

was the most appropriate location in the city for upcoming anticipated development. The Austinplan, which entered its development stages a few years later in 1986, promised to preserve "attributes of clear value that warrant preservation" while seeking economic stability and enhancing downtown's vibrancy. The Austinplan specifically called for the promotion of a "harmonious" cultural and ethnic diversity in the majority-minority southeast directional sub-area. In 1987, the president of the Austin Area Urban League left the organization, citing the City of Austin's failure to act on its own rhetoric around equitability. In 1989, the Austin Human Rights Commission flagged the failure of the finalized Austinplan to provide for affordable housing, program monitoring, and evaluation of services to non-White groups.

By 1990, county-level entropy had increased to .80. White-Black dissimilarity had fallen to moderately high at .55, with White-Hispanic and Black-Hispanic dissimilarity also falling to moderate and fairly moderate levels, respectively. Black-Hispanic dissimilarity in particular fell significantly between 1980 and 1990, by nearly 9%. In keeping with decreased residential segregation, Black isolation from the White and Hispanic population groups decreased from 45 in 1980 to 34 in 1990 – the probability that the average Black resident lived in an area with only other Black residents decreased. Hispanic isolation remained consistent at 34 for both 1980 and 1990.

Where development of the 1980s emphasized stability, development during the 1990s focused on increasing the circumference of the area included in the City's efforts at downtown revitalization and growth. The 1990 East Austin Market Analysis report kicked off the City of Austin's R/UDAT planning era and recommended the inclusion of East Austin commercial corridors into the downtown Austin enterprise zone. The City's economic interest in the east directional sub-area, and its commitment to developing a downtown appealing to a common

"central Texas" identity, represented an attempt to extend the benefits of public policy to new racial-ethnic groups and mirrored the promising increase in racial-ethnic group dispersion from 1980 to 1990. However, a 1992 failure to include Black and Hispanic cultural spaces and representatives in R/UDAT cultural development planning processes saw the onset of conflict over the integration of historically marginalized groups and neighborhoods into the City's downtown development ventures. The Bennett Consolidated saga, where Black business and property owners alleged that the City of Austin was systematically circumventing their attempts to initiate new commercial development in East Austin, unfolded during the mid-1990s. In 1996, community activist group PODER claimed that residents of southeast Austin were being excluded from the economic benefits of the City's commitment to high-tech manufacturing and disproportionately harmed by the environmental costs of the industry. Tensions over the city's development strategy, and of citizens' place in it, culminated in a racially charged exchange in 1997: "They think they can ignore Black issues in favor of salamanders…"[136]

Despite planning tensions, racial-ethnic group dispersion increased in Travis County over the course of the 1990s. The county's 2000 entropy score was a 4% increase from the previous decade, from .80 to .84. White-Black dissimilarity decreased to .50, the upper bound of moderate segregation. Black-Hispanic dissimilarity fell by .11 to .33. Black isolation from Whites and Hispanics decreased to 24% - the probability of the average Black residents living around only other Black residents decreased. Conversely, White-Hispanic segregation in Travis County increased between 1990 and 2000 to .41, the lower bound of what is considered moderate racial segregation. Hispanic isolation also increased, up 9% from the previous decade to 43 in 2000.

[136] Source: "Untitled Document from the Black Citizens' Task Force collection regarding The Spring Election of 1997. (AR.2004.037)." Year 1997. See chapter 2 for full context.

Figure 6 demonstrates that the spatial patterning of White residential concentrations in the Austin-Round Rock MSA in 2000 is similar to the pattern observed in 1980: high percentages of White residents in the west and northwest portions of Travis County and the MSA counties, with the lowest percentages of White residents clustered in tracts located in the city's eastern directional sub-area. As in 1980, Figure 7 demonstrates that in 2000, census tracts with the highest proportion Black population were concentrated in east directional sub-area, with some spread to the easterly located outskirts. For Hispanics, Figure 8 shows an advancing concentration in the southeast directional sub-area and southeast outskirts, as well as into the surrounding counties of the MSA.

Figure 6. Map of Austin-Round Rock MSA showing Percent White Population per Directional Sub-Area in Travis County, 2000.

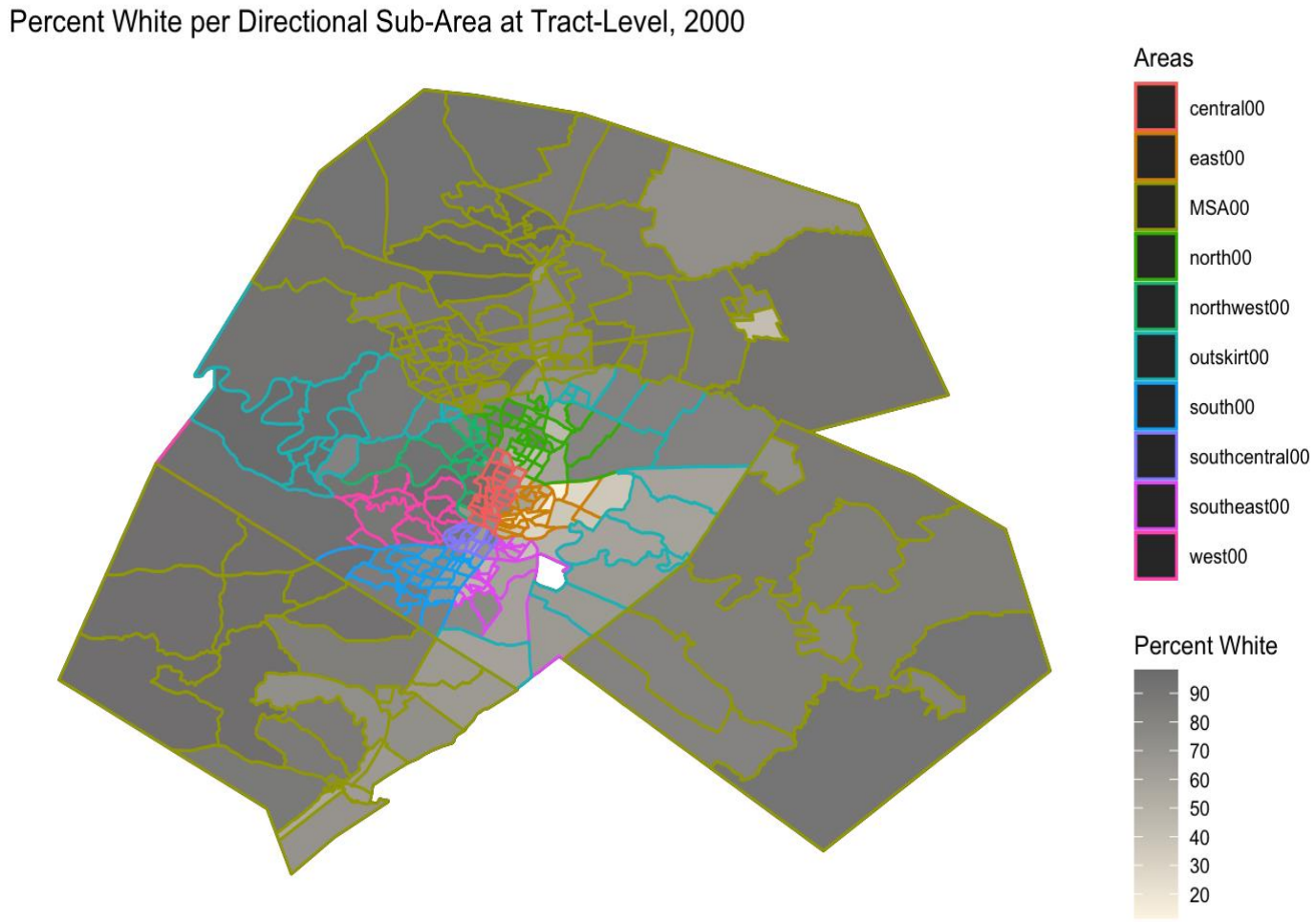


Figure 7. Map of Austin-Round Rock MSA showing Percent Black Population per Directional Sub-Area in Travis County, 2000.

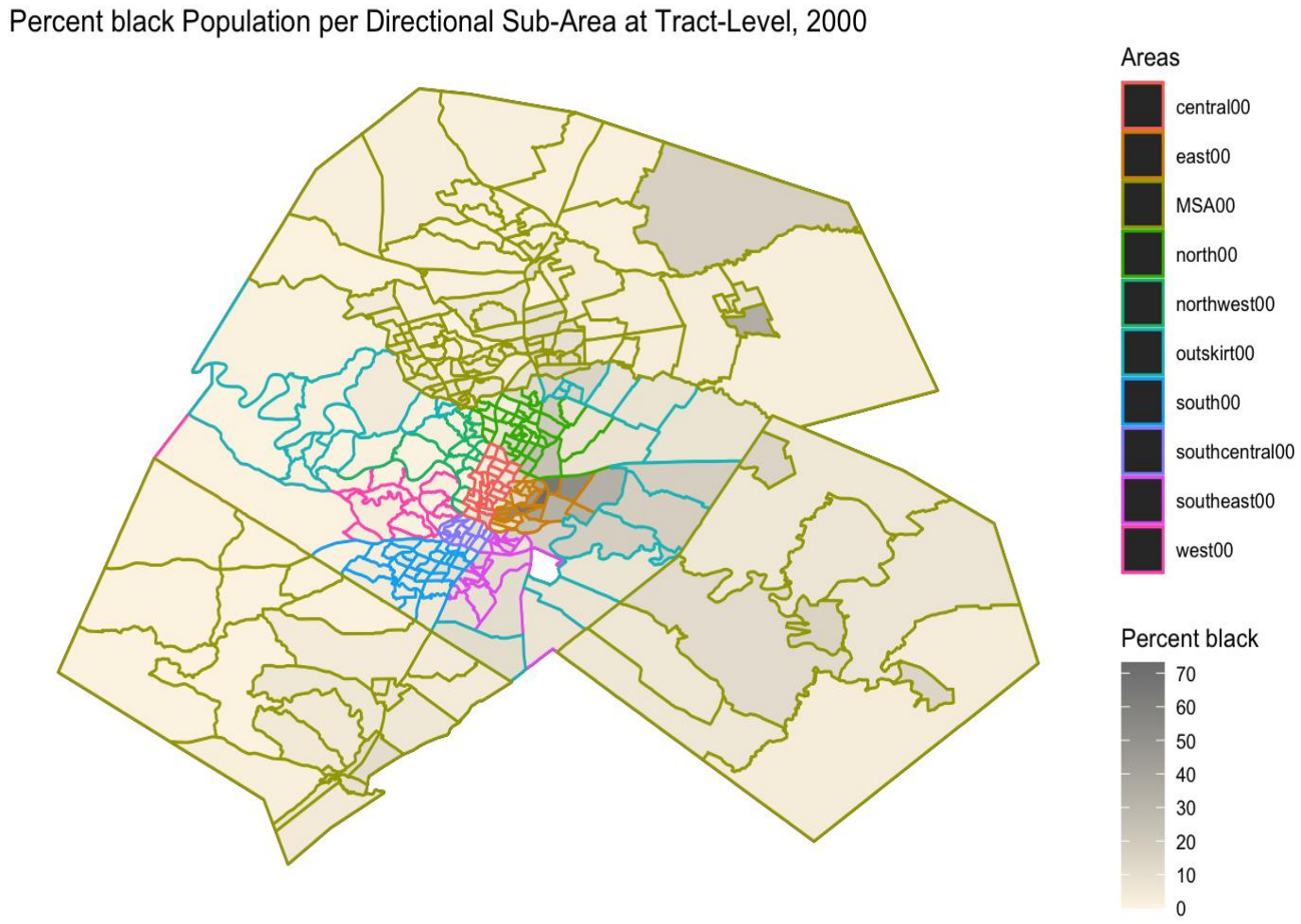
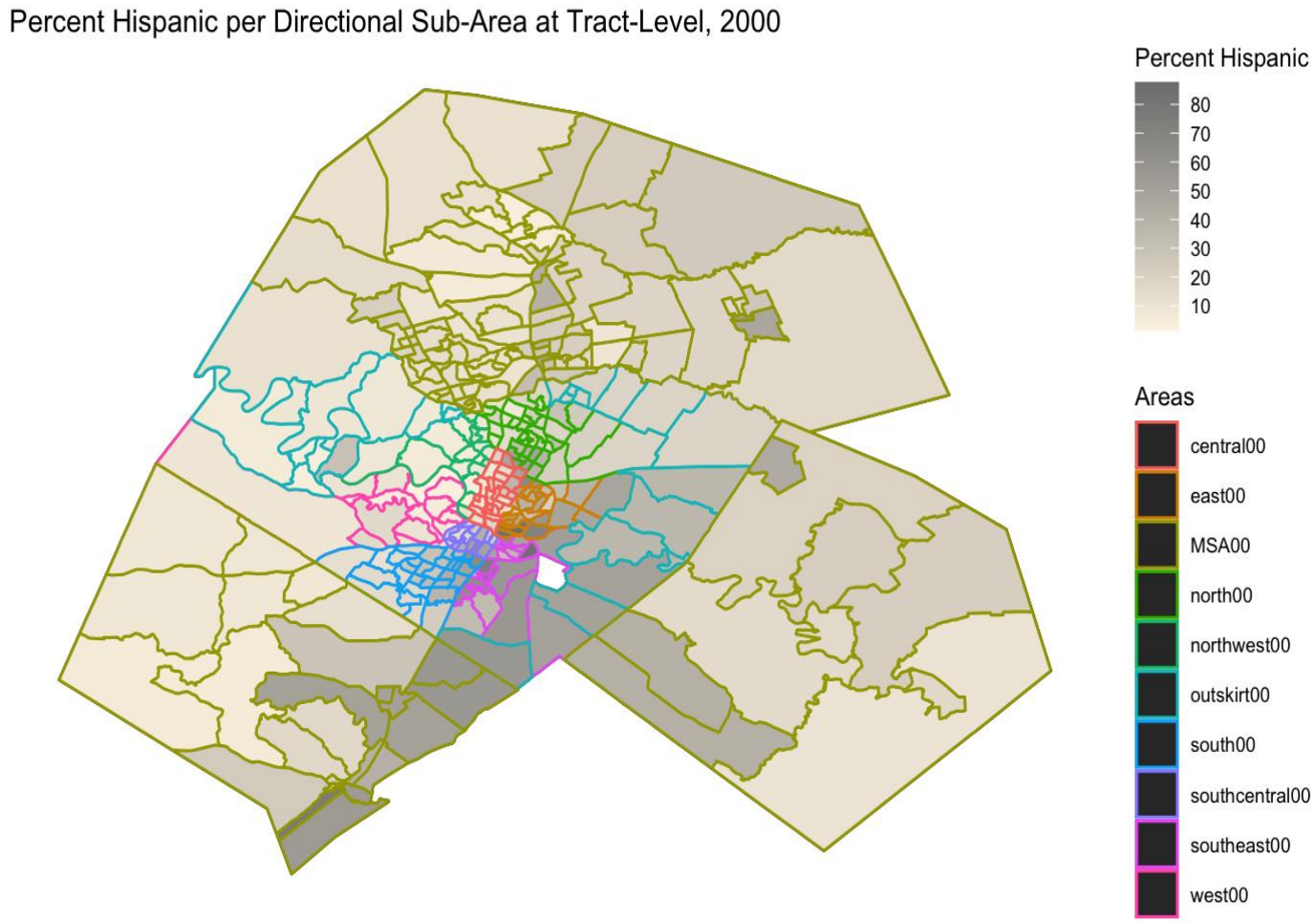


Figure 8. Map of Austin-Round Rock MSA showing Percent Hispanic Population per Directional Sub-Area in Travis County, 2000.



The racial-ethnic population proportions used for Figures 6-8 are provided in Table 3. By 2000, the north, central, south, southeast, and east directional sub-areas had undergone substantial change in their racial compositions. The north directional sub-area saw arguably the most change over the 20-year period, with a 25% decrease in proportion White population, 17% increase in the Hispanic population, and 8% increase in the Black population. The east and southeast directional sub-areas also lost and gained significant proportions of racial-ethnic groups. Southeast Austin saw a near 20% decrease in its proportion White population compared

to a 15% increase in proportion Hispanic, with no change in its proportion Black population. In the neighboring directional sub-area to the east, proportion Black decreased by 8% while proportion Hispanic increased by 21%. The west and northwest directional sub-areas maintained relatively stable population proportions between decades, though only the west directional sub-area still had a White population proportion above 90% by the start of the new millennium.

Table 3. Racial Population proportions per directional sub-area contained within Travis County, Texas, for 1980 and 2000.

Year	Area	Proportion White	Proportion Black	Proportion Hispanic
1980	Travis County	79%	11%	17%
2000		70%	10%	28%
1980	West	98%	0%	3%
2000		93%	1%	7%
1980	Northwest	95%	1%	4%
2000		88%	2%	7%
1980	North	90%	5%	10%
2000		65%	13%	27%
1980	Central	91%	3%	10%
2000		80%	4%	18%
1980	Southcentral	79%	4%	27%
2000		74%	6%	32%
1980	South	87%	3%	19%
2000		76%	5%	30%
1980	Southeast	72%	10%	30%
2000		53%	10%	55%
1980	East	43%	38%	28%
2000		38%	30%	49%
1980	Outskirt	86%	7%	10%
2000		80%	7%	19%

Table note: Racial-ethnic group totals exceed 100% in Travis County and in some directional sub-areas due to the possible double-counting of individuals under the White + any race and Black + any race coding scheme.

Segregation index values by directional sub-area for 1980 and 2000, provided in Table 4, offer a more in-depth understanding of the change in Travis County racial-ethnic residential patterns during the Austinplan and R/UDAT planning decades. For both 1980 and 2000 only the

eastern directional sub-area approached a near perfect 3-group entropy score of 1.10. The northern area experienced a .42 degree increase in entropy. The east, north, and southeast directional sub-areas had higher entropy scores than Travis County in 2000. The other directional sub-areas had lower entropy than the county overall, with the west and northwest areas having the lowest entropy and therefore lowest racial-ethnic population dispersion between groups. County-level White-Black dissimilarity decreased but remained moderately high at .50, and dissimilarity increased in the northwest, north, and southcentral sub-areas. White-Black dissimilarity decreased but remained at moderate levels in the west and east sub-areas, but decreased to low levels in the south and southeast areas. White-Hispanic dissimilarity increased in west, north, and central Austin. Hispanic-Black dissimilarity decreased in every directional sub-area except for the southeast. Still, rates of Hispanic isolation increased in every directional sub-area, most notably in the north (+23%), central (+16%), and southeast (+20%) areas. Black isolation from Whites and Hispanics in the eastern directional sub-area saw a marked decrease from .61 in 1980 to .43 in 2000. Despite a 21% decrease in Black isolation at the county-level, Black isolation increased in the west, northwest, north, southcentral, and south directional sub-areas.

Table 4. Racial Segregation Index Values per directional sub-area contained within Travis County, Texas, for 1980 and 2000.

Year	Area	Ent	D.wb	Iso.b	D.wh	Iso.h	D.hb
1980	Travis County	.73	.64	45	.42	35	.55
2000		.84	.50	24	.41	43	.33
1980	West	.15	.42	0	.15	4	.49
2000		.30	.41	2	.24	10	.31
1980	Northwest	.23	.23	2	.28	7	.31
2000		.37	.32	3	.18	8	.23
1980	North	.47	.19	6	.10	11	.17
2000		.89	.33	16	.32	34	.17
1980	Central	.42	.38	7	.19	12	.29
2000		.60	.37	6	.31	28	.23
1980	Southcentral	.68	.29	6	.34	37	.20
2000		.75	.34	8	.30	40	.19
1980	South	.53	.37	4	.23	23	.29
2000		.73	.23	7	.23	36	.14
1980	Southeast	.83	.31	13	.28	39	.11
2000		.90	.20	12	.18	59	.18
1980	East	1.09	.59	61	.56	55	.55
2000		1.08	.40	43	.22	57	.36
1980	Outskirt	.56	.73	31	.46	18	.58
2000		.68	.46	13	.37	31	.31

The 2000s started with conflict over the impact of downtown's redevelopment on the East Austin community and directional sub-area. The East 12th Street Business and Property Owners Association argued that they had been "railroaded" out of the Austin Revitalization Authority's (ARA) plans for the development of East 11th and 12th Streets, and claimed that the ARA was intimately and inappropriately tied to the City Council. A year later in 2001, the Austin Equity Commission notified city government that the workforce development programs designed to foster job attainment in the east and southeast Austin sub-areas were failing to help people acquire the skills needed for steady employment. That same year, the Council received a "gentrification report" notifying councilmembers of decreasing Black and Hispanic population shares overall and increased migration to northern Travis County. At a council meeting in 2002,

East Austin community representatives claimed that the City's commitment to historic zoning and preservation was a "gentrification tool" focused on preserving historic places over people. A year later, as East Austinites continued to claim disproportionate burden due to development, the Austin Human Rights Commission agreed that immediate action should be taken on East Austin gentrification. Following up on comments from the 2002 Council meeting, the African American Quality of Life Study, released in 2005, found that Austin lacked sufficient social infrastructure to support the Black community. The report concluded by stating that Austin had lost its "soul."

County-level segregation measures for 2010 validate citizen concerns over early 2000 era population change. Although county-level entropy increased by .7, segregation between racial groups also increased. White-Black dissimilarity increased by .5 to .55, White-Hispanic dissimilarity increased .7 to .48, and Black-Hispanic dissimilarity increased .3 to .35. Hispanic isolation increased, but Black isolation from other racial-ethnic groups decreased from 2000 to 2010.

The Imagine Austin plan sought to promote prosperity for all residents within the context of increased directional sub-area segregation. First adopted in 2012 and designed to see Austin through 2039, Imagine Austin positioned good jobs, skills, and wage growth as the primary mechanisms for personal advance. The plan acknowledged a cadre of "challenges" facing the equitable distribution of opportunity in the city, including the "ethnic divide" attributed to IH-35, desire to diversify the economic base to match global trends and catch emerging technologies, and the need to increase both educational and job skills attainment.

Table 5. Racial Population proportions per directional sub-area contained within Travis County, Texas, for 2000 and 2017.

Year	Area	Proportion White	Proportion Black	Proportion Hispanic
2000	Travis County	70%	10%	28%
2017		53%	8%	34%
2000	West	93%	1%	7%
2017		76%	1%	13%
2000	Northwest	88%	2%	7%
2017		75%	2%	11%
2000	North	65%	13%	27%
2017		35%	11%	42%
2000	Central	80%	4%	18%
2017		67%	4%	20%
2000	Southcentral	74%	6%	32%
2017		65%	3%	26%
2000	South	76%	5%	30%
2017		57%	4%	31%
2000	Southeast	53%	10%	55%
2017		23%	9%	64%
2000	East	38%	30%	49%
2017		35%	17%	48%
2000	Outskirt	80%	7%	19%
2017		71%	11%	30%

Table note: Racial-ethnic group totals exceed 100% in Travis County and in some directional sub-areas in 2000 due to the possible double-counting of individuals under the White + any race and Black + any race coding scheme.

The Imagine Austin plan championed the people of Austin, claiming, “Austin is its people.” Population figures from 2017, as seen in Table 5, indicate that Austin’s people were fairly racially diverse. Travis County saw an 18% decrease in proportion White, 2% decrease in proportion Black, and 6% increase in proportion Hispanic from 2000 to 2017. For the first time in Austin’s history, no directional sub-area contained more than 90% White residents. Proportion White decreased in every directional sub-area, with the largest percent change occurring in the north and southeast areas at 30% decreases each. Proportion Hispanic increased in every directional sub-area except for the east and southcentral areas. Proportion Black remained consistent in the west, northwest, and central directional sub-areas, but lost anywhere from 1-3%

of its population proportions in the north, southcentral, south, and southeast areas. The largest decrease in proportion Black occurred in the east directional sub-area, where the proportion Black population dropped from 30% in 2000 to 17% in 2017. The largest increase in proportion Black occurred in the outskirt tracts of Travis County, where the population grew by 4% from 2000.

Table 6 offers a comprehensive overview of Travis County population dynamics over the 17-year period encompassing the African-American Quality of Life Report and the onset of the Imagine Austin Comprehensive Plan.

Table 6. Racial Segregation Index Values per directional sub-area contained within Travis County, Texas, for 2000 and 2017.

Year	Area	Ent	D.wb	Iso.b	D.wh	Iso.h	D.hb
2000	Travis County	.84	.50	24	.41	43	.33
2017		.91	.50	15	.45	48	.33
2000	West	.30	.41	2	.24	10	.31
2017		.51	.43	2	.21	15	.31
2000	Northwest	.37	.32	3	.18	8	.23
2017		.56	.41	4	.15	12	.34
2000	North	.89	.33	16	.32	34	.17
2017		.98	.33	14	.37	50	.25
2000	Central	.60	.37	6	.31	28	.23
2017		.71	.45	8	.37	33	.39
2000	Southcentral	.75	.34	8	.30	40	.19
2017		.73	.38	5	.30	31	.24
2000	South	.73	.23	7	.23	36	.14
2017		.82	.30	6	.23	35	.21
2000	Southeast	.90	.20	12	.18	59	.18
2017		.83	.30	12	.29	68	.30
2000	East	1.08	.40	43	.22	57	.36
2017		1.02	.43	24	.31	55	.31
2000	Outskirt	.68	.46	13	.37	31	.31
2017		.84	.40	17	.34	42	.27

The 17-year span of time encompassing 2000-2017 saw an increase in overall county-level entropy, but decreases in southcentral, southeast, and east directional sub-area entropy. White-Black dissimilarity remained consistently moderate in Travis County from 2000 to 2017, but increased between years in the west, northwest, central, southcentral, south, southeast, and east directional sub-areas. There was no sub-area in which White-Black dissimilarity decreased. County-level Hispanic-Black dissimilarity was also consistent between time points, but increased in the northwest, north, central, southcentral, south, and southeast directional sub-areas. Hispanic-Black dissimilarity decreased in the eastern directional sub-area. White-Hispanic dissimilarity increased at the county level as well as in the north, central, southeast, and east directional sub-areas. White-Hispanic dissimilarity decreased in the west and northwest sub-areas, and remained constant in the southcentral and south sub-areas. Black isolation from White and Hispanic racial-ethnic groups decreased or remained constant in all but three directional sub-areas: northwest, central, and outskirt tracts. Hispanic isolation increased in more directional sub-areas than it decreased, decreasing only in the southcentral, south, and east directional sub-areas, which indicates that in the remaining 7 areas, the probability that the average Hispanic resident lived around only other Hispanic residents increased.

Figure 9 shows the spatial patterning of Whites in Travis County in 2017. In contrast to previous maps, Figure 9 shows a noticeable bifurcation of 2017 White residential patterns along IH-35, with high concentrations of White residents in tracts located west of the highway, and lower concentrations of Whites in tracts located to the east. A second pattern unique to 2017 is the decrease in proportion White in the southeast, north, and outskirt directional sub-areas, as well as in tracts located in neighboring MSA counties to the southeast, east, and north-northeast. Figure 10 shows a dispersal of Black residential concentration from the east directional sub-area

towards the north and easterly located outskirt tracts, while Figure 11 shows strong concentrations of Hispanic residents to the east of IH-35, particularly in the southeast directional sub-area.

Figure 9. Map of Austin-Round Rock MSA showing Percent White Population per Directional Sub-Area in Travis County, 2017.

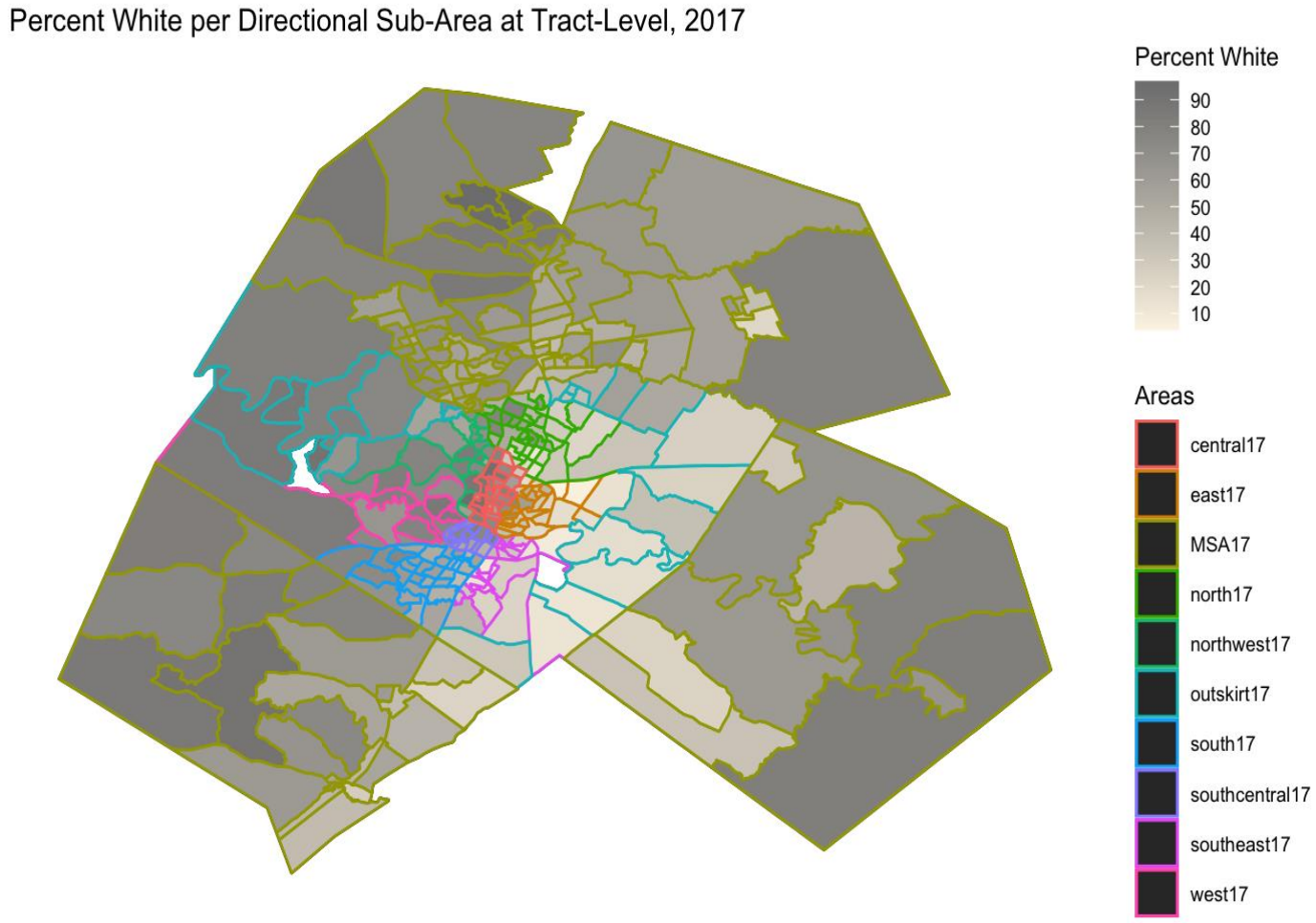


Figure 10. Map of Austin-Round Rock MSA showing Percent Black Population per Directional Sub-Area in Travis County, 2017.

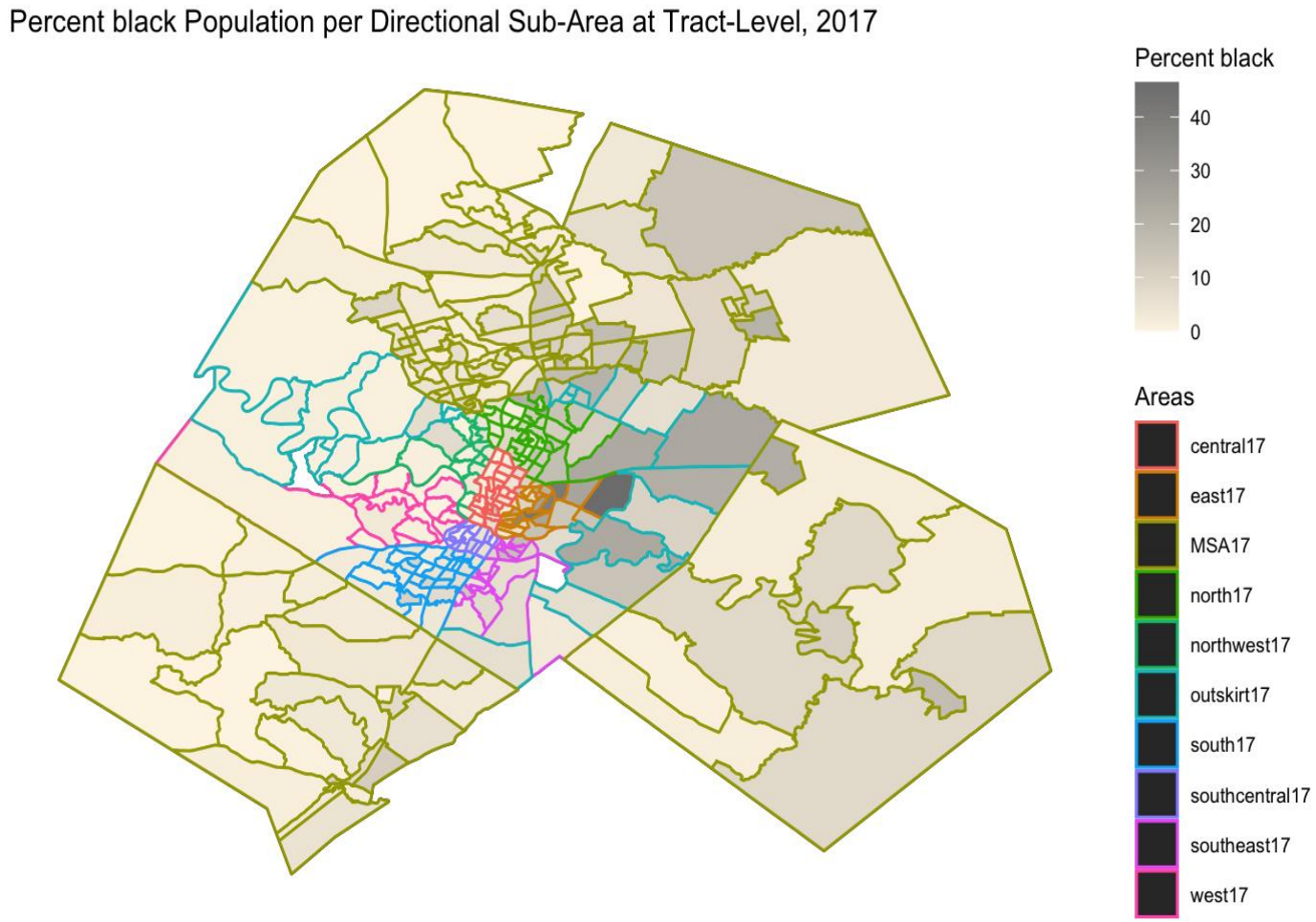
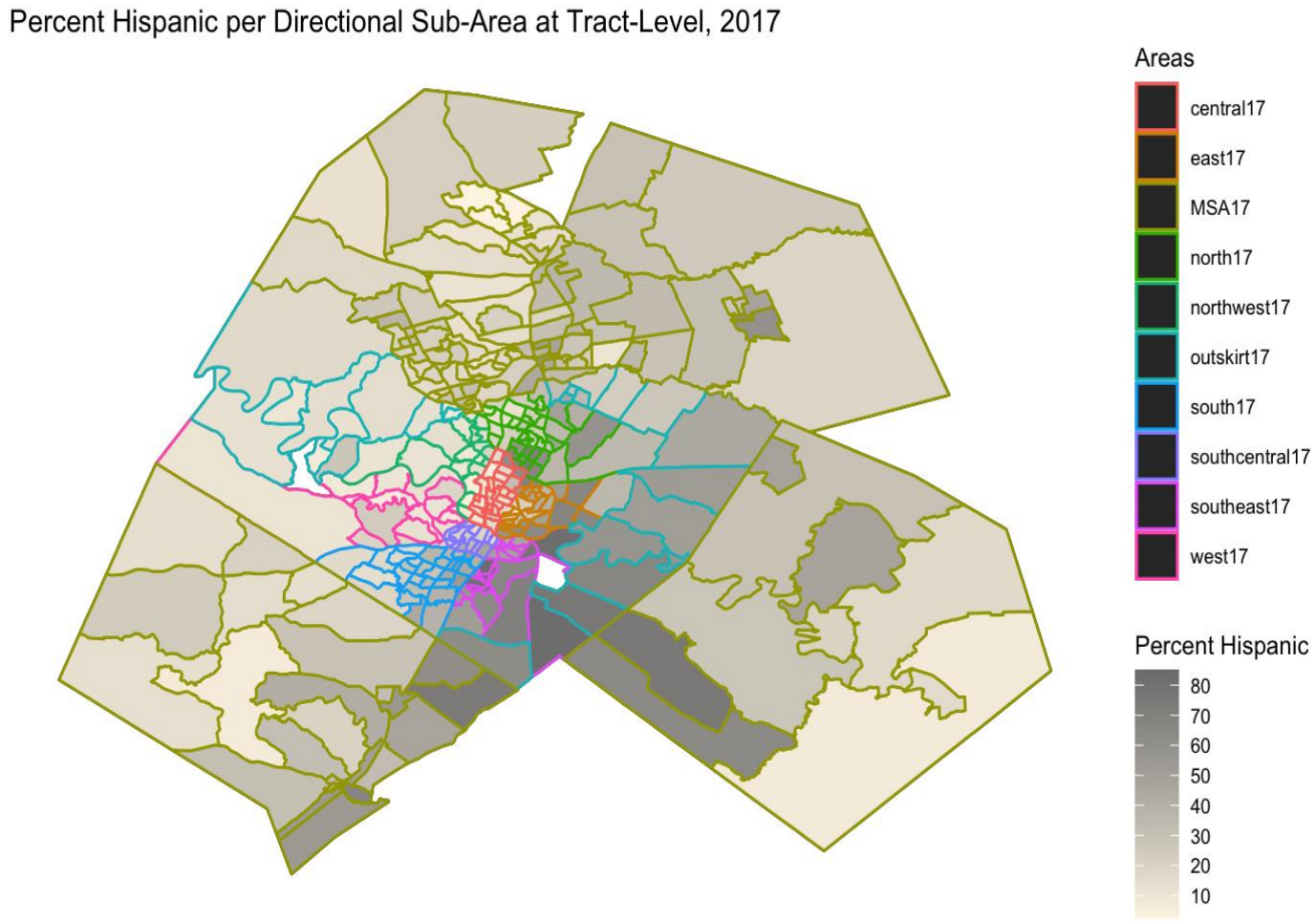


Figure 11. Map of Austin-Round Rock MSA showing Percent Hispanic Population per Directional Sub-Area in Travis County, 2017.



Residential Segregation by Employment in Occupational Groups

The five-year progress report for the 2012 Imagine Austin Comprehensive Plan released in 2018 admitted that "Austin's recent economic success does not yet mean prosperity for all."[137] The phrasing, which references recent success and alludes to anticipated future prosperity in an already successful city, represents a form of official dissociation from the impacts of past

[137] Source: Imagine Austin Year 5 Progress Report, published 2018. ftp://ftp.ci.austin.tx.us/npzd/ImagineAustin/FINAL_Progress_Report_1709.pdf. Accessed online 2/18/2020.

economic planning. The Imagine Austin progress report references a limited version of Austin's development history. In it, everything, not just success, is a "recent" development, including "real challenges," issues of "affordability," and "questions of equity – who and how many benefit from Austin's prosperity."

Despite the tone of the Imagine Austin progress report, Austin's 2018 success was far from recent. The city had arguably been doing well for years, with low average unemployment, relative economic stability during recessions, and steady population growth. The economic boom of the new millennium was the long-anticipated outcome of careful industrial planning and curation, with groundwork laid as early as 1928, and additional, foundational work all through the 1980s and 1990s. Rather than acknowledge previous comprehensive plans and their many discontents, the tone of the Imagine Austin progress report uses elimination as a means of creating a new narrative of inequality in Austin: that 20th century problems did not carry over into a 21st century city, the new millennia advanced new issues for the city to confront and attempt to face.

However, the City of Austin had been alerted in the 1960s that the city's mid-century economic trajectory was not enabling city-wide prosperity. Model Cities, the Capital Area Manpower Planning Initiative, the Austinplan, and the Consolidated Plan, spanning planning periods from 1960s-1990s, all included plans for workforce development as a means of promoting social mobility and decreasing higher than average employment amongst Austin's Black and Hispanic populations. Each program targeted East and Southeast Austin neighborhoods as their primary service areas and contained goals of training members of Austin's labor pool to meet the needs of current and anticipated future employers. At their core, the workforce development initiatives that spawned from these city policies and plans focused on

bringing underperforming residents up to the level of Austin's high-performance economy via skills-acquisition and additional workforce training.

As evidenced by the City of Austin's planning documents, occupational attainment in Austin's competitive knowledge and creative economy has been championed by city government and other development officials as the primary mechanism for social mobility in Travis County for several decades. Unfortunately, as noted in the second chapter, there is little practical evidence to suggest that these various rounds of workforce development initiatives induced social mobility via job attainment or reduced Black and Hispanic unemployment in Travis County over time. The city faces a myriad of long-term problems that have systematically stymied efforts to induce prosperity for all via job attainment, most notably: unwillingness to engage with or test new forms of workforce development, structural inequities around education, lack of proximity to non-precarious work in certain directional sub-areas, intense competition amongst low-skilled workers for low-wage work, and a general failure of incentivized companies to participate in job training programs.

The intimate relationship between race and space, race and access to work opportunity, and space and industrial development in Austin warrants an examination of the residential patterns of occupational attainment and job holders in Travis County. Table 7 shows changes in residential entropy and dissimilarity in Travis County and the nine directional-sub areas by employment in three broad occupational groups: professional and technical, services, and industrial.

Table 7. Segregation by Occupational Attainment per directional sub-area contained within Travis County, Texas, for 1980 and 2017.[138]

Year	Area	Prop PT	Prop S	Prop I	Ent	D.PTS	D.PTI	D.IS
1980	Travis County	34%	44%	44%	1.09	.20	.33	.16
2017		51%	34%	15%	1.00	.25	.45	.26
1980	West	49%	37%	26%	1.07	.16	.31	.16
2017		71%	24%	5%	.74	.11	.26	.27
1980	Northwest	54%	36%	19%	1.01	.08	.18	.11
2017		71%	25%	3%	.70	.12	.24	.21
1980	North	35%	43%	39%	1.10	.09	.19	.12
2017		42%	36%	21%	1.06	.22	.40	.21
1980	Central	35%	47%	39%	1.09	.18	.25	.12
2017		64%	28%	8%	.85	.22	.38	.22
1980	Southcentral	32%	45%	49%	1.07	.21	.29	.13
2017		60%	32%	8%	.87	.18	.30	.22
1980	South	31%	44%	81%	.89	.10	.14	.08
2017		54%	34%	12%	.95	.21	.35	.22
1980	Southeast	25%	48%	58%	1.02	.13	.28	.17
2017		31%	43%	25%	1.07	.17	.28	.20
1980	East	24%	48%	63%	.99	.28	.46	.18
2017		41%	36%	23%	1.07	.23	.40	.20
1980	Outskirt	32%	38%	30%	1.09	.18	.33	.14
2017		50%	34%	16%	1.00	.20	.36	.26

Travis County in the 1980s saw near perfect population dispersal by occupational attainment at 1.09. At the county level, 34% were employed in professional and technical occupations (PTOs), and 44% each were employed in services and industrial occupations. Four directional sub-areas saw higher proportions of professional and technical employment than that observed at the county-level, with 49% of job holders in the west, 54% in the northwest, 35% in the north, and 35% in the central areas being employed in PTOs. The directional sub-area with the lowest proportion employed in PTOs in 1980 was the east sub area at 24%, with the southeast

[138] Table key for segregation by job attainment: Prop PT refers to proportion employed in professional and technical occupations. Prop S refer to proportion employed in services. Prop I refers to proportion employed in industrial occupations. Ent refers to the Theil's multi-group entropy index. D.PTS is Professional and Technical – Services Dissimilarity Index. D.PTI is Professional and Technical – Industrial Dissimilarity Index. D.IS is the Industrial-Services dissimilarity index. In the interest of space, all job attainment segregation index tables will be presented in this shorthand.

sub-area close behind at 25%. Five directional sub-areas – central, southcentral, south, southeast, and east – had at least 44% of their workforce population employed in service occupations, with the highest proportions being in the southeast and east areas at 48%. The area with the lowest proportion employed in services was northwest Austin at 36%. Four directional sub-areas saw a clear majority of industrial employment, with the southcentral, south, southeast, and east areas seeing at least 49% of their workforce population employed in industrial occupations. Northwest Austin was also the area with the lowest proportion employed in industrial occupations in 1980, at 19%.

The highest degree of residential dissimilarity by occupation in Travis County in 1980 was between people employed in PTOs and people employed in industrial occupations at .33. Only one directional sub-area, the east area, had a high moderate degree of dissimilarity between the PTOs – Industrial occupational groups at .46. Dissimilarity between PTOs – Services was low at the county-level and in the directional sub-areas, with the highest segregation occurring in the east sub-area at .28. The lowest segregation between PTOs-Services was in the northwest directional sub-area. Industrial-Service occupational dissimilarity was, like segregation between PTOs-Services, negligible at all levels but highest in the east directional-sub area at .18. Industrial-Services dissimilarity was lowest in the south directional sub-area at .08.

By 2017, proportion employed in the three broad occupational groups had changed drastically. In keeping with the City of Austin's commitment to advancing a knowledge and creative economy, the proportion of workforce employed in PTOs increased by 17% in Travis County to 51%. The proportion employed in services decreased 10% to 34%, and the proportion employed in industrial occupations was 15%, a 29% decrease from 1980 to 2017. The majority of directional sub-areas in Travis County saw PTOs employment proportions at or above 50%,

including the west (71%), northwest (71%), central (64%), southcentral (60%), south (54%), and outskirt (50%) areas. The directional sub-area with the lowest proportion employed in PTOs was the southeast area at 31%. In contrast to proportion employed in PTOs, which increased in all levels, proportion employed in services decreased in all levels. The steepest decline occurred in the central directional sub-area, with proportion employed in services decreasing by 19% between 1980 and 2017. The smallest percent decrease occurred in the southeast directional sub-area, with only a 5% change over time. Proportion employed in industrial occupations also decreased across the board. The largest decreases occurred in the west (-21%), southcentral (41%), south (-69%), southeast (-33%), and east (-40%) directional sub-areas. By 2017, the directional sub-area area with the highest proportion employed in industrial occupations was the southeast area at 25%.

County-level entropy by occupational attainment dropped by 9 points from 1980 to 2017. Entropy also decreased sharply in the west, northwest, central, and southcentral directional sub-areas, but increased in the north, south, southeast, and east areas. The area with the lowest occupational entropy in 2017 was northwest Austin at .70, with the highest entropy being in southeast and east Austin at 1.07. Though county-level dissimilarity between PTOs-Service increased to 25, it decreased in the west, southcentral, and east directional sub-areas. No directional sub-area saw PTOs-Service occupation dissimilarity above the county-level in 2017. County-level dissimilarity between PTOs-Industrial occupations increased to the moderate level at .45. PTOs-Industrial dissimilarity increased in the majority of the directional sub-areas, including in the northwest, north, central, southcentral, south, and outskirts. The steepest increase in PTO-Industrial dissimilarity occurred in the north and south directional sub-areas at a 21% change each. PTO-Industrial dissimilarity decreased in the west and east sub-areas, and remained

constant in the southeast area. Dissimilarity between Industrial-Services occupations also increased in Travis County from 1980 to 2017. Industrial-Services dissimilarity increased in every directional sub-area, with the largest increases occurring in the south (+.14) and outskirt (+.12) areas. Only the west directional sub-area saw Industrial-Services dissimilarity above the county-level value at .27.

Discussion

The purpose of this chapter was to quantify and spatialize the impact of the City of Austin's economic and cultural development policies using various measures of residential segregation and mapping. The findings indicate that trends around residential segregation by race-ethnicity and employment in occupational groups in Austin, Texas and Travis County do not follow a linear trajectory. Promising changes in the value of an index in a directional sub-area over the course of one decade were not always indicative of a continued positive trend at the next point of measurement. Furthermore, not all geographic areas within Travis County followed the same direction of change over time. Racial-ethnic group entropy in Travis County had been holding steady at .91 for seven years by 2017, but in several of the individual directional sub-areas, dissimilarity between Whites and non-Whites had increased since 2000 – changes indicative of higher segregation in some sub-areas despite greater county-level racial-ethnic group dispersion in 2017. Trends in residential segregation by employment in occupational groups were similarly varied. While county-level occupational group entropy decreased from 1980 to 2017, it increased in the south, southeast, and east directional sub-areas over the same time period.

Table 8 shows which hypotheses from the chapter's research objective – to examine changes in residential segregation by race-ethnicity and by employment in occupational groups

in Travis County over time – have been accepted or rejected based off of changes in segregation index values from 1980 – 2017.

Table 8. Pre-estimation hypotheses of residential segregation per type of index, by race and occupational group and directional sub-area, and their post-estimation results.[139]

	Hypothesis: Segregation, measured per index, will increase, decrease, or stay the same from 1980-2017 in a directional sub-area by race or occupational group.[140]					
Directional sub-area	**H1: Dissimilarity**		**H2: Isolation**		**H3: Entropy**	
	Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post
Travis County (a)	WB: (-) WH: (-) BH: (-) HS: (+) HI: (+) IS: (+)	WB: (A, -) WH: (R, +) BH: (A, -) HS: (A, +) HI: (A, +) IS: (A, +)	B: (-) H: (-)	B: (A, -) H: (R, +)	Race: (+) Occs: (-)	Race: (A, +) Occs: (A, -)
North (b)	WB: (-) WH: (-) BH: (-) HS: (-) HI: (-) IS: (-)	WB: (R, +) WH: (R, +) BH: (R, +) HS: (R, +) HI: (R, +) IS: (R, +)	B: (-) H: (-)	B: (R, +) H: (R, +)	Race: (+) Occs: (+)	Race: (A, +) Occs: (R, -)
West (c)	WB: (+) WH: (-) BH: nc HS: nc HI: (+) IS: (+)	WB: (A, +) WH: (R, +) BH: (R, -) HS: (R, -) HI: (R, -) IS: (A, +)	B: (+) H: (-)	B: (A, +) H: (A, -)	Race: (+) Occs: (-)	Race: (A, +) Occs: (A, -)
Northwest (d)	WB: (+) WH: (+) BH: nc HS: nc HI: (+)	WB: (A, +) WH: (R, -) BH: (R, +) HS: (R, +) HI: (A, +)	B: (+) H: (+)	B: (A, +) H: (A, +)	Race: (+) Occs: (-)	Race: (A, +) Occs: (A, -)

[139] Table key for table 8: WB refers to White-Black group comparison, WH refers to White-Hispanic group comparison, and BH refers to Black-Hispanic group comparison. B refers to Black group isolation. H refers to Hispanic group isolation. HS is a Professional and Technical – Service occupations comparison, HI is a Professional and Technical – Industrial occupations comparison, and IS is an Industrial-Services occupations comparison. (+) indicates that the measure is hypothesized to increase, where (-) indicates that the measures is hypothesized to decrease. An nc indicates that no significant change is expected. In the column for post-estimation results, an R indicates that the hypothesis was rejected while an A indicates the hypothesis was accepted. As an example, (R, nc) indicates that a hypothesis was rejected as no significant change occurred. (R, -) indicates that the hypothesis was rejected because a negative, as opposed to some other relationship, occurred.

[140] The results for all hypotheses presented in this table (accept, reject, nc) were preserved in the calculation of segregation measures using the White non-Hispanic and Black non-Hispanic racial-ethnic group coding scheme.

	IS: (+)	IS: (A, +)				
Central (e)	WB: (-) WH: (-) BH: (-) HS: (-) HI: (+) IS: nc	WB: (R, +) WH: (R, +) BH: (R, +) HS: (R, +) HI: (A, +) IS: (R, +)	B: (-) H: (-)	B: (R, +) H: (R, +)	Race: (+) Occs: (-)	Race: (A, +) Occs: (A, -)
South Central (f)	WB: (+) WH: (+) BH: nc HS: (-) HI: (+) IS: nc	WB: (A, +) WH: (R, -) BH: (R, +) HS: (A, -) HI: (A, +) IS: (R, +)	B: (+) H: (+)	B: (R, -) H: (R, -)	Race: (+) Occs: (-)	Race: (A, +) Occs: (A, -)
South (g)	WB: nc WH: (-) BH: nc HS: (-) HI: (-) IS: nc	WB: (R, -) WH: (R, nc) BH: (R, -) HS: (R, +) HI: (R, +) IS: (R, +)	B: (-) H: (-)	B: (R, +) H: (R, +)	Race: (+) Occs: (+)	Race: (A, +) Occs: (A, +)
Southeast (h)	WB: (+) WH: (+) BH: (+) HS: (-) HI: (+) IS: (-)	WB: (R, -) WH: (A, +) BH: (A, +) HS: (A, -) HI: (R, nc) IS: (R, +)	B: (-) H: (+)	B: (R, nc) H: (A, +)	Race: (+) Occs: (+)	Race: (R, nc) Occs: (A, +)
East (i)	WB: (-) WH: (-) BH: nc HS: (-) HI: (-) IS: nc	WB: (A, -) WH: (A, -) BH: (R, -) HS: (A, -) HI: (A, -) IS: (R, +)	B: (-) H: (-)	B: (A, -) H: (R, nc)	Race: (+) Occs: (+)	Race: (R, -) Occs: (A, +)
Outskirts (j)	WB: (+) WH: (+) BH: nc HS: (+) HI: (+) IS: (-)	WB: (R, -) WH: (R, -) BH: (R, -) HS: (A, +) HI: (A, +) IS: (R, +)	B: (+) H: (+)	B: (R, -) H: (A, +)	Race: (+) Occs: (+)	Race: (A, +) Occs: (R, -)

Of the four areas in Austin and Travis County that have seen the most significant changes in racial-ethnic population proportions over time – the east, southeast, southcentral, and north directional sub-areas – three correspond to the areas of Travis County that, in 1980, had the highest proportions of Black and Hispanic residents as well as high proportions of residents

employed in industrial occupations. In contrast, Austin's most population stable areas – the west, northwest, and central directional sub-areas – had the highest proportions of White residents and employment in professional and technical occupations in 1980.

Ultimately, the majority of the relationships hypothesized between changes in the degree of segregation between racial-ethnic and occupational groups in Travis County and the 9 directional sub-areas were supported. At the county-level, hypotheses that dissimilarity between the White-Black and Black-Hispanic racial-ethnic groups would decrease were supported, as was the hypothesis of decreased Black isolation from other groups. However, the hypothesized decrease of dissimilarity between White-Hispanic and in Hispanic isolation was not supported. Every hypothesis concerning county-level increases in the degrees of dissimilarity between each occupational group from 1980 – 2017 was supported.

In the west and northwest directional sub-areas, hypotheses that the degree of White-Black dissimilarity and Black isolation would worsen from 1980 – 2017 were supported. Hypotheses for White-Hispanic segregation in the west and northwest sub-areas were more mixed. In the west directional sub-area, the hypothesis that White-Hispanic dissimilarity would decrease was not supported, but hypotheses for decreases in Hispanic isolation were. The same pattern occurred in the northwest, with the hypothesis for White-Hispanic dissimilarity being rejected, but the hypothesis for Hispanic isolation increasing being supported. In the central directional sub-area, hypotheses for a decrease in White-Hispanic dissimilarity and Hispanic isolation were not supported – segregation by those indicators increased. The hypotheses that White-Black dissimilarity and Black isolation in the central sub-area would decrease were not supported.

Hypotheses for segregation between the Black-Hispanic groups in the west, northwest, and central directional sub-areas performed in a similarly mixed fashion. Dissimilarity between the Black-Hispanic racial-ethnic groups was hypothesized to remain constant in the west and northwest areas between 1980 – 2017. Both of those hypotheses were rejected, with dissimilarity in the groups decreasing in the west directional sub-area and increasing in the northwest sub-area. All three hypotheses concerning change in Black-Hispanic segregation in the central directional sub-area are rejected, as all three measures increased rather than decreased as hypothesized. Still, despite mixed results, racial group entropy increased in each of the three directional sub-areas as expected.

Results of hypotheses on the direction of change in segregation measures for racial-ethnic groups in the east, southeast, southcentral, and north directional sub-areas were mixed. White dissimilarity from the Black and Hispanic racial-ethnic groups in the east sub-area decreased from 1980 – 2017 as expected, but unexpectedly increased in the north directional sub-area. Though White-Black dissimilarity was hypothesized to increase in both the southcentral and southeast directional sub-areas, it increased only in the southcentral area. A hypothesis of no change in White-Black dissimilarity in the south was rejected, as dissimilarity between those groups in that area actually decreased. However, not all dissimilarity in the south sub-area decreased, as there was no change in dissimilarity between Whites-Hispanics from 1980 – 2017. White-Hispanic dissimilarity increased as expected in the southeast area, but decreased unexpectedly in the southcentral sub-area.

Degree of Black isolation was hypothesized to decrease in the east directional sub-area. That hypothesis is supported, but hypotheses for the direction of change in Black isolation for the north, southcentral, south, and southeast are not supported. Though degree of Black isolation did

not change in the southeast, it increased in the north and south directional sub-areas. Support for hypotheses on Hispanic isolation was similarly mixed. The hypothesis that Hispanic isolation would decrease was supported for the north directional sub-area, but rejected for the south and east areas. Hypotheses regarding increases in Hispanic isolation were accepted for the southeast sub-area, but not in the southcentral area. Still, directional sub-area entropy increased as expected in all but two areas, the southeast, where it did not change, and the east, where it declined.

Changes in degree of Black-Hispanic racial-ethnic group segregation also varied wildly by directional sub-area. Only one hypothesis on the nature of change in degrees of Black-Hispanic dissimilarity between 1980 – 2017 is supported. Black-Hispanic dissimilarity in the southeast increased as hypothesized, but increased unexpectedly in the north and southcentral directional sub-areas as well. Hypotheses that there would be no change in the degree of Black-Hispanic dissimilarity in the south and east sub-areas are rejected.

Results for hypotheses on racial-ethnic group dissimilarity in the outskirt tracts of Travis County were more promising than results for occupational group segregation. Hypotheses that racial-ethnic group dissimilarity would increase in the outskirt tracts between 1980 – 2017 are all rejected. Instead, the hypothesis of increased Hispanic isolation is supported, while hypotheses on increased Black isolation are rejected. Racial-ethnic group dispersion in the outskirt tracts increased as expected from 1980 – 2017.

Occupational group entropy in the west, northwest, and central directional sub-areas decreased as expected. However, the results of hypotheses on increases and decreases in occupational group dissimilarity varied. In the west directional sub-area, only the hypothesis of increased dissimilarity between Industrial-Service occupations is supported. In the northwest,

hypotheses of increased dissimilarity between Professional and Technical Occupations (PTOs) – Industrial and Industrial-Services were both supported, but the hypothesis that dissimilarity between PTOs-Services would not change is rejected – dissimilarity between those groups increased. Residential dissimilarity also increased between all three occupational groups in the central direction area, though it was only hypothesized to increase between PTOS-Industrial occupations.

Only one hypothesis regarding change in occupational group entropy between 1980 – 2017, that it would increase in the north, is rejected. Dissimilarity between occupational groups unexpectedly increased in the north directional sub-area. In the east, the groups behaved as anticipated, with dissimilarity decreasing between PTOs and other occupations. Hypotheses for a decreased in PTOs-Services dissimilarity were also accepted for the southcentral and southeast directional sub-areas, but rejected for the south. Dissimilarity between PTOs-Industrial increased in the southcentral area as expected, but unexpectedly increased in the south and did not change in the southeast. All hypotheses regarding change in dissimilarity between Industrial-Service occupations in the north, east, southeast, southcentral, and south directional sub-areas were rejected. Hypotheses of increased PTOs – other occupational group dissimilarity are supported for the outskirt tracts. The hypothesis of decreased Industrial-Services dissimilarity is not supported; dissimilarity between those groups actually increased in the outskirt tracts.

Conclusion

White-Black racial residential segregation and White-Black-Hispanic racial-ethnic group dispersion improved in Travis County from 1980 – 2017. While figures on the county-level desegregation of racial-ethnic groups are promising, focusing on county-level trends is

contradictory to the approach of the majority of the City of Austin's development plans, which are historically sectoral or segmented in their targeting and design. My dissertation mimics planning approaches and provides a more comprehensive understanding of population change in Austin by creating nine directional sub-areas through which to examine major trends in racial-ethnic and occupational group residential attainment. The disaggregation of Travis County into smaller geographic areas enables the drawing of conclusions on the potential inequities of population change by controlling for the nuanced political, developmental, and social contexts in which it has occurred.

Five out of nine directional sub-areas in Travis County saw increases in White-Black dissimilarity from 1980 – 2017. All five of those sub-areas, north, west, northwest, central, and southcentral, are located west of IH-35. The only areas in which White-Black dissimilarity decreased are those located either east of IH-35 or in the outskirt tracts of Travis County. Despite the county level decrease in White-Black dissimilarity and increase in entropy, trends in Black isolation from the White and Hispanic racial-ethnic groups were negatively skewed, with Black isolation decreasing at the county level but increasing or not showing improvement in six of the nine directional sub-areas from 1980 - 2017. Similarly, White-Hispanic dissimilarity increased at the county level and in the north, west, central, and southeast directional sub-areas. Only one of those areas, the southeast, is located east of IH-35. Troubling trends in contemporary population segmentation by race-ethnicity and directional sub-area were not limited to the spatial relationships between Whites and other groups. Hispanic rates of isolation increased over time or saw no improvement in seven directional sub-areas as well as at the county-level. Black-Hispanic dissimilarity increased in five directional sub-areas, including the north and southeast.

Increases in the residential segregation of racial-ethnic groups in west oriented directional sub-areas but decreases in east oriented areas indicates that the burden and responsibility of accommodating the population change associated with Austin's growth and development has not been equitably distributed across the geographies and communities of Travis County. That county-level measures of racial-ethnic or occupational group segregation can improve while directional sub-area segregation levels deteriorate is evidence of the disassociation of non-privileged groups from space in the Austin area. In the areas of Travis County previously subject to "greater good" redevelopment policy, these segregation indexes represent artifacts of ruin, evidence of structural harm "invested with cultural meaning, value, and memory" that, given the decline of Austin's African American population, capture the race and class-based polarizations of the city's knowledge and creative development accumulation over time (Mah 2017: 201).

The violence of knowledge and creative urban renewal is that development prefaced on exclusion has the capacity to make everything, even things that should be celebrated like desegregation, a burden. The areas of Austin that have undergone the most significant population change are the same historically Black and Hispanic areas subject to decades of disinvestment, up through the late 1980s. The '90s planning era of greater good renewal policies were designed to spark reinvestment in Black and Hispanic spaces, but set dangerous precedents for weighing the benefits and risks of development in Travis County. For example, there is little evidence to suggest that the integration of East Austin commercial corridors into downtown development plans was immediately beneficial to tenured East Austin residents. Rather, city council meetings and other communications indicate that the R/UDAT economic and cultural planning lexicon threatened the social fabric of the East Austin community and jumpstarted gentrification. The southeast directional sub-area faced similar economic exclusions. When community activist

organization PODER alleged that southeast Austin residents – predominantly low-income Hispanic families – had been systematically excluded from the financial benefits attributed to the high technology manufacturing industry located there, the City claimed that the "health and growth and development of [Austin]" depended on the location of more factories in that area.[141]

Poverty of personhood in Austin manifests in the form of disproportionate exposure and unreasonable expectations; disproportionate exposure to the negative consequences of development policy, and the unreasonable expectation of accepting those policies because they will be good for the city, regardless of whether or not they might be detrimental to your community. In Travis County, changes in the directional sub-area population proportions of racial-ethnic and occupational groups between 1980 – 2017 indicate that the "greater good" policies allowed under the practice of taking eminent domain for economic development fall under a class of initiatives designed to make space for the gentrifiers (Freeman 2005). The patterns of occupational group segregation identified in this chapter – decreased occupational group entropy in all but the south, southeast, and east directional sub-areas and increased dissimilarity between professional and technical occupations and other occupations in all areas except for the southeast and east – further demonstrates the extent to which the burdens of Austin's economic development have been unequally distributed across space. Were it not unequal, we could reasonably expect that the distribution of change and the desegregation of racial-ethnic and occupational groups would be more even dispersed between east and west oriented directional sub-areas.

Racial-ethnic and occupational group integration is not bad, but it should be equitable. Maps of change in the population proportions of racial-ethnic groups per census tract in Travis

[141] Source: City of Austin Ordinance regarding locating of Tokyo Electron American, Inc. Facilities. (AR.2012.015). 1996.

County over time demonstrate that Whites have attained the most mobility across geography. But while in-mover characteristics are important in determining how neighborhoods change (Freeman 2005), focusing on gentrification or displacement distracts from other harms that population change may cause (Kirkland 2008). By practicing forms of knowledge and creative development designed to privilege the use of space towards the needs of structurally advantaged groups, the City of Austin has induced a poverty of personhood, including social and cultural marginalization, isolation, and alienation, upon residents not structurally enabled to participate in the accumulation of knowledge and creative development in the city. The heritage development process – White washing the heritage of historically Black neighborhoods to increase the downtown area's touristic appeal - described in the previous chapter is only one example of the disassociation of communities from space. The increased dissimilarity between marginalized and privileged groups, as well as between Black-Hispanic and Industrial-Service occupations in several directional sub-areas, is another.

Chapter 4

Keep Austin Accumulating: The Impact of Occupational Group Growth and Decline on Racial-Ethnic Composition

Introduction

The findings of the third chapter demonstrate that while cities strive for and celebrate residential integration, it is necessary to critically examine the processes by which population changes occur and where exactly those changes have taken place. In Austin, the trajectory of the City's commitment to accumulating knowledge and creative development coincides with a non-linear relationship between time and the levels of racial-ethnic segregation found in Travis County and the nine directional sub-areas. Travis County was more racially integrated in 2000 than it was in 2017, before and after several knowledge and creative redevelopment projects had been fully executed. With these residential outcomes in mind, it is no wonder that Austin's development trajectory has been a source of social conflict for several decades. As the second chapter demonstrated, residents have rallied against unsustainably high tax rates in low income but redeveloping areas, unequal allocations of capital area financial gains associated with development and new industry, and the loss of quintessential cultural and heritage institutions in neighborhoods undergoing intense population change.

The first major city plan designed and implemented since the release of the African American Quality of Life Report was Imagine Austin, a long-term planning roadmap designed to offer adaptive recommendations through 2039. Adopted in 2012 and amended in every year since, the purpose of Imagine Austin was to bridge "the ethnic divide" and address gaps in economic opportunity and occupational attainment under the umbrella concept of prosperity for

all. The primary economic facilitators of that goal combined old – workforce training - and new – expanding the economic base – approaches to integrating Austinites into the city's prosperous economy. The Imagine Austin plan contradicts itself by acknowledging that access to professional and skilled service jobs is limited for marginalized groups while simultaneously pushing for the expansion of the economic base via partnerships with the high-tech, professional and highly-skilled industries already operating in the Austin area. The limited scope of the Imagine Austin plan's approach to economic expansion raises red flags regarding the readiness of city government to deviate from the knowledge and creative economic strategies already associated with racial-ethnic segmentations.

My dissertation has found little evidence thus far to support the idea that workforce development training couched within an expansion of the knowledge and creative economic base would address racial-ethnic divisions and inequities of economic opportunity in the way that the content of the Imagine Austin plan suggests. While economically promising and fulfilling for individuals in dominant structural and socioeconomic positions, Austin's history of accumulation and support for a limited set of occupational roles has ultimately contributed to the segmentation of the population on the basis of their work and labor (Wirth 1938). Where measures of racial-ethnic residential segregation followed a nonlinear trend, decreasing from 1980 – 2000 and then increasing from 2000 – 2010 until beginning a slight decline again from 2010 – 2017, residential segregation by employment in occupational groups saw a consistent increase across directional sub-areas and at the county-level over the 37 year course of the knowledge and creative development trajectory. The association of knowledge and creative industry with processes of social closure and skill-bias in professional and technical occupations (McVeigh and Sobolewski

2007), coupled with the "race to the bottom" practices of ancillary service industries, further complicates the issue of occupations and residential attainment.

Knowledge and creative development policies are presented as strong development programs due to their ability to revive a city with new, globally-oriented industry and growing pools of highly-skilled talent. In the urban context, these policies manifest a division of labor which causes individuals and communities to be evaluated on the basis of their ability to contribute profitably to city life, potentially compromising their access to or allocation of resources as a result. Where the purpose of chapter three was to spatialize patterns of racial-ethnic and occupational group residential attainment over the course of the city's knowledge and creative development trajectory, the present chapter examines the relationship between the accumulation of knowledge and creative industry and change in racial-ethnic group proportions in Travis County census tracts over time. Spatial autoregressive models have been used to model change in racial-ethnic group proportions by change in the proportion of residents employed in occupational groups during four time periods corresponding to major development initiatives throughout Austin's contemporary history. The findings of this chapter contribute to theorizations on the influence of knowledge and creative development policies on the systematic restructuring and eventual removal of vulnerable and marginalized groups from city life.

Review of Literature

The composition of a social structure of accumulation and the treatment of social groups embedded within it is overwhelmingly dictated by the perceptions and interests of the local government and other elites. Knowledge and creative development SSAs and the development initiatives that accompany them are products of their localized power structure (McDonough 2008). However, the foundation of many knowledge and creative development SSAs may be

fundamentally inequitable; Florida's (2002) conception of the creative class of worker that knowledge and creative development SSAs strive to attract has been criticized for being class-biased and capital-privileging (Wilson and Keil 2008). The developmental considerations and prestige afforded to the knowledge and creative class may be overdrawn – occupational prestige is related to the function of an occupation for society (Goyder 2005), but given that production models associated with knowledge and creative occupations have been found to contain systemic social inequalities (Eikhof and Warhurst 2013), their accumulation could ultimately be harmful to the prospects of the greater community. As such the developmental strategies used to attract knowledge and creative workers are not necessarily a reflection of the society whose space is being retrofitted to suit knowledge and creative development. Rather, these strategies reflect capitalists' desires to gain from the profitability of professional and technical workers (Beck et al. 1980; McDonough 2008), even at the expense of potential social and economic stratification.

The capacity of urban policy makers to engage with diverse and equitable development strategies is limited under these systems (Grodach 2012; Carr 2012). For example, economists have argued that profits from an SSA will decline when working-class bargaining power is high and capable of disrupting the accumulation process, which can influence cities with active SSAs to disempower their labor force (McDonough 2008). The "race to the bottom" for amassing knowledge and creative industry participants reduces the power of organized labor to the point that labor movements and unions are less likely to be active or effective at seeking community benefits in service or knowledge oriented cities (Vachon and Wallace 2013). In cities where the provision of amenities associated with knowledge and creative development initiatives is supported by the labor of people employed in low-wage or low-skill service occupations, interrogating the function of a "bad job" - who benefits from their continuation and how

(Tomaskovic-Devey 1987) – helps to inform our understandings of the relationship between the accumulation of occupations within the SSA and the social and spatial impacts associated with that.

Data and Methods

Hypotheses for this chapter were tested using spatial autoregressive models, a class of regression model that controls for spatial autocorrelation in data bound by space. Spatial autocorrelation refers to dependency and correlation between observations and describes the degree to which observations at spatial locations are similar to each other. Spatial autocorrelation models produce more accurate results than ordinary least squares regression when modeling location-dependent processes. Controlling for spatial autocorrelation in regression models impacted by space-based processes helps to improve the precision of estimates and increase the reliability of hypothesis testing by enabling researchers to control for and adjust degrees of spatial dependence and correlations between observations. The use of spatial autocorrelation models has become the standard in spatial data analysis as advancements in modeling technique and statistical programs have made the methodology more feasible and accessible to researchers over time.

Determining the Presence of Spatial Autocorrelation

Correlation amongst model residuals is tested for using a Moran I test. The idea of the Moran I test is to check that the data have violated the ordinary least squares assumption of independence of observations, where, if true, the data can be said to feature the dependency between observations which makes it structured for spatial autocorrelation. Results of Moran I

testing on OLS models of the relationship between racial-ethnic composition and proportion employed in occupational groups indicated the presence of clustered residuals, which means that spatial autocorrelation models are appropriate for the structure of this data. Robust Lagrange Multiplier Tests (LMT) for model fit were conducted to determine which type of spatial autoregressive model specification best fit the spatial dependency of the data. An LMT was conducted per time period per dependent variable, amounting to 12 tests total. The LMT test results determined that the Spatial Error Model (SEM) best fit the error structure.

Spatial error models control for nuisance driven by spatial autocorrelation in the measurement errors (e) of measured and unmeasured model variables (v) by controlling for correlated errors produced from modeling the spatial process (Sparks 2017). The basic equation of the spatial error model is:

$$Y=X'\beta+e$$

$$e=\lambda We+v$$

Other model structures, including the spatial lag model (SAR), spatial autocorrelation model (SAC), and spatial Durbin model were tested but are not discussed here.

Once the error structure has been determined common approaches to modeling autocorrelation include using a weight matrix to model the process itself or to model the covariance matrix of the error terms directly (Dubin 1998). My models have been constructed using the first approach. Spatial weight matrixes represent the spatial structure of the observations. The purpose of the matrix is to denote, for each observation, the locations belonging to its neighborhood and set them as nonzero elements. The form of the spatial weights matrix is determined a priori. I have chosen to set the spatial weight matrix using the queen criterion, where two spatial units are considered to be close to each other in space if they share a

side or edge, like when census tracts neighbor each other along any boundary. The average number of links created in deriving the weight matrix was 6.05. The number of non-zero links was 1126.

Modeling Difference by Difference

Regressions were designed to model the relationship between the tract-level population proportions of racial-ethnic groups and the tract-level proportions of residents employed across the three occupational groups – professional and technical, service, and industrial. The objective of these models was to investigate hypotheses positing that change in the proportions of residents employed in each occupational group over time influences change in the population proportions of racial-ethnic groups

Modeling objectives were achieved by differencing – subtracting the value of a past time period 1 from the value of a present time period 2, and modeling the difference. However, data from the NCDB and ACS are pooled cross-sectional time series data, where change in the value of the sample mean and variance over time can contribute to underestimations of the means and variances of future time periods and bias correlations. I have minimized this issue by inducing difference-stationarity. Stationarizing is the process of inducing consistency in the mean and variance of variables over time to avoid spurious correlations and reduce bias, thereby controlling for temporal autocorrelation by controlling for the first time period used in the calculation of the difference.[142] In cross-sectional data, stationarizing creates constant rates of

[142] Difference-stationarizing pooled cross-sectional time series data eliminates the time series element by controlling for the first time period used in the calculation of the differenced value, such that the number of observations in a regression model remains independent from the stage in the time series. With difference-stationarizing I essentially have four separate series of models that "advance" through time in the only sense that I use different decades consecutively to calculate the differenced values.

change between periods of time and makes a stationary stochastic process. Both the dependent and independent variables for these models have undergone difference-stationarizing, such that the difference between $y_1 - y_0$ is modeled by the difference between $x_1 - x_0$, controlling for $\beta_1 - \beta_0$.

Four time periods were created from the differencing process. While not perfectly aligned with major events in the City of Austin's developmental history, the decadal boundaries chosen for each time period offer the closest possible approximation given limitations associated with data availability. A major implication of difference-stationarizing is that stochastic trends are not assumed to recover from system shocks. An example of a system shock applicable to analyses of racial-ethnic group change modeled by change in the employment proportions of occupational groups would be the substantial decreases in the absolute number of people in Travis County employed in all three occupational groups from 2000-2010. Though employment in professional and technical occupations recovered and exceeded shares from previous years during the period of time between 2010 – 2017, the absolute number of people employed in service and industrial occupations recovered from that shock by only half and less than half, respectively.

Variable Selection and SEM Model Specification

Information pertaining to the geographic area of study, data sourcing, and compatibility of variables between time periods is available in the data and methods section of chapter 3. The present section focuses on the operationalization of variables included in the SEM models specified for chapter 4.

The relationship between change in tract-level racial-ethnic group proportions and change in the proportions of tract residents employed in each occupational group was the primary relationship of interest during the model specification process. The variables selected for

inclusion in these models reflect contemporary theories on urban population change as well as prevalent factors associated with residential attainment in Travis County (Freeman 2009; Florida and Mellander 2015). Models for all four time periods were constructed using the same variable specification. Variables and their operationalizations are provided in Table 9.

Proportions of tract residents employed in each occupational group serves as a proxy measure accounting for change in the accumulation of each job type as determined by the occupational groups defined in chapter 3. Operationalizing the independent variable in this manner follows a precedent established by Nelson (1955), who classified the economic activity of cities based on the proportion of the labor force engaged in each industrial sector. Tracking economic transition via change in the proportion of residents employed in occupational groups enables a rough estimation of how much of each industry, manufacturing, services, and knowledge and creative, exists in the city.

The impact of change in occupational employment proportions is estimated separately for each racial-ethnic group for every time period, such that there are four models for proportion White, four for proportion Black, and four for proportion Hispanic. Racial-ethnic groups not being modeled as the dependent variable were incorporated into the model specification as control variables.

Table 9. Variables used in the models for Times 1 – 4, and their operationalizations.

Variables Included in Model Specification	Variable Operationalization
Independent Variables	
Proportion employed in Professional and Technical Occupations	Occupational group containing people employed in professional and technical occupations, executives, managers, and administrators (excl. farms). Calculated from civilian employed population aged 16+.
Proportion employed in Service Occupations	Occupational group containing people employed in sales (2010 on), administrative support and clerical work, and service workers. Calculated from civilian employed population aged 16+.
Proportion employed in Industrial Occupations	Occupational group containing people employed in precision production, craft, repair, transportation and material moving, farm, forestry, and fishing, as well as operators, assemblers, and nonfarm laborers. Calculated from civilian employed population aged 16+.
Control Variables	
Proportion White population	Whites, defined as White plus any other race. Serves as the dependent variable for models measuring change in share White.
Proportion Black population	Blacks, defined as Black plus any other race. Serves as the dependent variable for models measuring change in share Black.
Proportion Hispanic population	Hispanic, defined by identification with Hispanic or Latino ethnicity. Serves as the dependent variable for models measuring change in share Hispanic.
Proportion unemployed	Persons 16+ years old in the civilian labor force and unemployed.
Proportion with at least a bachelor's degree	Persons 25+ years old who have a bachelors or graduate/professional degree. Excludes persons 25+ years old who have an associate degree but no bachelors.
Average household income	Average household income last year ($).
Proportion living in poverty	Proportion of total persons below the poverty level last year.
Proportion Foreign Born	Proportion of population who are foreign born.
Total Black-Occupied Housing Units	Black/African American occupied housing units.
Total Hispanic-Occupied Housing Units	Hispanic/Latino occupied housing units.
Distance from tech location/future tech location in meters	Distance from the center of a census tract from a startup or tech company location/future location measured in meters. Variable constructed for this dissertation by Rachel McKane, compiled using the physical addresses of startup and tech companies scraped from the website Built in Austin: https://www.builtinaustin.com/companies. 883 companies with addresses located within the Austin-Round Rock MSA were identified and geocoded for inclusion in this variable.
Tract located West of IH-35	Census tracts within Travis County located West of IH-35.
Tract located East of IH-35	Census tracts within Travis County located East of IH-35.

Control variables of change in residential composition related to socio-economic class include proportion unemployed, proportion with at least a bachelor's degree, proportion living in poverty, and average household income. Austin's history of race-based residential clustering was incorporated into the model specification via inclusion of total Black-occupied housing units, total Hispanic-occupied housing units, and proportion foreign born residents. Three variables constructed specifically for this dissertation, distance from tech location/future tech location in meters, tract location West of IH-35, and tract location East of IH-35, are directly related to findings from chapter two which indicated that eastern tract location and proximity to tech industry have been disproportionately harmful to Black and Hispanic residents over the course of Austin's history.

All variables are measured at the census tract level. Only census tracts within Travis County were included in the analyses for this chapter. The model n = 215, representing the 215 normalized census tracts in Travis County as of 2010. An F-test for model power determined that the number of observations was sufficient to estimate all model parameters with 90% power at a .05 significance level.

Hypotheses

Findings from the previous two chapters support an overarching hypothesis that the White, Black, and Hispanic racial-ethnic groups of Travis County have been differentially impacted by events related to Austin's developmental trajectory over time. Where chapter two constructed a timeline of critical dialogue between elite and non-elite stakeholders in the city's development, and chapter three emphasized the role of location relative to downtown in influencing patterns of racial-ethnic and employment in occupational group segregation in

Austin, the present chapter focuses on the nature of the relationship between membership in a given racial-ethnic group and knowledge and creative development practices such as the accumulation of jobs and employment in professional and technical occupations.

Four time periods have been constructed to capture racial-ethnic population change in the developmental contexts in which it occurred. Time 1, 1980 – 2000, captures change in tract-level racial-ethnic composition and proportion of residents employed per occupational group occurring within the span of time associated with the onset of Austin's accumulation of knowledge industry and occupations, the Austinplan planning era, and R/UDAT policies. Time 2, 2000 – 2010, encompasses the years of community fall-out associated with East and Southeast Austin development policy and gentrification, as well as the economic and social impacts of the 2008 recession. Time 3, 2010 – 2017, reflects population changes occurring within the context of Austin's post-recession growth, economic recovery, and tourism development strategies. The final time period, Time 4, measures population change as a reaction to the cumulative impact of the City of Austin's knowledge and creative development trajectory from 1980 to 2017.

The temporal boundaries selected for each time period coincide with trends in the absolute numbers of people employed in professional and technical, service, and industrial occupations in Travis County from 1980 to 2017. Employment in professional and technical occupations increased during every decade contained within Time 1, decreased during Time 2, and recovered to nearly double the 2010 employment level during Time 3. Employment in service occupations follows a similar pattern of growth-decline-growth, but had not recovered to pre-2000 levels by 2017 - roughly 10000 less people were employed in services in 2017 than in 2000. Like services, industrial occupational employment followed a growth-decline-growth pattern over the course of Times 1 – 3, with growth from 1980 – 2000, substantial losses from

2000 – 2010 (employment declined by half), and only a marginal increase (gaining ~10,000 people employed) during 2010 – 2017.

The City of Austin's developmental history and the structural inequities associated with it, including fluctuating levels of racial-ethnic residential segregation and disparities in unemployment rates and educational attainment between racial-ethnic groups, have helped inform the hypotheses generated for this chapter. Table 10 offers a synthesis of hypotheses tested per racial-ethnic group per time period for chapter 4.

Table 10. Hypotheses indicating change in racial-ethnic group population proportions per time period of study, by broad occupational groups.[143]

	Hypothesis: Racial-ethnic group proportion, modeled by proportion of tract residents employed in three broad occupational groups, will increase, decrease, or stay the same during the time periods below.			
Occupational Group	**Time 1 1980 – 2000**	**Time 2 2000 – 2010**	**Time 3 2010 – 2017**	**Time 4 1980 – 2017**
Proportion of tract residents employed in professional and technical occupations	W: (+) B: (-) H: (-)	W: (-) B: (-) H: (-)	W: (+) B: (-) H: (+)	W: (+) B: (-) H: (-)
Proportion of tract residents employed in service occupations	W: nc B: nc H: (+)	W: (-) B: (-) H: (-)	W: (+) B: (-) H: (+)	W: (+) B: (-) H: (+)
Proportion of tract residents employed in industrial occupations	W: nc B: (+) H: (+)	W: (-) B: (-) H: (-)	W: (+) B: (+) H: (+)	W: (+) B: nc H: (-)

[143] Table key for table 1: W refers to White population share, B refers to Black population share, and H refers to Hispanic population share. (+) indicates that the relationship is hypothesized to be positive, where (-) indicates a negative relationship and nc indicates that no significant change is expected.

Given the findings of previous chapters, along with literature suggesting that Whites experience better occupational attainment overall in competitive labor markets, I hypothesize that tract-level proportion White in Travis County will predominantly benefit from changes in the proportions of residents employed in professional and technical occupations. I hypothesize that changes in the tract-level proportions of residents employed in service and industrial occupations will have no significant impact on tract-level proportion White during Time 1, will have a negative impact on proportion White during Time 2 due to the magnitude of recession-period service employment loss, but will positively impact proportion White during the Time 3 recovery. I hypothesize that overall, changes in the tract-level proportions of residents employed in each occupational group from 1980 to 2017 in Travis County will be positively associated with change in tract-level proportion White population.

I hypothesize that tract-level Black population proportions will be negatively impacted by changes in the proportion of residents employed in professional and technical occupations in every time period. I hypothesize that changes in the proportion of residents employed in service occupations will have no significant impact on Black population proportions during Time 1, but that recession related changes in the proportion of tract residents employed in services during Time 2, and the resultant hyper-competitiveness for service work in Time 3, will have a negative impact on tract-level Black population proportions. While I hypothesize that changes in the proportions of tract residents employed in industrial occupations will have no significant impact on tract-level Black population proportions overall, I hypothesize a positive relationship between tract-level Black and proportion of residents employed in industrial occupations for Time 1, a negative relationship during Time 2, and a positive relationship during Time 3.

Hypotheses on the relationship between changes in tract-level Hispanic population proportions and the proportion of residents employed in each occupational group are more mixed. I hypothesize that, due to the Hispanic racial-ethnic group's developing majority-minority status in Travis County, changes in the proportion of residents employed in professional and technical services will have a positive impact on tract-level Hispanic population proportions at Time 3, but that the negative relationship hypothesized for Times 1 and 2 will influence a negative relationship overall in Time 4. I hypothesize that the favorable position of Hispanics within the labor queue compared to Black residents will contribute to the predominantly positive relationships between tract-level Hispanic and proportion of residents employed in service and industrial occupations at each time period.

Findings

Changes in racial residential segregation within Travis County correspond to development activities associated with the major planning initiatives in Austin's history that have targeted areas east of IH-35. The models for this chapter further investigate the developmental conditions that have influenced residential change by examining the relationship between changes in the proportion of residents employed in occupational groups and changes in tract-level racial-ethnic composition in Travis County over time.

Model results for Time 1, presented in Table 11, indicate that the tract-level population proportions of the three racial-ethnic groups considered in this study were all differentially impacted over the period of Austin's development spanning 1980 – 2000. Change in tract-level proportion White was not significantly predicted by change in the proportion of tract residents employed in any of the three broad occupational groups. The opposite is true for change in tract-

level proportion Black, which was significantly and negatively associated with changes in the proportions of residents employed in professional and technical occupations, service occupations, and industrial occupations. A standard deviation change in proportion of tract residents employed in professional and technical occupations was associated with a -.16 standard deviation decrease in proportion Black, controlling for other variables in the model. Standard deviation changes in proportion employed in services and proportion employed in industrial occupations saw a -.10 and -.21 standard deviation decrease in proportion Black, respectively. Change in tract-level proportion Hispanic was negatively associated with change in proportion of residents employed in service occupations. A one standard deviation change in proportion of residents employed in services corresponded to a -.12 standard deviation decrease in tract-level proportion Hispanic population.

Table 11. Model Results for all Racial-Ethnic Groups for Time 1: 1980 – 2000.[144]

Independent and Control Variables	**Share White**	**Share Black**		**Share Hispanic**	
	b **(SE)**	***b*** **(SE)**	***b*** **(SE)**	***b*** **(SE)**	***b*** **(SE)**
Independent Variables					
Proportion employed in Professional and Technical Occupations	-.05 (.06)	-.16*** (.05)	-.34*** (.05)	-.04 (.04)	.01 (.04)
Proportion employed in Service Occupations	.02 (.04)	-.10** (.03)	-.20*** (.03)	-.12*** (.02)	-.09*** (.03)
Proportion employed in Industrial Occupations	-.04 (.05)	-.21*** (.04)	-.40*** (.05)	0 (.03)	.03 (.04)
Control Variables					
Proportion White population	–	-.47*** (.05)	-.47*** (.04)	-.14** (.04)	-.12** (.04)
Proportion Black population	-.69*** (.07)	–	–	-.08 (.05)	-.06 (.05)

[144] Under the White-non Hispanic and Black non-Hispanic coding scheme: change in proportion employed in industrial occupations became significantly and positively associated with change in share White. The relationship between change in proportion employed in service industry and change in share Black is no longer significant. These results are available upon request and will be used going forward.

Proportion Hispanic population	-.33**	-.13	-.14	-	-
	(.01)	(.09)	(.08)		
Proportion unemployed	.08*	.02	-.03	-.05*	-.04
	(.04)	(.03)	(.03)	(.02)	(.02)
Proportion with at least a bachelor's degree	0	-.05	-.03	-.14***	-.15***
	(.06)	(.05)	(.05)	(.04)	(.04)
Average household income	0	.01	0	.05*	.04
	(.04)	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)
Proportion living in poverty	-.09**	-.08**	-.06**	.02	.02
	(.03)	(.03)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)
Proportion Foreign Born	-.28***	-.19***	-.18***	.04	.05
	(.05)	(.04)	(.04)	(.03)	(.03)
Total Black-Occupied Housing Units	.07	.76***	.76***	-.08	-.09
	(.08)	(.04)	(.04)	(.05)	(.05)
Total Hispanic-Occupied Housing Units	-.10	-.14	-.12	.79***	.77***
	(.10)	(.09)	(.08)	(.04)	(.04)
Distance from tech location/future tech location in meters	0	0	0	.01	.01
	(.05)	(.04)	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)
Tract located West of IH-35	-.03	.03	-.02	-.03	-.04
	(.07)	(.05)	(.05)	(.05)	(.04)
Tract located East of IH-35	0	0	-.05	0	.01
	(.06)	(.05)	(.05)	(.04)	(.04)
Proportion employed in Professional and Technical Occupations * Proportion White population	-	-	.22*** (.04)	-	-
Proportion employed in Service Occupations * Proportion White population	-	-	.10*** (.03)	-	-.06* (.02)
Proportion employed in Industrial Occupations * Proportion White population	-	-	.15*** (.03)	-	-
Nagelkerke's pseudo-R^2					
Pseudo-R^2	.86	.66		.9	.92

Interactions between racial-ethnic group proportions and the proportions of residents employed in occupational groups were performed as a means of further explaining the socio-economic processes motivating changes in racial-ethnic compositions of census tracts in Travis County. Increases in tract-level White proportions exacerbated the negative impact of change in occupational group proportions on tract-level proportion Black, but increased the positive impact of changes in occupation proportions on tract-level proportion Hispanic. From 1980 – 2000, increases in proportion White corresponded to increases in the magnitude of the coefficients of

the proportion of tract residents employed in professional and technical, service, and industrial occupations on proportion Black, such that the negative relationships between tract-level proportion Black and the tract-level proportions of residents employed in each occupational group became more negative as tract-level proportion White increased. The results indicate that census tracts experiencing the most change in proportion White from 1980 – 2000 were also the tracts in which the impact of change in the proportion of residents employed in each occupational group was associated with greater decreases in tract-level proportion Black residents. For Hispanic tract-level population proportions, increases in proportion White decreased the magnitude of the coefficient for proportion of tract residents employed in service occupations, causing the relationship between proportion Hispanic and proportion employed in service occupations to become more positive as tract-level proportion White increased. As such, census tracts experiencing the most positive standard deviation changes in proportion White were also the tracts in which the impact of change in the proportion of residents employed in service occupations led to greater increases in the proportion of Hispanic residents.

Changes in tract-level proportions White, Black, and Hispanic in Travis County from 1980 – 2000 were also differentially determined by changes in factors used by the City of Austin to determine the economic health of an area. Change in proportion unemployed was associated with a .08 standard deviation increase in proportion White, but a -.05 standard deviation decrease in proportion Hispanic, and no significant change in proportion Black. Poverty was associated with -.09 and -.08 standard deviation decreases in proportion White and proportion Black, respectively, but was not significantly associated with change in proportion Hispanic. Tract-level change in the total number of housing units occupied by Black or Hispanic residents had no

significant impact on change in proportion White, but were positively associated with change in proportion Black and Hispanic.

Model results for Time 2 reveal that, as with Time 1, changes in the proportion of residents employed in each occupational group were differentially associated with changes in tract-level racial-ethnic compositions from 2000 – 2010. Unlike for Time 1, when changes in the proportions of tract-level occupational group employment were not significant predictors of change in proportion White, change in the tract-level proportions of residents employed in the professional and technical, service, and industrial occupational groups over the course of Time 2 were all positively associated with change in proportion White residents. A one standard deviation change in the proportion of residents employed in professional and technical occupations was associated with a .30 standard deviation increase in tract-level proportion White. The effects of standard deviation changes on the proportion of residents employed in services and proportion employed in industrial occupations were similarly high at .21 and .44 standard deviation increases in proportion White residents, respectively. Conversely, change in the tract-level proportions of residents employed in each occupational group were not significant predictors of changes in proportion Black for Time 2.

The association between tract-level changes in proportion employed in services and Hispanic population proportions was consistently negative between Times 1 and 2. Changes in the tract-level proportions of residents employed in professional and technical and industrial occupations became newly and negatively associated with change in the tract-level proportion Hispanic population in Time 2. A one standard deviation change in the proportion of residents employed in professional and technical occupations was associated with a -.22 standard deviation decrease in tract-level proportion Hispanic. A standard deviation change in the

proportion of residents employed in service occupations was associated with a -.14 standard deviation decrease, the smallest occupational group effect size on proportion Hispanic. A one standard deviation change in the proportion of residents employed in industrial occupations saw a -.18 standard deviation decrease in tract-level Hispanic population proportions. Complete model results per racial-ethnic group for Time 2 are provided in Table 12.

Table 12. Model Results for all Racial-Ethnic groups for Time 2, 2000 – 2010.[145]

Independent and Control Variables	**Proportion White**		**Proportion Black**	**Proportion Hispanic**	
	b **(SE)**	***b*** **(SE)**	***b*** **(SE)**	***b*** **(SE)**	***b*** **(SE)**
Independent Variables					
Proportion employed in Professional and	.30**	.29***	.10	-.22**	-.16
Technical Occupations	(.12)	(.08)	(.08)	(.08)	(.09
Proportion employed in Service Occupations	.21*	.22***	.07	-.14*	-.11
	(.21)	(.07)	(.07)	(.06)	(.07)
Proportion employed in Industrial Occupations	.44***	.40***	-.10	-.18**	-.15*
	(.08)	(.07)	(.07)	(.06)	(.07)
Control Variables					
Proportion White population	-	-	.23***	.46***	.34***
			(.05)	(.04)	(.07)
Proportion Black population	.36***	.20***	-	.16*	.17*
	(.08)	(.06)		(.07)	(.07)
Proportion Hispanic population	.77***	.65***	.17*	-	-
	(.07)	(.05)	(.07)		
Proportion unemployed	-.07	0	.08*	0	0
	(.04)	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)
Proportion with at least a bachelor's degree	.14*	.04	-.12*	-.08	-.08
	(.06)	(.04)	(.05)	(.05)	(.05)
Average household income	.08	.13***	-.06	-.04	-.05
	(.05)	(.04)	(.04)	(.04)	(.04)
Proportion living in poverty	.22***	.11**	-.23***	.01	-.01
	(.05)	(.04)	(.04)	(.040	(.04)
Proportion Foreign Born	-.30***	-.10*	-.12	.04	.38***
	(.06)	(.04)	(.05)	(.04)	(.04)

[145] Under the White non-Hispanic and Black non-Hispanic coding scheme: The relationships between change in proportion employed in professional and technical services and change in share White and proportion employed in services and change in share White lose their significance. As consequence, cannot run/lose the significance of interactions between share Black and PTOs, share Hispanic and PTOs, share Black and services, and share Hispanic and services. These results are available upon request and will be used going forward.

Total Black-Occupied Housing Units	-.52***	-.42***	.82***	-.02	-.08
	(.08)	(.06)	(.04)	(.07)	(.07)
Total Hispanic-Occupied Housing Units	-.50***	-.42***	-.11	.48***	.47***
	(.06)	(.05)	(.06)	(.05)	(.05)
Distance from tech location/future tech location in meters	-.05	-.08	.06	0	0
	(.06)	(.05)	(.04)	(.04)	(.04)
Tract located West of IH-35	-.13	-.08	.05	.02	.02
	(.10)	(.08)	(.07)	(.07)	(.07)
Tract located East of IH-35	-.13	-.09	-.02	.01	.01
	(.10)	(.09)	(.08)	(.07)	(.08)
Proportion employed in Professional and Technical Occupations * Proportion Black population	-	.13*	-	-	-.05
		(.06)			(.07)
Proportion employed in Service Occupations * Proportion Black population	-	.09	-	-	-.04
		(.05)			(.05)
Proportion employed in Industrial Occupations * Proportion Black population	-	.09*	-	-	-.04
		(.04)			(.04)
Proportion employed in Professional and Technical Occupations * Proportion Hispanic population	-	.50***	-	-	-
		(.05)			
Proportion employed in Service Occupations * Proportion Hispanic population	-	.43***	-	-	-
		(.05)			
Proportion employed in Industrial Occupations * Proportion Hispanic population	-	.47***	-	-	-
		(.04)			
Proportion employed in Professional and Technical Occupations * Proportion White population	-	-	-	-	.21*
					(.10)
Proportion employed in Service Occupations * Proportion White population	-	-	-	-	.19*
					(.10)
Proportion employed in Industrial Occupations * Proportion White population	-	-	-	-	.14*
					(.06)
Nagelkerke's pseudo-R_2					
Pseudo-R_2	.66	.82	.78	.79	.80

Several interactions between change in tract-level racial-ethnic group proportions and change in the tract-level employment proportions of occupational groups were tested for Time 2. From 2000 – 2010, increases in proportion Black corresponded to an increase in the magnitude of the coefficients of the tract-level proportion of residents employed in professional and technical and industrial occupations on proportion White, such that the positive relationships between proportion White and the proportions of residents employed in professional and

technical and industrial occupations became more positive as tract-level proportion Black increased. Increases in tract-level proportion Hispanic had similarly positive impacts on the magnitude of the coefficients for the occupational groups on proportion White. From 2000 – 2010, the positive relationships between tract-level proportion White and the proportions of residents employment in all three occupational groups became more positive as the Hispanic population proportion of a census tract increased. The interaction effects tested for the model predicting change in tract-level proportions of White residents indicate that census tracts experiencing the most change in proportion Black and Hispanic residents were also the tracts in which the impact of change in occupational group employment proportions led to greater increases in the tract-level proportion of White residents.

For Hispanics, increases in tract-level proportion White corresponded to increases in the magnitude of the coefficients for the tract-level proportion of residents employed in all three occupational groups. The results indicate that the negative relationships between tract-level population proportion Hispanic and the proportions of residents employed in professional and technical, service, and industrial occupations became more negative as tract-level proportion White increased. When considering changes in the tract-level proportions of Hispanic residents from 2000 – 2010, census tracts that experienced the most change in proportion White were also the tracts in which the impact of change in occupational group employment proportions on the tract-level proportion of Hispanic residents were the most negative. Increases in the tract-level proportions of Black residents was not found to significantly increase the magnitude of any occupational group coefficient on Hispanic population proportions.

As with Time 1, changes in tract-level proportions White, Black and Hispanic in Travis County over the period of time captured by Time 2 were differentially impacted by several

model control variables. A standard deviation change in tract-level proportion unemployed was significantly associated with a .08 standard deviation increase in proportion Black, but not proportion White or Hispanic. Standard deviation change in the proportion of tract residents with at least a bachelor's degree was associated with a .14 standard deviation increase in tract-level proportion White, but a -.12 standard deviation decrease in tract-level proportion Black, and no significant impact on Hispanic proportion. A one standard deviation change in the proportion of residents living at or below the poverty level was associated with a .22 standard deviation increase in tract-level proportion White and -.23 standard deviation decrease in proportion Black. Of the control variables, only standard deviation changes in the proportion of foreign born residents, total Black-occupied housing units, and total Hispanic-occupied housing units were associated with standard deviation decreases in tract-level proportion White. In contrast, standard deviation changes in proportion foreign born and total Hispanic-occupied housing units were both associated with standard deviation increases in tract-level proportion Hispanic, while a standard deviation change in total Black-occupied housing units was associated with a .82 standard deviation increase in tract-level proportion Black.

Time 3, which modeled change in tract-level racial-ethnic composition by change in occupational group employment proportions over the course of 2010 – 2017, was the first time period in which change in the tract-level proportions of residents employed in any occupational group had a negative impact on White population proportions. The model results presented in Table 13 indicate that a standard deviation change in the proportion of tract residents employed in professional and technical occupations was associated with a -1.29 standard deviation decrease in tract-level proportion White. A standard deviation change in the proportion of residents employed in service occupations corresponded to a -1.27 standard deviation decrease in

tract-level proportion White. A standard deviation change in the proportion of tract residents employed in industrial occupations was associated with a -.98 standard deviation decrease in proportion White.

Changes in the tract-level proportions of residents employed in each occupational group were also negatively associated with change in tract-level Hispanic population proportions. Standard deviation changes in the proportions of residents employed in professional and technical, service, and industrial occupations were associated with -.46, -.48, and -.40 standard deviation decreases in tract-level population proportion Hispanic, respectively, from 2010 – 2017. Changes in the proportion of residents employed per occupational group were not significantly associated with changes in tract-level proportion Black during Time 3.

Table 13. Model Results for all Racial-Ethnic groups for Time 3, 2010 – 2017.

	Time 3: 2010 – 2017		
Independent and Control Variables	**Proportion White**	**Proportion Black**	**Proportion Hispanic**
	b **(SE)**	***b*** **(SE)**	***b*** **(SE)**
Independent Variables			
Proportion employed in Professional and Technical Occupations	-1.29*** (.05)	-.08 (.18)	-.46** (.14)
Proportion employed in Service Occupations	-1.27*** (.05)	-.06 (.18)	-.48** (.15)
Proportion employed in Industrial Occupations	-.98*** (.05)	-.08 (.15)	-.40*** (.12)
Control Variables			
Proportion White population	-	.24* (.12)	.16 (.10)
Proportion Black population	.07 (.04)	-	.05 (.06)
Proportion Hispanic population	.08 (.04)	.07 (.08)	-
Proportion unemployed	0 (.02)	.19*** (.04)	0 (.04)
Proportion with at least a bachelor's degree	0 (.03)	.03 (.05)	-.04 (.04)
Average household income	0	0	-.04

	(.03)	(.05)	(.04)
Proportion living in poverty	-.03	.02	-.05
	(.02)	(.05)	(.04)
Proportion Foreign Born	-.09**	0	.39***
	(.03)	(.06)	(.04)
Total Black-Occupied Housing Units	-.18***	.74***	-.03
	(.03)	(.05)	(.06)
Total Hispanic-Occupied Housing Units	-.19***	-.03	.48***
	(.03)	(.07)	(.04)
Distance from tech location/future tech location in meters	.03	0	.04
	(.04)	(.06)	(.05)
Tract located West of IH-35	-.03	.13	.09
	(.06)	(.09)	(.07)
Tract located East of IH-35	0	.12	.10
	(.05)	(.08)	(.06)
Nagelkerke's pseudo-R^2			
Pseudo-R^2	.9	.65	.76
$p < .05$* , $p < .01$**, $p < .001$***			

Model results for Time 3 were not conducive to testing interactions between changes in racial-ethnic group proportions and changes in the proportions of residents employed per occupational group. Between 2010 – 2017, only tract-level proportion Black was significantly impacted by changes in the proportion of another racial group; a one standard deviation change in tract-level proportion White was associated with a .24 standard deviation increase in proportion Black. As with Time 2, tract-level proportion Black was the only racial-ethnic group proportion significantly impacted by change in proportion of unemployed tract residents during Time 3, with a one-standard deviation increase in the proportion of unemployed residents being associated with a .19 standard deviation increase in tract-level proportion Black. Tract-level proportion White was again significantly negatively impacted by a standard deviation change in proportion foreign born, while proportion Hispanic was significantly positively impacted. The direction of the effects of a standard deviation change in total Black-occupied housing units and total Hispanic-occupied housing units were consistent between Times 2 and 3 for each racial-ethnic group. From 2010 – 2017, tract-level proportion White was negatively impacted by

change in non-White housing unit occupancy, proportion Black was positively impacted by change in Black housing unit occupancy, and proportion Hispanic was positively impacted by change in Hispanic housing unit occupancy.

The purpose of Time 4 was to examine the impact of change in the proportions of residents employed in each of the three occupational groups on change in racial-ethnic group proportions over the longest span of time corresponding to the City of Austin's accumulation of knowledge and creative industry. Model results for Time 4, presented in Table 14, indicate that the impacts of a standard deviation change in all three occupational categories on tract-level proportion Black from 1980 – 2017 were negative. Standard deviation changes in the proportions of residents employed in professional and technical and service occupations were associated with standard deviation decreases in tract-level Hispanic population proportions over the same time period. While change in proportion employed in professional and technical occupations had no significant impact on change in tract-level proportion White, changes in the proportion of tract residents employed in service and industrial occupations did, with a one standard deviation change in each being associated with a .08 and .26 standard deviation increase in tract-level proportion White, respectively.

A standard deviation change in the tract-level proportion of residents employed in professional and technical occupations was associated with a -.16 standard deviation decrease in proportion Black and a -.21 standard deviation decrease for proportion Hispanic. A standard deviation change in the tract-level proportion of residents employed in service occupations was associated with a -.16 standard deviation decrease in proportion Black and a -.13 standard deviation decrease for proportion Hispanic. Tract-level proportion Black was significantly

negatively impacted by standard deviation change in the proportion of residents employed in industrial occupations, at a -.15 standard deviation decrease.

Table 14. Model Results for all Racial-Ethnic groups for Time 4, 1980 – 2017.[146]

Independent and Control Variables	**Proportion White**		**Proportion Black**		**Proportion Hispanic**	
	b **(SE)**	***b*** **(SE)**	***b*** **(SE)**	***b*** **(SE)**	***b*** **(SE)**	***b*** **(SE)**
Independent Variables						
Proportion employed in Professional and Technical Occupations	.11 (.06)	.17** (.06)	-.16*** (.04)	-.08* (.04)	-.21*** (.04)	-.21*** (.04)
Proportion employed in Service Occupations	.08* (.04)	.11** (.03)	-.16*** (.02)	-.12*** (.02)	-.13*** (.02)	-.12*** (.03)
Proportion employed in Industrial Occupations	.26*** (.05)	.29*** (.05)	-.15*** (.03)	-.06 (.03)	-.02 (.04)	-.02 (.04)
Control Variables						
Proportion White population	-	-	-.31*** (.04)	-.35*** (.05)	-.18*** (.05)	-.19*** (.05)
Proportion Black population	-.57*** (.08)	-.53*** (.08)	-	-	-.17** (.07)	-.16* (.07)
Proportion Hispanic population	-.36*** (.09)	-.35*** (.08)	-.15* (.06)	-.19** (.06)	-	-
Proportion unemployed	.04 (.02)	.09*** (.02)	.05** (.02)	.09*** (.02)	0 (.02)	.03 (.02)
Proportion with at least a bachelor's degree	0 (.05)	0 (.05)	-.08* (.04)	-.06 (.03)	-.02 (.04)	-.01 (.04)
Average household income	.02 (.04)	.03 (.03)	.05* (.02)	.06** (.02)	.05 (.03)	.04 (.02)
Proportion living in poverty	-.04 (.03)	-.04 (.03)	-.01 (.02)	-.02 (.02)	.02 (.02)	.01 (.02)
Proportion Foreign Born	-.23*** (.03)	-.27*** (.03)	-.11*** (.02)	-.12*** (.02)	.02 (.03)	.01 (.03)
Total Black-Occupied Housing Units	-.13 (.10)	-.21* (.09)	.86*** (.04)	.79*** (.04)	.02 (.07)	-.01 (.07)
Total Hispanic-Occupied Housing Units	-.16 (.08)	-.08 (.08)	-.11 (.06)	-.01 (.06)	.71*** (.04)	.73*** (.04)
Distance from tech location/future tech location in meters	.05 (.04)	.03 (.03)	.05* (.02)	.03 (.02)	.05* (.03)	.05* (.02)
Tract located West of IH-35	-.35*** (.06)	-.34*** (.05)	-.14*** (.04)	-.11** (.04)	-.13** (.04)	-.12** (.04)
Tract located East of IH-35	-.33	-.34***	-.19***	-.15***	-.08*	-.07

[146] Under the White non-Hispanic and Black non-Hispanic coding scheme: the relationship between change in proportion of White residents and change in proportion of residents employed in professional and technical services became significant and positive. The interaction term between proportion Black and proportion employed in service occupations lost its significance. These results are available upon request and will be used going forward.

	(.06)	(.05)	(.04)	(.04)	(.03)	(.04)
Proportion employed in Professional and Technical Occupations * Proportion Black population	-	-	-	-	-	.02 (.02)
Proportion employed in Service Occupations * Proportion Black population	-	.07*** (.02)	-	-	-	.03 (.02)
Proportion employed in Industrial Occupations * Proportion Black population	-	-.07*** (.02)	-	-	-	-
Proportion employed in Professional and Technical Occupations * Proportion Hispanic population	-	-	-	.18*** (.03)	-	-
Proportion employed in Service Occupations * Proportion Hispanic population	-	.01 (.02)	-	.04 (.02)	-	-
Proportion employed in Industrial Occupations * Proportion Hispanic population	-	.10*** (.02)	-	.15*** (.03)	-	-
Proportion employed in Professional and Technical Occupations * Proportion White population	-	-	-	.09* (.04)	-	-.02 (.02)
Proportion employed in Service Occupations * Proportion White population	-	-	-	0 (.03)	-	.03 (.03)
Proportion employed in Industrial Occupations * Proportion White population	-	-	-	.09** (.03)	-	-
Nagelkerke's pseudo-R_2						
Pseudo-R_2	.92	.93	.96	.96	.96	.96

From 1980 – 2017 a one standard deviation change in the tract-level proportion of any racial-ethnic group included in this study was associated with a negative standard deviation decrease in the tract-level proportions of the other racial-ethnic groups. For Whites, increases in tract-level proportion Black corresponded to increases in the magnitude of the coefficient for proportion of tract residents employed in services, such that the positive relationship between tract-level population proportion White and the proportion of residents employed in service occupations became more positive as tract-level proportion Black increased. The same was not true for the impact of proportion of residents employed in industrial occupations, where increases in tract-level proportion Black corresponded to decreases in the magnitude of the coefficient of the industrial occupational group on proportion White. The positive relationship between tract-

level population proportion White and the proportion of residents employed in industrial occupations became less positive, i.e. decreased in strength, as tract-level proportion Black increased. However, the direction of change in the magnitude of the coefficient for the proportion of residents employed in industrial occupations on tract-level proportion White differed when interacted with proportion Hispanic. For Whites, increases in tract-level proportion Hispanic corresponded to increases in the magnitude of the coefficient for proportion of tract residents employed in industry, such that the positive relationship between the proportion of residents employed in industrial occupations and proportion White became more positive as tract-level proportion Hispanic increased.

For Blacks, increases in tract-level proportion White corresponded to increases in the magnitude of the coefficients for the proportion of tract residents employed in professional and technical and industrial occupations. The negative relationships between tract-level population proportion Black and the proportion of residents employed in professional and technical and industrial occupations became more negative as tract-level proportion White increased. The interaction of tract-level proportion White and the proportion of residents employed in service occupations did not produce a significant impact on change in the magnitude of the coefficient of proportion employed in services on tract-level proportion Black. Interactions between the proportion of tract residents employed in occupational groups with proportion Black and with proportion White did not produce a significant impact on the magnitude of the effect of occupational group coefficients on tract-level population proportion Hispanic.

Control variables associated with indicators of area economic health, specifically proportion of tract-level unemployment, proportion of residents with at least a bachelor's degree, and average household income, were only significant predictors of standard deviation changes in

the base models of tract-level proportion Black. A standard deviation change in tract-level proportion unemployed was associated with a .05 standard deviation increase in proportion Black. A standard deviation change in the proportion of tract residents with at least a bachelor's degree was associated with a -.08 standard deviation decrease in proportion Black. A standard deviation change in the average household income of a census tract was associated with a .05 standard deviation increase in tract-level proportion Black. A standard deviation change in proportion foreign born was a significant predictor of standard deviation decreases in tract-level proportions White and Black during Time 4.

Three control variables, distance from technologies industries location, tract location west of IH-35, and tract location east of IH-35, became significant in Time 4 when they had not been significant in previous time periods. A census-tract's location west of IH-35 was associated with a standard deviation decrease in proportion White, Black, and Hispanic in a census tract. Census-tract location east of IH-35 was only negatively associated with a standard deviation decrease in tract-level proportions Black and Hispanic. A standard deviation change in distance from a technologies company location from the center of a census tract in meters was associated with standard deviation increases in tract-proportions Black and Hispanic, but had no significant relationship with proportion White. The effect is such that as the distance between a technologies company location from the center of a census tract increased, the proportions of Black and proportion Hispanic residents in a tract also increased.

Discussion

The spatial autoregressive models presented in Tables 3, 4, 5, and 6 indicate that White, Black, and Hispanic racial-ethnic group members in Austin, Texas have been differentially

impacted by the city's socio-economic trajectory over the past few decades. The cumulative impact of Austin's economic trajectory thus far is negatively associated with changes in the Black and Hispanic population proportions of Travis County census tracts over the last four decades. Changes to tract-level White population proportion over the same period of time and under the purview of the same development policies were not significantly impacted.

Table 15 shows which hypotheses from the chapter's research objective – to examine the relationship between labor market segmentation and racial residential composition - have been accepted or rejected based on the regression model results.

Table 15. Pre-estimation hypotheses per racial-ethnic group per time period, and their post-estimation results.[147]

	Hypothesis: Racial-ethnic group proportions, modeled by proportion of tract residents employed in three broad occupational groups, will increase, decrease, or stay the same during the time periods below.							
Occupational Group	**Time 1 1980 – 2000**		**Time 2 2000 – 2010**		**Time 3 2010 – 2017**		**Time 4 1980 – 2017**	
	Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post
Proportion of tract residents employed in professional and technical occupations	W: (+) B: (-) H: (-)	W: (R, nc) B: (A) H: (R, nc)	W: (-) B: (-) H: (-)	W: (R, +) B: (R, nc) H: (A)	W: (+) B: (-) H: (+)	W: (R, -) B: (R, nc) H: (R, -)	W: (+) B: (-) H: (-)	W: (R, nc) B: (A) H: (A)
Proportion of tract residents employed in service occupations	W: nc B: nc H: (+)	W: (R, nc) B: (R, -) H: (A)	W: (-) B: (-) H: (-)	W: (R, +) B: (R, nc) H: (A)	W: (+) B: (-) H: (+)	W: (R, -) B: (R, nc) H: (R, -)	W: (+) B: (-) H: (+)	W: (A) B: (A) H: (R, -)
Proportion of tract residents employed in industrial occupations	W: nc B: (+) H: (+)	W: (R, nc) B: (R, -) H: (R, nc)	W: (-) B: (-) H: (-)	W: (R, +) B: (R, nc) H: (A)	W: (+) B: (+) H: (+)	W: (R, -) B: (R, nc) H: (R, -)	W: (+) B: nc H: (-)	W: (A) B: (R, -) H: (R, nc)

147 Table key for table 6: W refers to White population proportion, B refers to Black population proportion, and H refers to Hispanic population proportion. (+) indicates that the relationship is hypothesized to be positive, where (-) indicates a negative relationship and nc indicates that no significant change is expected. In the column for post-estimation results, an R indicates that the hypothesis was rejected while an A indicates the hypothesis was accepted. As an example, (R, nc) indicates that a hypothesis was rejected as no significant change occurred. (R, -) indicates that the hypothesis was rejected because a negative, as opposed to some other relationship, occurred.

Ultimately, none of the hypothesized relationships between tract-level White population proportions and the proportion of tract residents employed in professional and technical occupations were supported for any time period. Changes in the proportion of people employed in professional and technical occupations in Travis County in 1980 – 2000, and over the longer period of 1980 – 2017, were not significantly associated with changes in White population proportions over time. When modeled by proportion of tract residents employed in professional and technical occupations, tract-level population proportion White was expected to decrease over the course of Time 2 and increase during Time 3. Neither hypothesis was supported by the data. Instead the opposite of what was hypothesized occurred: proportion White in census tracts increased over the course of Time 2 and decreased during Time 3.

Hypotheses regarding the relationship between tract-level proportion White and the proportion of residents employed in service occupations are accepted for Times 1 and 4 but rejected for Times 2 and 3. The White population proportions of census tracts during Time 2, which spanned the decade during which employment in service occupations in Travis County decreased dramatically, was positively, rather than negatively, impacted by change in service employment tract proportions. Hypotheses for changes in tract-level White population proportions and the proportion of residents employed in industrial occupations followed the same pattern, with the hypotheses for Times 1 and 4 being accepted and hypotheses for Times 2 and 3 being rejected. As with changes in opportunities for service employment, the sharp decline in the number of people employed in industrial occupations in Travis County during Time 2 ended up being positively associated with tract-level proportion White, though the minor recovery of

industrial work into Time 3, 2010 – 2017, was unexpectedly negatively associated with tract-level White population proportion.

In contrast to White population proportions, changes in the Black population proportions of Travis County census tracts over the course of the 37-year development trajectory studied here were significantly negatively predicted by changes in the proportion of census tract residents employed in each occupational group. Hypotheses regarding the relationship between proportion of Black residents in a census tract and proportion of tract residents employed in the professional and technical and service occupational groups for Time 4 are accepted. As hypothesized, change in the proportion of tract residents employed in professional and technical occupations from 1980 – 2017 was associated with a decrease in tract-level Black population proportions. The same relationship was found for proportion of tract residents employed in services as hypothesized, as well as for proportion of residents employed in industrial occupations, which was not hypothesized to have any significant relationship with change in tract-level proportion Black.

Tract-level Black population proportions were significantly negatively impacted by changes in occupational group employment proportions over the span of time measured by Time 1. Only one hypothesized relationship, that between tract-level Black population proportion and the proportion of residents employed in professional and technical occupations, can be accepted, with Black population proportions decreasing in relation to change in professional and technical employment. Proportion of tract-level residents employed in service occupations and proportion employed in industrial occupations were hypothesized to have no change and positive change, respectively, on proportion Black in a census tract for Time 1. Both hypotheses are rejected, as changes in the proportion of tract residents employed in service and industrial occupations over

the course of 1980 – 2000 were found to negatively impact tract-level Black population proportions. Hypotheses for Time 2, which predicted negative relationships between Black population proportions and changes in the proportions of residents employed in all three occupational groups, were not supported given the insignificance between these relationship in the model. Hypotheses concerning tract-level Black population proportions for Time 3 are similarly rejected due to lack of variable significance.

The only hypothesis accepted for Hispanics in Time 1 is for the relationship between proportion Hispanic in a census tract and proportion of tract residents employed in service occupations. Change in proportion Hispanic in a census tract was positively associated with change in proportion employed in service occupations. Hypotheses predicting a relationship between change in proportion Hispanic and change in the proportion of residents employed in professional and technical or industrial occupations from 1980 – 2000 are rejected due to lack of significance. The results of hypotheses for tract-level Hispanic population proportions in Time 2 were similarly mixed. Though the hypothesis between proportion Hispanic in a census tract and proportion of residents employed in professional and technical occupations is accepted, the hypotheses concerning the direction of the relationships between change in tract-level proportion Hispanic and changes in the proportions of residents employed in service and industrial occupations are rejected. All hypotheses for Time 3 – that there would be a positive relationship between change in proportion Hispanic and change in all occupational group employment proportion - are rejected. Though the relationships between tract-level proportion Hispanic and the proportions of residents employed in the three occupational groups were significant from 2010 - 2017, all were negatively, instead of positively, associated.

Changes in the proportion of tract residents employed in professional and technical and service occupations were negatively associated with tract-level Hispanic population proportions from 1980 – 2017. There was no relationship between change in proportion Hispanic and change in the proportion of tract residents employed in industrial occupations over that same period. As such, the Time 4 hypothesis for change in tract-level proportion Hispanic modeled by change in the proportion of residents employed in professional and technical occupations is supported, but the hypotheses for the relationships between tract-level proportion Hispanic and the proportion of residents employed in service and industrial occupations are not.

While the primary purpose of the spatial autoregressive models was to develop a better understanding of the relationship between tract-level racial-ethnic composition and labor market segmentation in Austin using change in the proportions of tract residents employed in broadly defined occupational groups as a proxy for class, the variables controlled for in each model also provide information as to the differential susceptibility of each racial-ethnic group to ongoing processes of socio-economic change and development.

That change in the tract-level proportion of Hispanic residents during Time 1 was associated with a decrease in White population proportions corroborates findings from Chapter 3, where White-Hispanic dissimilarity increased in several directional sub-areas and at the county level from 1980 – 2000. The same is true for the negative relationship between change in tract-level White population proportions and change in proportions Black during Times 1 and 4, and for the relationship between Whites and Hispanics in Time 4. The positive association between change in tract-level proportion White during Time 2 and changes in the Black and Hispanic tract-level population proportions, as well as change in the proportion of tract residents living in poverty, corresponds to residential patterns showing increased White population

proportions in the east and southeast directional sub-areas from 2000 – 2010. Still, despite increases in proportion White in those areas during that time period, racial-ethnic group clustering, gentrification, and uneven development patterns within certain sub-area census tracts contribute to decreased entropy scores and negative relationships between tract-level proportion White and total non-White occupied housing units during Times 2 and 3.

Changes in the racial-ethnic compositions of census tracts in Travis County over the course of Austin's recent history have been driven by predominantly class-based status attainments like occupation, employment, and education. The impact of the City of Austin's planning history on the disinvestment of people from space, and how these processes converge on the intersection of class and race-based residential disenfranchisements, is seen in the results of the interaction effects reported for Times 1, 2, and 4.[148] Increases in tract-level proportion White over the course of Time 1, 1980 – 2000, exacerbated the negative impact of changes in the proportions of residents employed in all three occupational groups on tract-level proportion Black to the point that as tract-level proportion White increased, the already negative effect of occupational group changes on proportion Black became even more severe. Tract-level changes in the proportion of White residents influenced employment in service occupations in such a way that tract-level proportion Hispanic residents increased.

For Time 2, increases in tract-level proportion Black were associated with an increase in the magnitude of the positive relationships between proportion White and the proportion of tract residents employed in professional and technical and industrial occupations. The same was true for increases in tract-level proportion Hispanic, with the addition of service occupations. From

[148] While the interactions reported here are correct under the White + any race and Black + any race coding scheme, it is important to note that some of the interaction terms, particularly those regarding the effect of change on share White on the relationship between the share of Black or Hispanic residents and PTOs or services, do not hold in the analysis using the White non-Hispanic and Black non-Hispanic scheme.

2000 – 2010, census tracts experiencing the most change in their proportion Black and Hispanic populations were also the tracts in which change in occupational group employment proportions led to greater increases in proportion White residents. While increase in tract-level proportion White residents was not found to significantly increase the magnitude of any occupational group coefficients predicting change in share Black, change in proportion White was associated with amplifying the negative impact of change in occupational group employment proportions on tract-level proportion Hispanic.

The cumulative impact of change in tract-level racial-ethnic group proportions in Travis County by change in occupational group employment proportions from 1980 – 2017 was most keenly felt by White and Black residents. Increases in tract-level proportion White were associated with intensifying the negative relationship between changes in proportion of residents employed in professional and technical and industrial occupations and proportion Black, so that negative relationships became more strongly negative. For tract-level proportion White, increases in the proportion of Black residents corresponded to a greater positive standard deviation change in the proportion of tract residents employed in services. The positive relationship between tract-level proportion White and the proportion of residents employed in industrial occupations decreased in strength as tract-level proportion Black increased, but increased in strength as tract-level proportion Hispanic increased.

Conclusion

My findings indicate that occupations, being inextricably entangled with race, class, division of labor, and social position, are mechanisms of population change. Like the redevelopment policies identified in chapter two and patterns of residential segregation unpacked

in chapter three, the positive and negative impacts of change in the employment proportions of occupational groups on change in racial-ethnic group proportions in Travis County provide support for the presence of persistent, structural inequalities within the City of Austin's development approach. The time periods and order in which the Black, Hispanic, and White racial-ethnic groups of Travis County have been negatively impacted by change in tract-level proportions of employment in professional and technical occupations reflects the hierarchy of racial-ethnic inclusion and exclusion embedded within the City of Austin's developmental trajectory. When considered in the historical and social contexts of their occurrence, the negative relationships between racial-ethnic and occupational groups discovered in this chapter reflect the base function, racial banishment, of the knowledge and creative social structure of accumulation that has guided the City of Austin's developmental trajectory for the past 37 years.

The significant negative relationship between the proportion of tract-level residents employed in professional and technical occupations and tract-level proportion Black in Time 1 took place within the context of the City's "greater good" development phase. 1980 – 2000, is characterized predominantly by its "greater good" policies and contained both the Austinplan and R/UDAT, two long-form planning strategies geared towards securing "quality," in-demand industry, highly-skilled workers, and the spatial area to fit it all. White-Black racial-ethnic dissimilarity in the south, southeast, east, and outskirt directional sub-areas declined over the course of that twenty-year span. One directional sub-area, the east, saw an 8% decrease in the size of its Black population, though proportion White also decreased. Relatedly, increases in tract-level proportions White were associated with intensifying the negative relationship between tract-level employment in professional and technical occupations (PTOs) and proportion Black. Dissimilarity between PTOs-Services and PTOs-Industrial decreased in the south, southeast, east

and outskirt directional sub-areas. The proportion of people employed in PTOs in Travis County increased, and the proportion of people employed in industrial occupations decreased.

The first negative relationship between the tract-level proportion of residents employed in PTOs and tract-level population proportion Hispanic occurred during Time 2. The early 2000s capture gentrification reports and their successor, the African American Quality of Life Study and Report. The latter half of the time period contained the early fallout of the 2008 recession. When interacted with the negative effect of change in the proportion of tract residents employed in PTOs on proportion Hispanic, census tracts that experienced an increase in their White population proportion saw a decrease in the size of the negative effect associated with PTOs employment, suggesting that Hispanics in census tracts with higher White population percentages experienced a more positive relationship with PTOs employment proportions than did Hispanics located in census tracts with lower proportions of White residents. However, by the end of the time period, rates of White-Hispanic dissimilarity had increased in several directional sub-areas as well as at the county-level. The increase in White-Hispanic segregation indicates that despite the benefits of the interaction effect, the average Hispanic resident located within the average Travis County census tract likely would not have been positively impacted by changes in the proportion of tract residents employed in PTOs. In the southeast direction area, where the Hispanic population proportion was particularly high, PTOs-Industrial dissimilarity decreased by 4%, a significant anomaly given that it increased everywhere else.

Tract-level White population proportions were not significantly negatively impacted by change in the proportion of residents employed in professional and technical occupations until Time 3. Time 3, covering change between 2010 – 2017, captures the first development plan, Imagine Austin, to advocate for economic equity via the expansion of the economic base.

Hispanic population proportions were significantly negatively impacted by changes in the proportion of residents in PTOs employment for a second consecutive time period over the course of Time 3, but Black population proportions were not significantly affected. There were no significant interaction effects between changes in the tract-level proportions of racial-ethnic groups and changes in the tract-level proportions of occupational employment groups. Increases and decreases in occupational group dissimilarity varied between directional sub-areas from 2010 – 2017, with fairly minimal changes occurring in dissimilarity between PTOs-Services, but larger degrees of change occurring between the PTOs-Industrial and Industrial-Services groups.

Social structures of accumulation are holistic development strategies designed to reflect and advance the interests of the government and elites in charge of administrating them. The second chapter provides evidence that City of Austin development officials received many data briefs informing them that the city's African American and Hispanic populations possessed lower than average levels of educational attainment and higher than average levels of unemployment that could structurally disadvantage them in terms of professional and technical occupational attainment compared to their White peers. However, knowledge and creative development social structures of accumulation are not designed to absorb structural inequities or inefficiencies. Their function is to promote the accumulation of resources associated with economic gain. Under these systems, cities use excluded categories and the poverty of personhood that they induce as a means to derive a division of labor, determine prioritization of needs, and allocate resources. Unfortunately, what this dissertation has shown is that once someone has been made subject to the poverty of personhood, ascribed to them through their spatial, socioeconomic, or racial-ethnic group location, they are no longer entitled to the benefits of development initiatives designed for "the greater good."

The association between the poverty of personhood and exclusion from the benefits of the greater good can been seen in the relationship between socioeconomic conditions associated with vulnerability to redevelopment, including unemployment, proportion living in poverty, and total Black-occupied and Hispanic-occupied housing units and the direction and significance of their impact on changes in tract-level Black and Hispanic population proportions. That those same conditions often had similarly significant but directionally opposite impacts on tract-level population proportion White is indicative of the differential treatment afforded to racial-ethnic groups attempting to operate within the same contested, socially structured and accumulated space. The intense focus on white-ethnic central Texan heritage, reliance on greater good narratives and ambiguous planning language, failure to redevelop or place lots in land trusts, ineffective workforce development policies, and claims of unequal treatment by east Austin communities identified in my review of the city's planning history support the assertion that the population replacements induced by change in tract-level employment proportions in professional and technical occupations during Times 1 and 2 were desired developmental outcomes under the City of Austin's knowledge and creative SSA.

Chapter 5

A Salamander Gets More Respect: Decentralizing Power in Austin's Knowledge and Creative Development SSA

Introduction

Knowledge and creative development practices are associated with urban redevelopment (Peck 2005; Krätke 2011; Mah 2017). Occupational groups are proxies of urban economic success and have been given a prominent role in determining the direction of contemporary urban development and redevelopment policy. The creative class thesis, which famously advocates for physical and structural development catering to the needs of knowledge and creative occupational group workers (Florida 2002), is a prominent and popular example of how the identities of people within occupational groups have been used as tools to shape the functions and purposes of contemporary urban space. However, the relationship between industrial privilege and the role of employment within occupational groups in determining social position, mobility, and other outcomes associated with urban life in knowledge and creative developing cities is not limited to class. The labor market segmentation resulting from purposeful industrial accumulations contributes to the formation of racial-ethnic hierarchies in hiring practices for high and low-wage labor (Bonacich 1972). Occupations associated with knowledge and creative development have been found to engage in social closure (Parkin 1974; Florida 2002; McVeigh and Sobolewski 2007; Byron 2010). These racial-ethnic disadvantages within the institution of work and consequently entry into occupational group employment translate to matters of physical space during the knowledge and creative development process.

Neighborhoods most likely to be considered eligible for redevelopment are often those that have been disinvested and predominantly occupied by racial-ethnic and class minorities

(Mah 2017). The subsequent in-mover (Freeman 2005; Hwang and Lin 2016; Iceland et al. 2013) and displaced resident characteristics of redeveloped and gentrifying neighborhoods (Freeman 2005; Owens 2012) as well as spatial mismatch between proximity to viable work opportunity and residential location (Wilson 1987) are related to employment within occupational groups. The redevelopment and marketing of urban areas to privilege the consumption patterns of people employed within the dominant knowledge and creative occupational group represents an encroachment on the space of marginalized or non-economically dominant groups, which often results in the displacement of non-White residents (Peck 2005).

The purpose of my dissertation has been to examine the thesis that knowledge and creative city development trajectories function to restructure economically undesirable and consequently vulnerable populations out of the economic, social, and cultural structures that organize urban life. Where previous research has identified several economic and social polarizations associated with the physical, social, and cultural transformations of knowledge and creative city development strategy, my study has focused on understanding the role of local government and other elites in creating and executing development policies designed to strengthen the knowledge and creative social structures of accumulation. The findings of the previous three chapters suggest that SSAs premised on the belief that knowledge and creative industry is pertinent to maintaining competitive positioning within the world city system engender scenarios in which local government and other elite stakeholders use policy as a mechanism to develop cities capable of hosting and maintaining that industry.

Applying an SSA framework to their urban development policy influenced the City of Austin's government and planning officials to create and execute planning strategies designed to prioritize the needs of knowledge and creative industry. However, a major flaw of SSAs is that

they are not capable of accounting for or mitigating racial-ethnic and class-based inequities associated with systematic deficiencies in the provision of services or access to opportunity. In developing a theory of the state for the knowledge and creative development context, my dissertation addresses a gap in creative cities literature by contextualizing social and economic segregation and polarization within the decision making context of its occurrence. My findings affirm the conclusions of previous work on Austin – that the city is segregated by race-ethnicity and class – and contribute to the fields of sociology and black geography by identifying actions taken by the state in the construction and maintenance of a knowledge and creative SSAs.

Summary of Main Findings

Content analysis and a close reading of historical planning documents and other city government and citizen group communications indicate that the City of Austin has claimed to act in the interest of the greater good in the execution of its knowledge and creative development policies. However, the consistent application of blight removal principles to city development policies since 1928 has severely limited the number of groups falling under the umbrella of the "greater good" planning approach. The social structure of accumulation which guides the city's knowledge and creative development trajectory has prioritized the needs of groups located within close structural proximity to economic power over the needs of groups that have been marginalized as a result of their structural locations. As stewards of the city's SSA and developmental trajectory, City of Austin officials are key agents in steering the direction of development, exercising power at key junctures, and determining to whom the positive benefits associated with development will apply.

Black and Hispanic residents living in areas located east of IH-35 were Austin's excluded group at the onset of the city's knowledge and creative SSA in the 1980s. At the time, their exclusion from the benefits of knowledge and creative development was determined largely by their vulnerability to structural inequalities in educational and occupational attainment attributable as the consequences of development policies executed many years prior. The dialectical conflict constructed for the second chapter indicates that the exclusion of Black and Hispanic residents from the benefits of knowledge and creative development was a practice maintained over the course of the knowledge and creative SSA's progress from 1980 – 2017, with the list of determinants used to validate Black and Hispanic exclusion expanding over time.

Physical spaces and communities located along the commercial corridors running east of IH-35 had been subject to disinvestment since the ratification of the 1928 City Plan. But it wasn't until city government began directing concentrated efforts at East Austin's renewal in the 1990s that physical location and spatial proximity to areas of economic potential became an additional determinant of inclusion within the city's excluded category. First referenced in the Austinplan but utilized heavily in the R/UDAT planning era, "greater good" development frameworks and vague language around ensuring neighborhood protection from change advanced the use of urban renewal as a tool for blight removal by providing frameworks from which to determine to whom definitions of blight would apply. In Austin, the concentration of Black and Hispanic communities in spaces targeted for redevelopment contributed towards the racialization of urban renewal via the close association of those communities with ascribed statuses of blight, which formalized their excluded status in regards to the creation and execution of the city's development policy.

A critical contribution of my mixed-methods approach to studying the role of the City of Austin in administering and guiding the outcomes of the knowledge and creative SSA has been contextualizing racial-ethnic and class-based population changes within the development context in which they occurred. Phases of economic development in Austin's history are closely linked to the spatial and statistical findings of the quantitative chapters. Trends in racial-ethnic group desegregation in Travis County as a whole and within its nine directional sub-areas are predominantly non-linear. The segregation of racial-ethnic groups was highest at the start of the knowledge and creative SSA in 1980, reached its lowest recorded point in 2000 before the physical redevelopment components of knowledge and creative development actually broke ground, increased from 2000 – 2010 during the recession and amidst warnings of swift gentrification, and decreased again from 2010 – 2017. White-Hispanic dissimilarity and the isolation of the average Hispanic resident from the average White resident increased in Austin over time. Decreases in White-Black dissimilarity occurred only in directional sub-areas located east of IH-35. Trends in residential segregation by employment within occupational groups were more straightforward. Occupational group entropy decreased at the county level and in several western oriented directional sub-areas over the course of the knowledge and creative SSA. Occupational segregation increased over time in all directional sub-areas except for in the southeast and east, where it decreased.

Spatial patterns and the temporal context of change in racial-ethnic and occupational group segregation in Austin over time are indicative of the City of Austin's practice of privileging the needs of the City – the "greater good" – over the needs of residents living in Austin's disinvested areas. The concentration of desegregation in directional sub-areas located east of IH-35, contextualized in the history of Black and Hispanic community groups'

complaints and warnings of gentrification, displacement, unsustainable tax burdens, and disenfranchisement from participation in the development process, supports the assertion that the City of Austin's knowledge and creative development policies were designed to make space in excluded group neighborhoods for included, predominantly White group members. Further, patterns of change in segregation by employment in occupational groups indicate that the new residents of the east Austin directional sub-areas over time were employed in industries economically aligned with the priorities of the knowledge and creative SSA, a direct allusion to the development of space for the benefit of the economically privileged (Catungal et al. 2009).

The negative impact of Austin's knowledge and creative SSA trajectory on racial-ethnic population shares in Travis County was temporally staggered between groups. Changes in the population shares of Black residents in Travis County census tracts were negatively associated with changes in the population shares of residents employed in professional and technical occupations over the course of 1980 – 2000. Increases in tract-level proportion White during that time exacerbated the negative impact associated with change in occupational group employment shares, which indicates that the desegregation found to have occurred over the course of 1980 – 2000 may have contributed to the Black population loss noted by East Austin community groups in historical materials. Hispanic population shares were negatively impacted by change in professional and technical group share employment over the course of 2000 – 2010, with change in population share White again exacerbating the negative effect. White population shares were not negatively impacted by change in the proportion of residents employed in professional and technical occupations until 2010 – 2017. Only Black and Hispanic population shares were negatively impacted by change in the proportion of residents employed in professional and

technical occupations over the entire 37-year course of the knowledge and creative development SSA's trajectory.

By linking history to statistical outcomes, my dissertation shows that the City of Austin has played a critical role in the creation and administration of a knowledge and creative development social structure of accumulation that is associated with a decline of Black and Hispanic population group shares in Travis County census tracts over time. The treatment of Black and Hispanic residents within the context of the SSA was naturalized by their spatial proximity to downtown – a location that had been predetermined for them by City of Austin policy in 1928. The reevaluation of East Austin commercial corridors as places of viable economic opportunity in the early 1990s initiated an era of development policy dedicated to their redevelopment, the impacts of which have been outlined above. When considered in the historical context of their occurrence, the racial-ethnic and occupational group employment outcomes associated with change over the course of key periodizations of Austin's knowledge and creative development trajectory indicate that the primary beneficiaries of "greater good" development practices have been the City of Austin and the predominantly White residents capable of capitalizing on their dominant social and structural locations within the SSA.

Theoretical Implications and Contributions

Austin's developmental trajectory and unique demographic trend of Black population loss amidst periods of intense growth has made the city a case in point for demonstrating deficiencies in how and why extant literature on knowledge and creatively developing cities does not fully anticipate or explain the various social and cultural displacements that occur upon the implementation of knowledge and creative development policy. Urban sociological theory on the

consequences of knowledge and creative development focuses largely on the impact of economic restructuring on neighborhood redevelopment initiatives and outcomes. Critical geography has taken a different approach, looking more closely at the connection between economies of race and the execution and polarizing consequences of policies designed to privilege some economic sectors over others. The interdisciplinary approach of my dissertation has enabled the development of an expanded theoretical framework, one which contributes to theory on the role of the state in administering knowledge and creative development policies.

The examination of Austin's economic and cultural development history through the lens of a social structure of accumulation framework has shown how, over the course of Austin's developmental history, local government and other elite stakeholders in the city's development have shaped and administered the content of the development trajectory to privilege their needs. The dialectical conflict approach utilized in the second chapter provides evidence of the types of racialized and economically motivated power imbalances that become couched within knowledge and creative development SSAs and contribute to racial-ethnic and class-based disparities in outcomes related to knowledge and creative development policy. My findings suggest that racial-ethnic displacements and class-based polarizations occurring in the context of knowledge and creative city development take place within a broader context of power asymmetry, the continuation of which is insured by the contents of SSAs produced and maintained by powerful agents.

From this dissertation I offer my contribution to theory on the role of the state in provoking the inequalities of knowledge and creative city development. I argue that city government, motivated by the desire to stay competitive in world city systems, plays an agentic role in setting the trajectory of development through their decision-making processes and

approaches to policy. In Austin, the role of the state in contributing to social problems associated with knowledge and creative development has been shaped by a series of actions through which the beneficiaries and excluded groups of development policy become structurally determined.

The first act of the state in contributing towards the social polarizations of knowledge and creative development is the initiation of a developmental SSA. Social structures of accumulation are designed to advance human and industrial resources perceived of as being the most likely to contribute towards the success of the SSA within its given economic climate. An SSA's success protects the power of its creator in turn. Once established, the SSA functions in the interests of the state and other elites who exercise their power via policy as a means to maintain it. As demonstrated in the case of Austin, Texas, policies designed to privilege knowledge and creative industry within an SSA intersect with extant racial-ethnic and class-based segmentations in two urban structures critical towards the realization of economic and social opportunity, work and space. As such, initiating an SSA to support a knowledge and creative developmental trajectory introduces hierarchies of class and race into the frameworks guiding urban developmental policy. The second and third acts of the state perpetuate these hierarchies and can be ordered interchangeably.

The acts of designating excluded groups and establishing coded narratives to justify their exclusion for the purpose of economic development helps to induce poverties of personhood that, like the polarizations of knowledge and creative cities, fall predominantly along the lines of racial-ethnic and class-based hierarchies and codify, as McKittrick asserts, "the seemingly natural links between blackness, underdevelopment, poverty, and place" (2011: 951). Local government and other elite stakeholders in city development practices are advantaged by their ability to arrange the exclusion of groups from the benefits of policies contained within their

SSA, as doing so helps to ensure adequate space for the carrying out of physical redevelopment and other urban renewal projects associated with knowledge and creative development strategies. The creation of instrumental and tonal narratives around the purpose of exclusionary development policy allow local government to facilitate and justify their actions within the context of the SSA. In Austin, narratives around the "greater goods" of development have been deployed as a means of framing the knowledge and creative redevelopment and renewal initiatives taking place in East Austin as positive projects, despite consistent protests from the Black and Hispanic residents living there that the policies failed to address the root cause of the area's social problems.

The final act of the state in advancing a knowledge and creative development SSA is the failure to meaningfully intervene in negative consequences associated with urban renewal and redevelopment policy. The findings of the second chapter indicate that excluded group membership in Austin has been determined primarily by location at the intersection of social and physical structures like work and space. The contents of the knowledge and creative SSA and their relationship with work and space has made it so that Austin's excluded group is predominantly composed of Black and Hispanic residents who have not been structurally enabled by policy to meaningfully participate in occupations associated with knowledge and creative industry. The statistical analysis of the third and fourth chapters demonstrate that there have been significant associations between the accumulation of professional and technical employment advanced by the knowledge and creative mission of the SSA and spatialized patterns of White, Black, and Hispanic residential mobility and displacement during key periods in Austin's developmental history.

The state's role in the administration of knowledge and creative development SSAs contributes towards the social polarizations synonymous with knowledge and creative city development. When considered over the course of the developmental trajectory over which they occur, the acts described above – initiating an SSA built on racial-ethnic and class-based hierarchies, reinforcing those hierarchies via the designation of excluded categories, pushing narratives designed to justify negative outcomes, and failing to meaningful intervene – all contribute towards what critical geographers call racial banishment, an "annihilation of black geographies" (McKittrick 2011: 951). Where scholarship on black geographies and my theory on the role of the state in knowledge and creative development converge is in the assertion that Black, and in Austin's case Hispanic, urbanites are framed within knowledge and creative development contexts as being underdeveloped and often expendable social and economic resources available to advance the economy via their exclusion, restructuring, and ultimately replacement.

While my findings regarding racial-ethnic and occupational segregation in Austin are largely confirmatory, interpreting them through the lens of an agentic state and racial banishment yields the theoretical conclusion that ultimately, the role of the state in inducing racial banishment within the context of knowledge and creative development SSAs encourages a form of contemporary urban manifest destiny (Dean 2007). Unlike gentrification, which describes processes of neighborhood reinvestment and population change, contemporary urban manifest destiny involves the direct utilization of the state's power to execute redevelopment and renewal policies directly associated with racial banishment. As such, contemporary urban manifest destiny captures the role of the state in advancing the desires of new gentrifiers, "creative entrepreneurs and firms" (Catungal et al. 2009: 1099), in the redevelopment of space, while

simultaneously acknowledging the predominate demographic and socioeconomic profile – White, highly educated, middle-to-upper middle class – of the area's new residents (Owen 2012; Hwang and Lin 2016).

Racial-ethnic displacement is the equivalent of banishment when its happening is predicated on state-sponsored acts such as exclusionary development policy, the creation of false narratives around developmental benefits for Black and Hispanic communities, and the failure of local government to meaningfully intervene in negative impacts. My contribution to theory on the role of the state in influencing polarizations related to knowledge and creative development policy asserts that population replacement becomes manifest destiny via its association with spatial and cultural entitlements. Spatially, *Kelo v. City of New London* allows cities in the United States to exercise eminent domain for the purpose of economic development related to the broader community's "greater good" – a concept that my research indicates is misapplied, inequitably framed, and made exclusionary by design. Culturally, projects related to heritage tourism redefine critical elements of local history and identity as a means of asserting ownership and entitlement over contested and redeveloped space. In Austin, efforts at the economic redevelopment of East Austin's commercial corridors were partnered with cultural and heritage development practices that, in order of their appearance: privileged the preservation of the history and homes of White German and Swedish settlers in order to develop a broader, more "central-Texas" appeal to tourists despite the century-long occupation of the area by Black and Hispanic residents, advanced the preservation of historic properties amidst community protests that linked historic preservation designations to increased property taxes, and in more recent years, have marketed what remains of Black and Hispanic cultural institutions in East Austin as

products conveniently located close to downtown for touristic consumption, rather than as cultural products indigenous to East Austin and its Black and Hispanic communities.

Policy Implications and Recommendations

My theory on the role of the state and its contributions to the social and economic polarizations of knowledge and creative development implies that the designation of groups to exclude from the benefits of greater good policy simultaneously functions as a means of designating groups to exclude from the harms of such policy. In Austin, the time period during which there was a negative relationship between White population group share and proportion employed in professional and technical occupations was immediately followed by a new, stop-gap planning strategy promising to "advance equitable outcomes across Austin."[149] Researched over the course of 2017 and adopted in 2018, Austin Strategic Direction 2023 (ASD 2023) represents an effort on the part of the City of Austin to establish citywide planning priorities, exercise a more effective governance, and improve feedback and learning loops over the course of a three to five year period. In terms of overall planning approach, ASD 2023 deviates from previous City of Austin planning policies through its written commitment to operating under a new outcome-oriented, adaptive, and responsive planning system dedicated to finding out what does and does not work. The mission statement specific to equity promotes "leading with a lens of racial equity and healing" and concludes with "ensuring all Austin community members share in the benefits of community progress."[150]

149 Source: "Austin Strategic Direction 2023." https://austinstrategicplan.bloomfire.com/posts/3301043-austin-strategic-direction-2023-final Accessed online 5/17/2020.
150 Source: "Austin Strategic Direction 2023." https://austinstrategicplan.bloomfire.com/posts/3301043-austin-strategic-direction-2023-final Accessed online 5/17/2020.

Austin Strategic Direction 2023's mission statement on equity is promising in that it introduces the possibility of inclusivity – "all" – into the City of Austin's development lexicon. A solid eleven out of twelve economic opportunity and affordability strategies are similarly promising, stating clear commitments to equity, improved access to middle-skill jobs in communities experiencing high unemployment, research, and constant efforts at program redevelopment. Only one strategy appears to miss the mark; it calls for the implementation of workforce development designed to meet the needs of employers, a programming approach that has had a minimum impact on unemployment in the past due to its limited reach and lack of engagement from major area employers.

The success of ASD 2023 programming is partially dependent on the ability of the City of Austin to retrofit its approach and efficiency in governance. However, my results indicate that the City should be striving to fundamentally redefine its role in the creation of development policy as well. It is not enough for the City of Austin to strive for efficiency in its actions or its learning process if the end-goal of their approach is to maintain the same exclusionary trajectory of the current knowledge and creative development SSA. The policy recommendations provided in this section seek to establish a new role for local government, one that positions it as a countervailing force against inequality rather than as a powerful actor contributing to it.

In keeping with the City of Austin's commitment to feedback and learning loops via Austin Strategic Direction 2023, the following policies are recommended in the spirit of understanding that the relationship between the City and it residents must be fundamentally changed. My dissertation has argued that human actions, not just the market, have been influential in Austin's development outcomes. The City must work to transform itself into an arm of what I call a community social structure of accumulation and engagement (CSSAE), a

people's SSA which privileges the development concerns and ideas of vulnerable communities over market forces or other elite voices in order to create more just, inclusive policies. SSAs are institutional arrangements between capital, labor, and the state (Lobao et al. 1999). A CSSAE invites more voices to the table, necessitating a new balance of power that incorporates the community, labor as an active voice, and the state, all for the purpose of exerting their collective influences on processes of capital accumulation. While speculative, the policies introduced in this chapter are designed to interrupt current power imbalances in policy making by advocating for transparency in policy development and program execution, the passing of ordinance opposing the use of eminent domain for economic development, the assistance of local government in facilitating community benefits agreements, and active labor market programming that meets the workforce where it is, rather than focusing on where the City desires it to be.

Word choice matters in policy. It addition to contributing to the construction of narrative frameworks, word choice can "provoke affect, signal social inclusion or exclusion, evoke linguistic associations, and generate bias arising from differences in cognitive processing" (Farrow et al. 2018: 560). Ambiguous word choices and failures to define their meanings within the development context have introduced subjectivity and ambiguity into evaluative processes and lent political legitimacy to bias within Austin's developmental context. Past failures to define key terms embedded within Austin's developmental policies, including "greater good," "beautiful," "livable," and "wholesome" have been linked to unequal allocations of development burden by geographic location and race-ethnicity in Travis County over the past 37 years. The impacts of the City of Austin's word choices on its implementation of policy are evidenced by the racial-ethnic and occupational group segregations that define the city's present. As such, the

first policy implication of my dissertation is the necessity of defining the functions and meanings of critical words deployed for use in knowledge and creative development planning contexts. "Beautiful," "wholesome," and "livable" are evaluative terms. "Greater good" has been used to establish exclusivity. Partnering with affected communities to define these words and others like them for use in development contexts reprioritizes community voice in policy programming and incorporates community into evaluative processes, which may help mitigate the implementation bias associated with previously executed and burdensome policy.

The second policy implication of my research is the necessity of enacting city ordinance stating the City of Austin's formal opposition to the use of eminent domain for purposes of economic development. Texas state law permits taking eminent domain for public use projects including transportation infrastructure, provision of utilities, commercial structures, and government buildings. However, Chapter 2206 of the Texas Government Code prohibits the taking of eminent domain in instances where the primary purpose is economic development or to enhance local tax revenue.[151] Chapter 2206 was first signed into Texas law in response to *Kelo v. City of New London* in 2005. Despite many amendments, a key loophole relevant to the City of Austin's development practices and approach to urban renewal remains active within Chapter 2206's present iteration. Subchapter A section 2206.001 under "limitation on eminent domain for private parties or economic development purposes" states only that governmental and private entities cannot take eminent domain if it:

> (3) is for economic development purposes, *unless the economic development is a secondary purpose* resulting from municipal community development or municipal urban renewal activities to eliminate an existing affirmative harm on society from slum or blighted areas…[152] [emphasis my own]

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151 Source: Chapter 2206. Eminent Domain. Texas Government Code. Accessed online 6/7/2020: https://statutes.capitol.texas.gov/Docs/GV/htm/GV.2206.htm

152 Source: Chapter 2206. Eminent Domain. Texas Government Code. Accessed online 6/7/2020: https://statutes.capitol.texas.gov/Docs/GV/htm/GV.2206.htm

The language of Chapter 2206 is observed to suffer from the same lack of definition driving the first policy implication of this research. Where economic development is prohibited by law from being a primary purpose of taking eminent domain, failure to define a key term, harm, and the use of blight removal as a means of determining the necessity of urban renewal programs fails to eliminate potential opportunities for unequal applications of eminent domain as a tool of renewal and economic growth. An ordinance stating opposition to and limiting the use of economic development as a secondary function of eminent domain reframes the role of the state as an arm of the CSSAE by promoting the needs of the community and acting to discontinue inequitable development policy. If applied in tandem with the first recommendation of defining key terms within their development context, an ordinance could also require any municipal urban renewal policy seeking eminent domain to first adopt community-driven definitions of harm, slum, and blight before being capable of attempting to promise secondary economic benefits.

The third policy implication of this research involves the integration of people at risk of displacement back into the city's economy. My research supports the assertion that the citizens most at risk of being displaced in Austin are Black, Hispanic, or low-wage and/or low-skill workers. In keeping with ASD 2023's mission of "leading with a lens of racial equity and healing," the integration of Community Benefits Agreements (CBAs) into development projects may serve to promote healing through the creation of agreements specifically designed to benefit the at-risk residents of neighborhoods in which large-scale development projects are taking place. CBAs funnel benefits directly towards the communities in which new development projects are physically breaking ground, and carry the additional advantage of reorienting local

power structures to directly involve local community organizations into development negotiations (Saito and Truong 2015).

Described as a "win-win approach," CBAs use "meaningful, up-front communication between the developer and a broad community coalition [to decrease] developers' risk while maximizing the positive impact of development on local residents and economies."[153] CBA benefits especially relevant to the protection of disenfranchised persons within Austin communities include living wage guarantees, job creation programs, local hiring initiatives, and affordable housing. CBAs have been successfully deployed in the L.A. Live sports and entertainment district in Los Angeles, with outcomes including goal fulfilment on affordable housing and hiring for all stakeholders (Saito and Truong 2015). CBAs can be site-specific or intended for broader local impact, but require participation from strong community coalitions and labor organizers to optimize their success. In their reimagined role as an arm of the CSSAE and in alignment with their decades long commitment to workforce development, the City of Austin could require that major project developers meet with community coalitions to arrange CBAs prior to their receipt of permits or, when eligible, tax increment financing, funding, or other developmental incentives.

The fourth policy implication of this study is that the City of Austin must reimagine both the role of active labor market policies (ALMPs) in the Austin area and their approach to administrating them. ALMPs represent a range of workforce development policies designed to combat structural unemployment (Nie and Struby 2011). Policies falling under the umbrella of an ALMP include incentivizing the search for employment, improving job readiness and

153 Source: Community Benefits 101: What is a CBA? From: Partnership for Working Families. Accessed online 5/25/2020. https://www.forworkingfamilies.org/page/community-benefits-101

providing assistance in finding employment, and expanding employment opportunities.[154] For the past 37 years, the City of Austin's preferred approach to workforce development has focused primarily on the application of training schemes, a category of ALMP that seeks to increase employability by improving vocational skills. Previous research on maximizing the benefits of an ALMP suggests that training schemes like the ones favored by the City of Austin are relatively ineffective in the short-term and require consistent, long-term support to yield significant results (Card et al. 2010). Still, despite their inability to deliver significant reductions in unemployment in the short term, job-training and job-search assistance programs tend to be the most effective ALMPs for reducing rates of structural unemployment in the United States (Nie and Struby 2011).

The communities least integrated into Austin's present structure of employment opportunity are the ones most likely to be displaced by it. In their reimagined role as an arm of the CSSAE, the City of Austin should work to restructure their existing ALMPs to meet the needs of the area's Black and Hispanic communities with the highest unemployment rates, rather than striving to meet the needs of future employers. To maximize their own ALMP and training scheme efforts, and to foster the industry partnerships planned in Austin Strategic Directions 2023, I recommend that the City expand their training programs to include full-to-partial skill-matching within the professional and technical industry with options for job-training assistance or skill-advance pending duration of successful placement. When combined with job-training, a skill-matching program with optional training assistance or advancement after a short period of successful placement reimagines the capabilities of Austin's labor force and employment opportunity structures. Past iterations of job training programs developed by the City of Austin

154 Source: "Active Labour Market Policies: Connecting People with Jobs." OECD: Better Policies for Better Lives. Accessed online 5/25/2020. https://www.oecd.org/employment/activation.htm

have been stymied by lack of participation from major area employers, resulting in fairly low rates of success for moving families and individuals out of poverty via job training. Though the recommended program may require creative advocacy on the part of the CSSAE to rally against skill-bias and have industry participation beyond precarious service work, the primary function of the programs, to integrate structurally disadvantaged people into the local economy, could potentially connect disenfranchised or previously excluded members of Austin's community to work in a more personal way. By acting in the spirit of harm reduction and "meeting people where they are," skill-matching programs affirm the value of Austin's structurally disadvantaged citizens – contrary to most of the City's history - and help to empower them economically by putting their employment trajectory back into their own, as opposed to elite, hands.

The past actions of the City of Austin in economic development are directly associated with exclusionary treatment, the unequal allocation of development burden, and Black and Hispanic population loss. While the policy implications given in this section contain outcomes that are largely speculative, they fall within the parameters of the City of Austin's newest generation of planning policy, ASD 2023. However, my findings, which indicate differential exposure to negative policy impacts dependent on geographic location, suggest that ASD 2023's commitment to establishing "citywide planning priorities" is an overly broad approach to planning in a city that is highly segregated by race-ethnicity and class, and therefore by planning needs and priorities. Citywide planning strategies that remain embedded in the knowledge and creative development SSA may compound the prioritization of planning around the perceived needs of predominantly White, westerly oriented communities, or of knowledge and creative industry by way of failing to step outside of the system which contributed to the inequalities that

the ASD 2023 generation of planning will attempt to address. The policy implications that I have identified call for a more foundational change.

In addition to the implementation of a racial-ethnic lens, my policies redefine the role of the City of Austin in development practices by calling for the creation of a community social structure of accumulation and engagement capable of integrating the needs of Austin's most vulnerable citizens into the city's preferred process for capital accumulation. A CSSAE that works in collaboration with community coalitions from each of the city's directional sub-areas would create space for neighborhoods to advocate for themselves for policies specific to their own, self-identified needs. My policy implications help to ensure that Austin's economy and communities have the opportunity to grow and succeed together by calling for transparency in policy, a commitment to following the spirit of Texas state law, collaborative approaches to ensuring community benefits, and instilling practices of harm reduction in employment strategy.

Conclusion

The purpose of this dissertation was to examine the relationship between a long-term trajectory of knowledge and creative development policy and segregation by racial-ethnic and occupational group employment in Austin, Texas. My mixed-methods approach of historical content analysis, calculation of segregation indices by disaggregated directional sub-areas, and application of spatial autoregressive models found that the City of Austin's role in creating and maintaining a knowledge and creative development social structure of accumulation contributed to exclusions and inequalities associated with the development policies embedded within it, namely: the unequal allocation of developmental burden by race-ethnicity and geographic location, increased rates of segregation between the White-Hispanic racial-ethnic groups and

between the White-Black groups in many directional sub-areas of Travis County, increased rates of segregation between occupational groups, and Black and Hispanic population loss associated with change in the proportion of residents employed in the professional and technical occupational group and exacerbated by White population increases in census tracts at various time periods.

The primary theoretical implication of this research is that local governments that act in the interests of knowledge and creative development SSAs contribute to the inequalities associated with those trajectories through their actions during the development process. The designation of excluded groups via ambiguous or coded policy, the poverty of personhood that such exclusionary designations incur, and the failures of local government to make meaningful interventions in negative outcomes associated with development – unsustainable taxes, displacement, lack of lending support for small businesses in the affected areas – are all roles that city government can occupy in the process of securing a knowledge and creative development trajectory.

In Austin, exposure to the negative impact of the local government's roles in economic development has been concentrated in the commercial corridors and historically Black and Hispanic neighborhoods located east of IH-35. Characterized for decades by the absence of opportunity structures, poor integration into greater Austin, and subsequently lower than average rates of educational attainment and higher than average rates of unemployment and poverty, directional sub-areas located east of IH-35 first caught the City's eye when it was determined that their continued disinvestment was limiting the prosperity of the downtown core. Unfortunately, the city's blanket blight removal approach to redevelopment and urban renewal failed to account for the poverty of personhood that had been forced upon east Austin

communities after years of structural neglect. As the findings of the second chapter iterate, projects designed to economically enhance east Austin's commercial corridors simultaneously created hardship for the residents living around them. Community-based efforts at dialogue about the direction of development, residential displacements, and their exclusion from the benefits promised by the city's knowledge and economic development strategies were stunted by a lack of initiative on the part of the City to intervene in the process that they had designed to benefit "the greater good."

My dissertation aligns with black geographies literature in concluding that the role and actions of the state in creating and maintaining a knowledge and creative development SSA induce racial banishment. In Austin, the geographic and economic association of Black and Hispanic communities with things that are blighted – physical space in disrepair as a consequence of disinvestment or discriminatory lending practices, industrial occupations whose production processes are antithetical to environmental aesthetics – engendered a situation in which, however intentioned, Black and Hispanic communities were going to be removed from their space at the onset of urban renewal, a developmental tool which functions to remove blight. With limited access to occupational opportunities due partially to the simultaneous conditions of the steady accumulation of highly-skilled occupations, extremely competitive labor market for low-wage and low-skill service occupations, and decreasing availability of employment in industrial occupations, Black and Hispanic residents' access to the type of economic capital the City of Austin was actively striving to accumulate was severely hampered over the course of 1980 – 2000, when the most effective interventions against racial banishment could have reasonably occurred.

In an earlier chapter I asserted that the poverty of personhood induced upon the predominately Black and Hispanic communities of directional sub-areas located east of IH-35 superseded their inclusion as beneficiaries in the economic, social, and cultural goods projected to come from knowledge and creative development. The narratives and language deployed by the City of Austin in their planning documents to justify decades of exclusionary development policy support my assertion. The pattern of results for both my archival and statistical analyses indicate that excluded group status under the poverty of personhood became quickly equated to a forfeiture of the right to space within the context of Austin's knowledge and creative development SSA. The cultural and social entitlements accompanying said "forfeiture" go beyond displacement, gentrification, or racial banishment. They are indicative of a contemporary urban manifest destiny which starts with the identification of disinvested communities and ends in the wholesale transformation of those communities to suit the needs of "new gentrifiers" – people and businesses whose sociodemographic and industrial characteristics align with the profiles desired for accumulation under the SSA.

Urban communities are social products. While Austin is only one example of a knowledge and creatively developing city in the United States, the processes and structures involved in its developmental trajectory can be found in cities the world over. However, in regards to generalizability, I speculate that what has happened in Austin is more likely to happen in cities whose power structures are similarly concentrated around the local government. The centralization of power around Austin's local government engendered a single-minded focus around the purpose of the knowledge and creative development SSA deployed to encourage growth in the contemporary economy. The consequences are that the SSA overwhelming functions to serve the interests of local government and other elite stakeholders in the city's

development. Cities with a more egalitarian power structure are likely better equipped to combat marginalization associated with knowledge and creative development, largely because community coalitions and labor unions specifically dedicated to protecting the interests of vulnerable groups are more likely to have been directly involved in creating developmental strategies and content.

In addition to concentrations of structural power, it is important to recognize that the longevity of the City of Austin's pursuit of knowledge and creative industry is relatively unique. The composition of the city's early economic base and concentration in government and educational services, as well as its stunted ability to participate in heavy industry compared to other cities in Texas, allowed Austin to easily absorb the industrial transitions of the contemporary economy. As such, consideration for early industrial histories is also an important part of deriving conclusions on the generalizability of these findings to other cases, as these histories and their relationship to the presence or absence of labor unions are directly related to the centralized or decentralized arrangements of power discussed above. Just as urban scholars Wirth (1938) and Lloyd (2012) have advocated for regionally motivated theories on American urbanization partially on the basis of key differences in industrial composition, so too do I similarly assert that the findings of this study are likely more generalizable to cities in areas with high concentrations of professional and technical employment and lower percentages of labor union participation.

My case study on the relationship between knowledge and creative development accumulation and segregation by racial-ethnic and occupational group employment in Austin, Texas indicates that precarity in urban areas is racialized. The systemic structural and social exclusions embedded in knowledge and creative development – from the spaces where

redevelopment breaks ground, to the racial-ethnic and skill-bias of the occupations these strategies accumulate, and the amenities cities will offer developmental incentives to secure – speak to the intersectionality of the racial-ethnic and class-based processes cities will initiate in order to remain competitive in the contemporary economy. While not fully generalizable, my results offer new avenues of inter-city comparison to sociologists interested in examining the role of local-level decision making on processes of marginalization and displacement.

The first path of future research to consider is a comparative study of racial-ethnic and occupational group outcomes between knowledge and creatively developing cities with similarly concentrated power structures as Austin, in order to determine: 1) if the relationships identified in Austin hold elsewhere and; 2) if so, are there commonalities in the role local government played in contributing to those outcomes? In cities experiencing population displacement associated with knowledge and creative development, does the temporal order in which different racial-ethnic groups are impacted align with the hierarchy of impact found in this study, i.e. significant negative changes in Black population proportions within the first 20 years of the SSA, significant negative changes in Hispanic proportions after 30 years, and significant negative changes in White proportions last, nearly 40 years after onset? Does distance from tech locations retain its positive association with change in tract-level Black and Hispanic population proportions, and does that same association exist between race-ethnicity and distance from a cultural center, another amenity associated with knowledge and creative development? Looking towards comparisons with organizationally dissimilar cities: do cities with decentralized power structures experience similar population outcomes in terms of residential segregation or population loss associated with changes in the proportions of occupational group employment?

While I ultimately cannot extrapolate on the developmental histories and intentions of knowledge and creative cities not studied here, the mixed-methods design of my dissertation has offered a comprehensive review of the City of Austin's approach to growth in the 20th and 21st centuries and the impacts of that approach on population change. Austin is a beautiful and economically strong city. But my research indicates that its government has failed to integrate the needs of the city's structurally vulnerable communities into the knowledge and creative development social structure of accumulation characterizing the last 37 years of the area's developmental trajectory. As a result, structures vital to participation in urban life have become exclusive in ways that are contradictory to the city's national reputation for lifestyle and job prospects.

Anecdotally as communicated in Valles' Facebook post, and systematically as indicated by my own and previous research (Fernandez et al. 2013; Tang and Ren 2014), the residents most impacted by these exclusions have been Black, Hispanic, and concentrated in areas located east of IH-35. The integration of marginalized communities into development via the creation of a community social structure of accumulation and engagement, increased efforts at transparency in policy and planning, community benefits agreements between neighborhoods and developers, and the expansion of active labor market policies to include skill-matching programs designed to reduce harms associated with labor market segmentation would serve to produce a more egalitarian power structure that could, given Austin's history, finally disrupt some of the practices associated with exclusion from the "greater goods" of knowledge and creative development accumulation.

APPENDIX

A. List of Archival Documents by Decade

1940s

- City Planning: City of Austin. (A711.409Au76m).

1960s

- Ordinance No. _____ Amending Austin City Code of 1954. Year 1963. (AR.Z.016).
- Report of City Council's Committee on Human Relations. (AR.1991.057).
- Memorandum on Job Opportunities and related material, "Opinion on Integration," cc'd to Austin Statesman-American [sic], City Council of Austin, and Mr. Harry Akin. (AR.Z.016).
- Austin Equal Citizenship Corporation, finalized letter to Mrs. Reed and drafts. Year unknown. Estimated 1967. (AR.2012.006).
- Model Neighborhood Program: Proposed Application for Planning a Model Neighborhood. (A711.409764 Au).
- Families Displaced By…packet, containing excerpts from Dick Gregory's address at the first Senior Class Dinner. February 1968. (AR.2012.006).
- Austin Board of Realtors, Inc. letter to Neighbors re. Housing Ordinance. Fall 1968. Contains initial letter to Neighbors, Responses, and letters of Outcome. (AR.2017.016).
- Let's Talk Sense about Fair Housing, given by Parker C. Fielder. (AR.2017.016).
- Statement by Mayor Harry Akin, Model Cities Commission Meeting. 2/23/1969. (AR.2017.016).

1970s

- A Vista of Housing Conditions and Potential: Austin, Texas. (A362.58 AU).
- News Release by Harry Akin re. Model Cities Program. 4/7/1970. (AR.Z.016).
- Austin Tomorrow, Working Paper #2: Preliminary Draft. (AR.1994.090).
- Austin Urban Renewal Agency Annual Report for 1972-1973 to, The Honorable Roy Butler and Members of the City Council. 4/24/1973. (AR.2016.032).
- The Capital Area Manpower Planning Council Annual Report. (A311.11CA 1974).
- Letter to Ms. Carolyn Bucknall from Griffin Smith, Jr. re. the City Council's Approval of the 9th and 10th St. projects, July 20, 1974. (AR.1997.003).
- The Austin Transportation Plan: A Response by the Old Austin Neighborhood Association, November 1975. (AR.1997.003).
- Austin Tomorrow Comprehensive Plan: City of Austin, February 1977. (A711.409764AuP693).
- Letter to City Planning Commission, Commission Members from David G. Epstein. (AR.1991.044).
- Black Citizens' Task Force, letter to the City Manager re. City Personnel Department and Affirmative Action. (AR.2004.037).
- Austin Area Urban League, Inc. 1st Annual Report: 1977-1978. (AR.2014.047).

1980s

- The Black Citizens' Task Force letter to a council member re. the 1980-81 general budget. September 22, 1980. (AR.2004.037).

- Recommendations for and Implementation of the City of Austin Affirmative Action Plan, presented by The Black Citizens Task Force. February 20, 1980. (AR.2004.037).

- The Black Citizens' Task Force Position on Racism in the Workplace. (AR.2004.037).

- Minutes of the Steering Committee of the Allandale Neighborhood Association, December 1, 1981. (AR.1993.034).

- Black Citizens' Task Force: Continuous Struggle for Black Equality, letter to the members of the Austin Planning Commission, March 8, 1982. (AR.2004.037).

- Letter to Austin City Council from the steering committee of the Concerned Citizens for the Development of West Austin. January 16, 1982. (AR.2005.023).

- Letter to Members of the Steering Committee and CCDWA re. the Old West Austin Neighborhood Plan Preliminary Draft. May 11, 1983. (AR.2005.023).

- Memorandum: to Gilbert M. Martinez, Chairman and Members of the Planning Commission from Richard R. Lillie, Director of Planning re. Downtown Development Concepts. (AR.2011.008).

- Letter to Jean from Clara Blum containing The Austin – "Managing Our Way to a Preferred Future" Proposal. 4/13/1984. (AR.W.003).

- Memo to Stuart Henry re. South Austin annexation/vote on charter amendments. (AR.1991.044).

- Historic Landmark Commission Hearing: Master Urban Design Plan, East Sixth & Seventh Street Commercial Corridor – East Austin Economic Development Strategy. (AR.1991.099).

- Memo from the Black Citizens Task Force titled Prostitution in East Austin, 10/24/85. (AR.2004.037).

- Resolution of the Pay Equity Task Force re. Classification/Compensation Study. March 13, 1986. (AR.2007.001).

- A View of the City: A Study of Planning and Growth Management in Austin, Texas from the League of Women Voters of the Austin Area. April 1986. (AR.2011.008).

- Materials for March 31, City of Austin Austinplan Steering Committee. March 31, 1986. (AR.2014.011).

- Materials for May 12, City of Austin Austinplan Steering Committee. May 12, 1986. (AR.2014.011).

- Austinplan Community Workshop 2, Planning Alternatives Sector 9. May 1986. (AR.2014.011).

- Austinplan: Community Workshop 2, Planning Alternatives Sector 14. November 1986. (AR.2014.011).

- Austinplan: Community Workshop 2, Planning Alternatives Sector 16. May 1986. (AR.2014.011).

- Austinplan: Background Report for Austinplan's Economic Development Task Group. May 27, 1986 (AR.2014.011).

- Introduction and Guiding Concepts, Austinplan Task Group Evaluations. Year unknown. Estimated 1986. (AR.2014.011).

- Austinplan: Austin Trends. Year unknown. Estimated 1986 or 1987. (AR.2014.011).

- Memorandum to Mayor and Council from Pay Equity Task Force re. Report of Reclassification Study. August 25, 1987. (AR.2007.001).

- Overview of Austinplan. February 1987. (AR.2014.011).

- Austinplan: Economic Development plan for Implementation, Milestone III Report. December 1987. (AR.2014.011).

- Austinplan: Cultural Affairs, Strategy for Action Milestone II Report. (AR.2014.011).

- Austinplan: Urban Design Element, Strategy for Action, Milestone II Report. (AR.2014.011).

- Austinplan: Cultural Affairs Element, Milestone Report Context for Evaluation. (AR.2014.011).

- Austinplan: Community Workshop 2, Planning Alternatives, Sector 1. May 1987. (AR.2014.011).

- Austinplan: Community Workshop 2, Planning Alternatives, Sector 6. April 1987. (AR.2014.011).

- Austinplan: Community Workshop 2, Planning Alternatives, Sector 11. March 1987. (AR.2014.011).

- Austinplan: Community Workshop 2, Planning Alternatives, Sector 12. March 1987. (AR.2014.011).

- Article from the Austin American-Statesman, "Urban League's Harrison leaves Austin vital message." 11/25/1987. (AR.2014.047).

- Sector 11 Neighborhoods Council Feedback Packet for Castlewood-Oak Valley Neighborhood Association (COVNA). (AR.1991.044).

- Austin Neighborhoods Council Minutes for October 26, 1988. (AR.1993.034).

- Black Citizens' Task Force, letter to Mayor Lee Cooke and Austin City Council Members re. Continued Oppression of African-Americans. August 25, 1988. (AR.2004.037).

- Austinplan Progress Report. February 1988. (AR.2014.011).

- Testimony, Austin Transportation Study Meeting, January 17, 1989. (AR.1993.034).

- City of Austin, letter to Dorothy Turner, President of the Black Citizens Task Force. June 26, 1989. (AR.2004.037).

- Austinplan: Planning Commission Recommendations, adopted unanimously 9/27/1989. (AR.2014.011).

- Memo to City Council Subcommittee on Austinplan from Norm Standerfer, Director Planning Department re. Board and Commission Recommendations on Austinplan. (AR.2014.011).

- Putting Austinplan in National Perspective: Differences and Similarities with other Local Comprehensive Plans. Year unknown. Estimated 1989 or 1990. (AR.2014.011).

1990s

- Vision Statement and R/UDAT Implementation Committee Action Items for Downtown Austin. (AR.1996.017).

- City of Austin Central East Austin Market Analysis. August 1990. (AR.2014.047).

- R/UDAT Implementation Committee Report to the Austin City Council, March 20, 1991. (AR.1996.017).

- Letter from Cecilia Bustamante to Mr. Lewis Wright regarding Recommendations and Appendix of the Cultural Arts Sub-Committee of R/UDAT. (AR.1996.017).

- R/UDAT Report, Public Hearing: Friday, 1/18/91 focusing on retail, visitor industry, landowners, tenants, E. 6th St., and homeless issues. (AR.2014.047).

- Letter from Mexic-Arte Museum, Multi-Cultural Works to Mr. Lewis Wright for R/UDAT, January 8, 1992. (AR.1996.017).

- Downtown Austin: A Call to Action. R/UDAT Proposed Draft #2. April 2, 1992. (AR.1996.017).

- Notice of Meeting Concerning Downtown Revitalization from Representatives of Various Neighborhood Associations. May 27, 1992. (AR.2011.008).

- Black Citizens Task Force, letter to Councilmember Ronney Reynolds. August 3, 1993. (AR.2004.037).

- Austin: People Organized in Defense of Earth and her Resources (PODER), Electronics Industry Good Neighbor Campaign Report. September 1993. (AR.2012.015).

- Brief from Bennett Consolidated re. the Capital Town Center. 8/2/1993. (AR.2014.047).

- Flyer and Press Release Materials for Build East Austin re. Lack of Economic Development in East Austin from the East 11th Street Village Association and the Black Elected Officials. (AR.2014.047).

- Quality Work Force Planning: Labor Market Information Report, Capital Region. (A311.1209764 Qu).

- 1995 Consolidated Plan, City of Austin, Texas. (A362.5 AU). - Working Draft: Hi-Tech Giants, from "Silicon Valley" to "Silicon Hills" by People Organized in Defense of Earth and her Resources. 3/1/1995. (AR.2012.015).

- Flyer for Austin Vision 2010, Strategic Priority: Market Ready Workforce. 12/5/1995. (AR.2014.045).

- Letter to Charlyn Cook from David Bodenman re. Invitation to participate in Austin 2010 Vision plan and work session. 8/15/1995. (AR.2014.045).

- Letter to Austin Vision 2010 Task Group from members of committee re. Work Schedule. 10/6/1995. (AR.2014.045).

- Austin Vision 2010: Strategic Priorities & Implementation. 9/5/1995. (AR.2014.045).

- Meeting re. the Proposed Austin Semiconductor Council. Meeting minutes. 6/22/1995. (AR.2014.045).

- City of Austin Ordinance re. locating of Tokyo Electron American, Inc. Facilities. (AR.2012.015).

- The City of Austin's Economic Development Strategy and Its Impact on Low-Income Communities: An Analysis of the City of Austin's Industrial Incentive Package for Advanced Micro Devices and the Benefits to Residents of the Montopolis Community. 12/13/1996. (AR.2012.015).

- Issues Affecting Downtown Development: 1996 Land Development Seminar sponsored by Travis County Bar Association Real Estate Section. 7/12/1996. (AR.2014.045).

- Document from the Black Citizens' Task Force collection, Untitled, re. the Spring election of 1997. (AR.2004.037).

- East Austin Land Use/Zoning Report in response to a 12/12/96 Resolution by the Austin City Council. 20-Feb-1997. (AR.2011.037).

- City of Austin: A Call to Action, Economic Development. 9/17/1997. (AR.2011.037).

- Letter to Neighbors from Sabrina Burmeister, Triangle Special Board of Review, re. Development of the Triangle, June 4, 1998. (AR.1999.004).

- Welfare-to-Work Contract Agreement between the Housing Authority of the City of Austin (HACA) and the Central East Austin Community Organization, Inc. (AR.2003.007).

- Major Concerns with Smart Growth for South Congress developed by Jean Mather, Planning Commission. 4/13/99. (AR.2011.008).

- Smart Growth Initiative: Smart Growth Guide, Enhancing Austin's Quality of Life Neighborhood by Neighborhood. (AR.2011.037).

2000s

- Email communications between City Planning officials and Members of the South River City Citizens (SRCC) group. August – October, 2000. (AR.2011.008).
- City of Austin Recommendation for Council Action re. Intel incentives Improvements. 5/11/00. (AR.2012.015).
- Letter to Mr. Lawrence Wilkinson, U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development re. ARA C.D.P. Plan from 12th Street Property and Business Owners' Association. Lloyd Doggett, Mayor Kirk Watson cc'd. 7/31/2000. (AR.2016.032).
- Letter from Richard E. Ferris to "Friends" re. the Ability of East 12th St. Property Owners to have Input on ARA Plan. 4/20/2000. (AR.2016.032).
- Gentrification: Committee Notebook. May 2001. (AR.2005.023).
- Improving the Odds: Building a Comprehensive Opportunity Structure for Austin, interim report of The Austin Equity Commission. June 28, 2001. (AR.2012.015).
- Memo to Mayor and Council from Jesus Garza, City Manager re. Gentrification Report. 6/14/2001. (AR.2012.015).
- Urban Renewal Agency of the City of Austin: FY 2001-2002 Report, October 2002. (AR.2002.037).
- Memo to Members of the Gentrification Committee, Implications of Historic Zoning in East Austin Task Force from Joe Canales, Deputy City Manager re. TCAD Data Summary Report. 9/12/2002. (AR.2012.015).
- Closed Caption Log, Council Meeting. 5/9/2002. Members of Greater East Austin Neighborhood Association and PODER speaking. (AR.2012.015).
- Smart Growth and Gentrification of East Austin in 2001: Continued Relocation of Native People from their Homeland. Discussion Paper prepared by Dr. Sylvia Herrera and Susana Almanza, PODER. Spring 2002. (AR.2012.015).
- Letter from Leonard O. Mann, President, 12th Street Business and Property Owners Association to Mr. Mel R. Martinez, Secretary of Housing and Urban Development re. Formal Complaint of Unlawful and Wrongful Discrimination against the City of Austin. 9/6/2002. (AR.2016.032).
- Setting the Record Straight: ARA Responds to Questions and Comments Regarding Development in Central East Austin. (AR.2008.003).
- Letter to Mr. Gary Sweeney, Director Southwest HUD, Texas State Office Fair Housing and Equal Opportunity from 12st Street Property and Business Owners' Association. 2/3/2003. (AR.2016.032).
- Notes from CP&R Townhall Meeting, 12/7/04. (AR.2008.009).
- Austin Human Rights Commission, Minutes. (AR.1991.057).
- Austin Human Rights Commission, Notice of Meeting and Minutes. (AR.1991.057).
- Talking Points, Chief Michael McDonald. City Council Presentation. May 26, 2005. (AR.2005.026).
- Memorandum to Mayor and City Council Members from Toby Hammett Futrell, City Manager re. Transmittal of African American Quality of Life Scorecard. March 24, 2005. (AR.2005.026).

- Executive Summary and Provisional Report, African American Quality of Life: An Analysis of Comparative Indicators for Austin, Texas. (AR.2005.026).

- Summary of Findings and Recommendations: Community Forums and Focus Group Panels. May 26, 2005. (AR.2005.026).

- Draft: African-American Quality of Life Community Report. Report to City Council, October 27, 2005. (AR.2005.026).

- "'One Team, One Dream': African American Community Quality of Life Presentation. Community Position Paper. June 23, 2005. (AR.2005.026).

- Letter to Toby Futrell, City Manager from Office of Community Planning and Development re. CDBG Program Monitoring Report. May 11, 2006. (AR.2008.009).

- CreateAustin Cultural Master Plan Executive Summary. (AR.2017.036).

APPENDIX

B. Division of Travis County Census Tracts by Directional sub-areas

North: Boundaries are 183 Research Blvd, US HWY 290 WB and EB, SH 130 SB.

48453001745
48453001753
48453001754
48453001785
48453001786
48453001805
48453001806
48453001813
48453001819
48453001820
48453001821
48453001822
48453001823
48453001824
48453001826
48453001828
48453001829
48453001832
48453001833
48453001834
48453001835
48453001839
48453001840
48453001841
48453001842
48453001843
48453001844
48453001845
48453001846
48453001847
48453001848
48453001849
48453001850
48453001851
48453001853
48453001856
48453001863
48453001864

West: Boundaries are Lake Austin, MOPAC Expressway (Loop-1 SB), W US HWY 290.

48453001768
48453001769
48453001783
48453001784
48453001908
48453001910
48453001912
48453001913
48453001914
48453001915
48453001916
48453001917
48453001918
48453001919

Northwest: Boundaries are Riverplace Blvd, Lake Austin, MOPAC Expressway (Loop-1 SB-NB), Research BLVD SB

48453000102
48453001602
48453001604
48453001705
48453001706
48453001707
48453001716
48453001718
48453001719
48453001722
48453001751
48453001752
48453001755
48453001756
48453001757
48453001760
48453001761
48453002500

Central: Boundaries are MOPAC Expressway (Loop-1 NB/SB), Lake Austin, IH 35 SB/NB, Research BLVD NB

48453000101
48453000203
48453000204
48453000205
48453000206
48453000302

48453000304
48453000305
48453000500
48453000601
48453000603
48453000604
48453000700
48453001100
48453001200
48453001501
48453001503
48453001504
48453001505
48453001603
48453001605
48453001606
48453001804
48453001817
48453001818

South Central: Boundaries are Lake Austin, MOPAC EXPY, and S IH 35 SB

48453001303
48453001304
48453001305
48453001307
48453001308
48453001401
48453001402
48453001901
48453001911
48453002004
48453002005
48453002308

South: Boundaries are US 290 HWY, S IH 35 SB, W. BEN WHITE BLVD EB

48453001712
48453001713
48453001728
48453001729
48453001733
48453001737
48453001738
48453001740
48453001746

48453001747
48453001748
48453001749
48453001750
48453001770
48453001772
48453001774
48453001775
48453001776
48453001777
48453002002
48453002003
48453002402
48453002403
48453002407
48453002409
48453002410
48453002421
48453002422
48453002423
48453002424

East: Boundaries are S IH 35 SB, Lake Austin, S SH 130 SB, E. US 290 HWY EB

48453000306
48453000307
48453000401
48453000402
48453000801
48453000802
48453000803
48453000804
48453000901
48453000902
48453001000
48453001811
48453001812
48453002104
48453002105
48453002106
48453002107
48453002108
48453002109
48453002110
48453002111
48453002112

48453002113
48453002201
48453002202
48453002208
48453002211
48453002212

Southeast: Boundaries are S IH 35 NB, Lake Austin, SH 130 SB

48453001403
48453002304
48453002307
48453002310
48453002312
48453002313
48453002314
48453002315
48453002316
48453002317
48453002318
48453002319
48453002411
48453002412
48453002413
48453002419
48453002425
48453002426
48453002427
48453002428
48453002429
48453002430
48453002431
48453002432
48453002436

Outskirts: Census tracts not falling within the specifications of the previous eight directional sub-areas, located towards the concentric edges of Travis County.

48453001714
48453001741
48453001742
48453001764
48453001765
48453001766
48453001778
48453001779

48453001780
48453001781
48453001782
48453001854
48453001855
48453001857
48453001858
48453001859
48453001860
48453001861
48453001862
48453002207
48453002209
48453002210
48453002433
48453002434
48453002435

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