New Director for CURA

The University Regents at the May 12, 1978, meeting approved the appointment of Thomas M. Scott as the new Director for the Center for Urban and Regional Affairs. Scott, who has been serving as CURA’s Acting Director for the past two years, assumed the new title in mid-June. While he will be devoting most of his time to CURA, Scott will continue to teach urban politics and metropolitan government to both graduate and undergraduate students in the Department of Political Science.

Scott, a Professor of Political Science, first came to the University of Minnesota in 1962. He served as departmental director of graduate studies in 1971 and 1972 and as chairperson of the department from 1972-75. His academic interests and numerous publications have focused on urban politics and government structures. Scott has contributed to the University community in many ways: as a member of the American Indian Studies Committee in 1970, chairing the All-University Committee on Extension and Community Programs from 1971-73, and as chairperson of the Urban Studies Program from 1975 to the present, to name only a few.

While Scott has resided in Minneapolis for the last sixteen years, he lived formerly in a number of other kinds of communities. He was born in a small town in the Finger Lakes region of New York State, attended public schools on Long Island during the period of postwar suburban development, finished high school in Chicago and later lived there as a graduate student while completing work for his Ph.D. at Northwestern University. His undergraduate days were spent in Wooster, Ohio. As a graduate student at Northwestern, he held fellowships in one of the first urban studies programs in the country.

Now an established member of the Twin Cities community, Scott’s service to the community has been on many levels. A member of the Citizen’s League since 1964, he served on the Governor’s Crime Commission from 1966-68, on the board of directors of the League of Minnesota Municipalities from 1966 to 1973, on the board of directors of the Minnesota Training of Teacher Trainers (TTT) Project, 1969-71, and has chaired the board of directors of the Minnesota Government Training Service since June of 1976.

As director for CURA, Tom Scott succeeds John Borchart, whose tenure as director has lasted through most of CURA’s years of existence. Asked to comment on Scott’s new role with CURA, Borchart replied, “I think it’s an excellent appointment. I’m pleased that the program the center has pioneered and continued will get the benefit of direction from someone with such a strong background of research and teaching in the field of metropolitan government. Scott’s research and teaching, and the work of his students, have made an important contribution to the better functioning of this community.”

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Renovation on the Hill:
the Dynamics of Revitalizing St. Paul's Historic Ramsey Hill

by Sonia Noronha Mykletun

America's inner-city areas have been victims of the lack of central planning, urban sprawl, and constant new construction. This has resulted in a benign neglect of inner-city areas and a general failure to maintain existing neighborhoods and their housing stock. While many inner-city neighborhoods have deteriorated and declined, some areas have rejuvenated in recent years. These areas have a housing stock with distinctive characteristics, such as historical background or architectural integrity. Renewed interest in urban homesteading and renovating older historic structures has given them new life.

Georgetown in Washington, D.C., was one of the first major inner-city neighborhoods to experience rejuvenation. Other neighborhoods, such as Society Hill in Philadelphia, Beacon Hill in Boston, the Mission District in San Francisco, Capitol Hill in Seattle, and Ohio City in Cleveland have shown similar trends.

Little or no research has been done on the precise meaning of this "fad," the people who subscribe to it, and their motives for adopting this new housing style. This study was an effort to understand the dynamics involved in the revitalization of certain inner-city neighborhoods and to seek possible explanations for the revitalization trend.

In 1975, I began a case study of an inner-city neighborhood in St. Paul, Minnesota, a neighborhood that in the early 1970s experienced a new lease on life. Located on the bluff of the Mississippi River directly west of the central business district of the city, the neighborhood is part of the Historic Hill District of St. Paul. The Historic Hill District was designated such by the Minnesota Legislature on June 14, 1973.

The Ramsey Hill neighborhood, as it is known, comprises thirty blocks, bounded by Selby Avenue to the north, Dale Street to the west, Summit Avenue to the south, and the St. Paul Cathedral to the east. The study was confined to the owner-occupied structures in this area. Renewed interest in the neighborhood was visible through an increase of owner-occupants in recent years. Conscious and relatively widespread renovation and maintenance of the area's structures had been initiated. This study sought to examine these phenomena by focusing on the owner-occupants—who were they, where did they come from, and why did they move to the Ramsey Hill neighborhood?

This study was primarily concerned with owner-occupants for two reasons. First, until the renovation movement the area attracted a renter population because of the large amount of multifamily housing in the neighborhood. Many of the large houses were subdivided and rented. Most were owned by absentee landlords. The increase in owner-occupants represented a reversal of earlier trends. Many of the new purchasers were reconverters of cut-up buildings back into single-family and duplex structures. Second, owner-occupants were assumed to be more conscious than renters of the internal and external maintenance of the structures. This group, therefore, acted as a barometer for the maintenance standards in the area.

The History of the Hill

When the city of St. Paul was incorporated in 1849, it was the gateway to the Northwest and to the opportunities that lay beyond the frontier. The city's strategic location on the Mississippi River and in the burgeoning Midwest attracted professionals, merchants, and transportation and finance industrialists. Increasing population created a demand for more housing and expansion of the city; the influx of entrepreneurs and nouveau-riche created a demand for fine residential property.

Two factors were important in the establishment of the Ramsey Hill neighborhood. Most important was topography. St. Anthony Hill, as the neighborhood was then known, was a part of the Mississippi bluff creating a circular plateau of hills at the limits of the city. This rim afforded a magnificent view of the city and the river. Strong natural boundaries and easy access to the hill emphasized its attractiveness as exclusive residential property. The Minnesota Pioneer in September 1851 reported that "some of the points on the bluff afford the most lovely sites for a family residence in the Territory. Here the wealthy may build their mansions, overlooking the empire town, with an easy ascent to it, and a level plain for sites in the rear, making it at once a lovely, healthy and romantic residence."
The hill’s location in St. Paul was strategic in the expanding city. St. Anthony Hill was within two miles of the central business district, but well removed from the railroad yards and industrial expansion in the eastern and northern areas of St. Paul. In addition, it abutted the main transportation routes from St. Paul to St. Anthony (later part of Minneapolis).

Two real estate subdivisions make up the Ramsey Hill Neighborhood. Dayton and Irvine’s addition forms the eastern section of the area. It was platted in 1853-54 and was almost entirely developed by the 1880s. The Woodland Park addition was platted in 1870. By that time, Summit Avenue had already established itself as a highly desirable residential Boulevard.

By the 1880s, thirteen railroad lines converged in St. Paul, resulting in an influx of people and creating a considerable demand for residential property. The St. Paul Daily Globe wrote at the time, "The demand for residential property extends from the humble $150 lot to the big priced ones on Summit Avenue, which run away into the thousands . . . . Of course, Anthony Hill and the broad beautiful prairie that stretches between the two lines of railroad, is, and probably will always be the most attractive and desirable part of town for residences." Earlier, the Globe had reported that "Summit Avenue and Woodland Park are the pet locations for those who can pay the price."

Between 1887 and 1907, a substantial number of prominent professional and business leaders lived in the area. Dr. Anton Shimonek, a founder of the old Ancker Hospital (now St. Paul Ramsey) lived in the Ramsey Hill Neighborhood. Other members of the medical profession resided there, including Dr. Walter Ramsey, who later founded the Children’s Hospital; and Dr. Jeannette McLaren, one of St. Paul’s first women physicians; as well as eminent lawyers such as Moses Clapp, the state attorney general; Homer Clark, who founded West Publishing; and Hascal R. Brill, judge of the Second District Court.

The housing stock in Woodland Park reflected the affluence of the professional groups residing there. The large mansions that typified Summit and Portland Avenues mirrored the residents’ wealth. The structures behind these two avenues were not much smaller. The 1892 edition of Donnelley’s Atlas of St. Paul described an average lot size for the entire Ramsey Hill District as 60 feet by 143 feet. Many one-unit structures occupied more than one lot, and most of the structures, especially along Summit Avenue, were set back about twenty or thirty feet from the pavement. An esthetically pleasant and spacious environment was created.

Annual records of the city officers of St. Paul show that most residential construction in the city between 1888 and 1912 took place in Ward Seven, which
included the Ramsey Hill Neighborhood. Early maps of the neighborhood show that most of the lots had structures on them by the turn of the century. Exact dates of construction of some existing structures could be determined by building permits. However, according to the St. Paul Register of Deeds, only 160 building permits for residential structures in the Ramsey Hill neighborhood survive—only 46.4 percent of the number of existing houses.

A large portion of the existing wealth was invested in these houses. According to the existing building permits for residential structures in the study area, the average cost per structure between 1880 and 1912 was $9,322. During this same time, the average cost of residential structures in all of Ward Seven, which included most of the Historic Hill District, was $3,720. Ward Seven had the highest cost per housing structure in the entire city of St. Paul between 1888 and 1892, except for the downtown area, which was dominated by multi-family structures.

The cost of these structures had important implications. First, the construction was of high quality, and so well put together that now, a hundred years later, many bear striking evidence of the excellent craftsmanship of the time. Second, they were large structures, many being two or two-and-a-half stories and usually containing between eighteen and twenty rooms. The large rooms with high ceilings assured a feeling of spaciousness, projected through the scale of construction and large lot sizes. Third, the housing stock varied, including single-family houses, duplexes, townhouses, and apartments. Many structures were architect-designed, each unit had its own distinctive identity and style. The solid craftsmanship was expressed on the exterior through intricate window design, roof borders, and pillars. Inside, tiled fireplaces, hand-carved woodwork, and stained-glass windows bore witness to the high quality of workmanship.

Ramsey Hill continued to thrive after 1900, standing out as one of the best residential neighborhoods in St. Paul. Many families had two addresses: a permanent residence in the neighborhood, and a summer cottage at White Bear Lake. Improved transportation, chiefly streetcar lines to White Bear Lake, facilitated easy travel back and forth.

The neighborhood's heyday, however, was soon to end. The depression of the 1930s, exemplified by a dramatic slump in the stock market, severely reduced the purchasing power of the residents in the area. Many could no longer afford the services of housemaids and other servants, and the huge structures became increasingly difficult to maintain. Many owners were forced to subdivide their living space to weather the crisis. Deterioration of the area's housing had begun.

The end of World War II brought added problems to the Ramsey Hill area. Construction of new housing virtually ceased during World War II, yet a sizable number of people entered central cities like St. Paul, adding pressure to the inner-city housing stock. Ramsey Hill responded to the situation by further subdividing its houses. Attics and basements were transformed into apartments. Single-family units were converted into multiple boarding units. Structures with absentee landlords increased, and the character of the area saw a further decline. Meanwhile, some of the more affluent and mobile families started to leave the neighborhood for year-round homes at White Bear Lake and other suburbs.

In the early 1960s the St. Paul Housing and Redevelopment Authority (HRA) was given the task of providing a location for the new St. Paul Technical and Vocational Institute as part of the Cathedral Urban Renewal Project. A site two blocks north of Selby Avenue and directly north of the Cathedral was cleared for development. Many structures were torn down. The displacement of households put further pressure on the already tight housing market in the area.

The construction of Interstate 94 in the late 1950s is also commonly viewed as having had a considerable impact on Ramsey Hill. Clearance activities six blocks north of Selby Avenue and through the core of St. Paul's black community displaced black and white low-income families north and south of the freeway. Census statistics show only a minor increase in the black population of Ramsey Hill. Still, many residents perceived a threat of an invasion of minorities into their neighborhood. Crowding of people and racial fears, as well as the lure of the ever-growing suburbs, caused more residents, especially homeowners, to move out of the area.

The residential character of Ramsey Hill was thus undergoing significant alterations during this period. In 1963 the St. Paul HRA was commissioned to study the possible renewal and revitalization of the area. The identification and removal of dilapidated structures was its principal task. According to a land survey of the area in 1968, the boundaries for urban renewal included all blocks with 50 percent or more of their structures in a blighted or substandard condition. Ramsey Hill was included within the selected boundaries. In 1967 the HRA proceeded to acquire land in the Ramsey Hill neighborhood as part of its plan to salvage structures not in obviously deteriorated condition and to tear down structures beyond redemption.

Many older homes fell victim to the bulldozer. Between 1960 and 1970, the U.S. Census shows a net overall reduction of 341 housing units in the area, many of them single-family structures. Some new construction took place at the time, mainly apartment complexes such as the Neil Public Housing for the Elderly and St. John's Episcopal Church Home.

Land tenure characteristics also underwent significant changes between 1960 and 1970. The total number of owner-occupied units decreased considerably. Renter-occupied units also decreased in total numbers, though there was some construction of apartment complexes. Most of these units were owned by absentee landlords who provided minimal maintenance, adding to the blighted nature of the area. The number of vacant structures increased, and HRA's clearance activities contributed to the number of vacant lots in the area.

Ramsey Hill has been and continues to be populated by a white majority. According to 1970 Census statistics, 115 or 2.8 percent of the area's 4,081 residents were black. A large proportion of nonwhites live to the west and north of Ramsey Hill. The freeway constructed through the black district displaced many of the families to the south and north, and the Census shows an increase in nonwhites in the area west of Dale to Lexington. But, few blacks moved into Ramsey Hill; those who did were renters living mainly in the northwestern section of the neighborhood.

A group of homeowners angered by HRA activities and the area's general decline set up plans to renovate some of the older structures and sell them to owner-occupants. Major and widespread restoration attempts attracted new homeowners to the Ramsey Hill neighborhood in the early 1970s and the Ramsey Hill Association was formed by homeowners in 1972 to represent the property owners of the area.

Efforts by residents to revitalize Ramsey Hill began to pay off. Sales of structures to owner-occupants increased. New owners worked to restore the dilapidated houses they had purchased, both internally and externally. The new purchasers sought to restore the particular housing style created by the history and geography of Ramsey Hill. Generally, they purchased single-family units and duplexes built before 1920. Most of the structures were large and architecturally distinctive.

So, by the early 1970s, the movement of Ramsey Hill toward complete deterioration was stalled by concerned residents dedicated to restoring the grace and neighborhood pride that charac-
terized the area in its early days. This rebirth was representative of similar patterns in distinctive inner-city neighborhoods across the country. But the reasons for this reversal of trends had not been systematically examined when this study was undertaken in 1975.

The study sought to discover the who, what, and why of the restoration of historic Ramsey Hill. Owner-occupants, particularly those who had moved to the area after 1970, were the focus of the study. With the help of the Ramsey Hill Association, the 186 owner-occupant households in the neighborhood were identified and sent detailed questionnaires; 30 of these households were personally interviewed. Of the 186 households surveyed, 120 or 64.5 percent completed the questionnaire. These formal research methods, supplemented by informal conversations with Ramsey Hill residents, were the basis for the understanding of the area reflected in the findings that follow.

Who . . .

Owner-occupants were divided into three categories for the purposes of this study. Those who moved to the area before 1958 were labeled the "early settlers," and comprised 26 percent of the total surveyed. The term "established residents" denoted owner-occupants who had moved to Ramsey Hill between 1959 and 1968, and comprised 24 percent of the total. In this group, over half moved to the area after 1963. The "newcomers" moved in after 1969. They represented 49 percent of the total number of owner-occupied households surveyed, and of these about 50 percent moved in 1974 or 1975.

The owner-occupants were examined according to the following independent variables: age, marital status, number of children, education, occupation, workplace, income, and origins.

The owner-occupants of Ramsey Hill were relatively young, according to this study. The median age for the entire group was about forty. Of the newcomers, representing the majority of the owners, 74 percent were young persons between the ages of twenty-one and thirty-nine. Over 50 percent of these were under the age of twenty-nine. Among the established residents, the largest proportion, 32 percent, were between fifty and fifty-nine; 19 percent were in their thirties, 26 percent in their forties, and 23 percent over sixty. The early settlers tended to be older. Only 17 percent of these residents were under fifty, with 20 percent in their fifties, 29 percent in their sixties, and 34 percent in their seventies or older.

A large number of the owner-occupied households in Ramsey Hill consisted of married couples; however, at least a quarter of the households were single persons. Among the newcomers, 69 percent were married, 26 percent single, and 5 percent identified themselves as "other," which included people separated or divorced or widowed. Survey of the established residents showed 62 percent were married, 28 percent single, and 10 percent "other." The early settlers reflected a different pattern, with 49 percent of them married, 14 percent single, and 37 percent widowed or separated.

The majority of the owner-occupied households within the neighborhood were two-adult families. Over 78 percent of all the newcomers, 52 percent of the established residents, and 46 percent of the early settlers consisted of two-adult households. The very few households with over five adults suggested communal living or boarding homes.

While over half of all the owner-occupants (64 percent) had no children, only 28 percent had one or two children per household. Among the newcomers nearly two-thirds of the households were childless, while 33 percent had one
or two children. Homes with several persons under eighteen years of age were those of families who had resided in Ramsey Hill for some time.

The newcomers were highly educated. Of the 81 percent of newcomers who had had four years of college or postgraduate work, 60 percent had a postgraduate education. A little over half, 53 percent, of the established residents had a four-year college education, while 50 percent of the early settlers had a high school education or less. One older resident explained that her education included "experience and hard knocks."

Over three-quarters of all the owner-occupants surveyed were employed. By and large they held white-collar positions. Two main job categories, professional and managerial positions, were typical for the owner-occupants. The newcomers were principally engaged in professional and managerial occupations, with 55 percent identified as professional and 27 percent managerial. Forty-two percent of the established residents were classified as professionals, 23 percent held managerial positions, and the remaining 35 percent were employed in sales, clerical, craft, operative, service, or other capacities. A third of the early settlers were employed in managerial positions. The remaining two-thirds were mainly concentrated in professional and crafts, service and operative positions.

While the U.S. Census of 1970 reported that most of the residents in the eastern section of the Hill worked in the city but outside the central business district, we found that a large proportion of the Ramsey Hill owners worked in the central business district in 1975. While 43 percent of the newcomers worked in the business area, 29 percent worked in the remainder of Ramsey County. Ten persons, found to work elsewhere, were employed within the overall metropolitan area, Anoka and Dakota counties, Bloomington and Edina.

The established residents generally worked in St. Paul's central business district and 10 percent were employed in the city of Minneapolis. Many of the early settlers reported working as homemakers or indicated retirement.

The newcomers were characterized as an upper-middle-income group; their median income was between $15,000-$19,999. One out of every five families had a total household income of over $30,000 in 1974. Forty-four percent of the newcomers earned over $20,000 in 1974, 65 percent of the established residents earned over this amount that year, and one out of four families earned over $30,000. The median income for this group was between $20,000 and $24,999.

A little less than 50 percent of the owners who had lived in Ramsey Hill for more than seventeen years had incomes below $10,000 since many were retired and lived on fixed incomes. One of every five early settlers earned over $30,000 in 1974.

Most of the owners surveyed were not born in St. Paul. Among the newcomers, 69 percent were born elsewhere. Among the established residents, 67 percent were born elsewhere. Among the owners who have resided in the area for the longest period of time, 49 percent were not born in St. Paul.

These figures ran counter to the common myth that the children of past Ramsey Hill families were returning to purchase the houses that belonged to their parents. Our data pointed to the contrary, and was further substantiated by the fact that many owners had lived in places other than St. Paul before moving to the neighborhood. Through my interviews I found that the owners came from a variety of places in the country, including both the east and west coasts. They tended to come from inner-city neighborhoods in major cities and they generally preferred the inner-city life to suburban styles.

Most of the owner-occupants, however, lived in St. Paul just before moving to the Ramsey Hill neighborhood. Many lived at other locations in Ramsey Hill. Their familiarity with the neighborhood and knowledge of the potential of the housing structures was important in their choice of housing. Many of the early settlers either moved along the same street from one block to another or had lived in the same house all their lives. A few of the newcomers had lived in Minneapolis; two households had lived abroad. Very few moved in directly from the suburbs. Again, the data tended to correct for the sort of "myth" that suggests most of the residents were choosing this new life-style after a trial period in suburbia. Whether they had lived in suburbia before their most recent previous address, however, was not known.

Most of the newcomers (57 percent) and early settlers (52 percent) had rented their most recent previous dwellings. Among the established residents, an equal number (47 percent) owned and the structures they had vacated to move to Ramsey Hill. Of the newcomers, several were at a stage when owning a home was a high priority; several had lived with their parents before purchasing in Ramsey Hill; those who owned homes prior to moving to the Hill were forced to move or needed the cheap housing available there.

A quarter of all the owners lived in duplexes and fourplexes before moving to Ramsey Hill. Nearly a third of the newcomers and early settlers lived in apartments prior to moving into their current addresses. Among the middle group, 43 percent had lived in single-family houses.

A majority of the newcomers lived in these previous dwellings only one or two years. The number of years at a previous residence prior to moving varies among the established residents. Several of them had to move from owner-occupied single-family homes. Others looked for a spacious, older home suitable for raising a family.

Many of the early settlers either lived with their parents in the area and inherited the structure or rented before buying their present house.

What ...

In 1960, 634 structures existed in the Ramsey Hill neighborhood. By 1975 the total number of structures had decreased by 131 units. During that fifteen-year period, the number of these structures used as residences and for other purposes also decreased. After 1970, however, the number of owner-occupied structures increased. The percentage of owner-occupied residential structures rose from 39 percent to over 50 percent between 1970 and 1975.

Overall decline took place around 1955 and for some of the streets in 1970. Summit Avenue experienced a tremendous loss of owners between 1960 and 1965. Since then, however, it has picked up, and together with Portland Avenue, which never really deteriorated, showed an over 70 percent rate of owner-occupancy by 1975.

Several blocks on Holly Avenue had shown this trend and an overall improvement was in progress after a gradual loss of owner-occupants in the 1960s. This was evident as one traveled west on the avenue. Most of the structures, especially those east of Mackubin Avenue, formed a relatively unbroken facade of consistent styles.

There are only a few structures on north-south streets. East of Western Avenue, most of the streets showed high rates of owner-occupancy. Both Farrington and Virginia were very well-maintained avenues; efforts of the homeowners were indicative of this situation.

Nina was affected by clearance efforts on the block defined by Nina, Laurel, Farrington, and Selby. Townhouses had been proposed for this area. Western Avenue had a mixture of institutional and residential uses. The Commodore Hotel, Summit Manor Home, and commercial enterprises toward Selby Avenue lowered the chances of this avenue being owner-occupied. As this avenue has direct access to the freeway, the
heavy traffic on this street made it unfavorable as a residential area.

At Mackubin, the east-west continuity of the entire neighborhood broke down. West of this point, the structural facades were generally similar in architectural style, design, size, and setback, and few vacant lots seemed to break up this formation. Further on Mackubin, newer structures were interspersed between older architectural styles. There were more vacant lots and a number of boarded-up apartments.

Discovering the "what" of the Ramsey Hill neighborhood required more than the visual description above. The questionnaire and interviews also included questions designed to uncover the perceptions of the owner-occupants toward their neighborhood and their dwellings.

A variety of housing had been adopted by the owner-occupants studied. A majority of the newcomers, 90 percent, lived in single-family houses or duplexes. Few owned and lived in apartment complexes with a large number of units. Sixty-seven percent of the established residents occupied single-family structures, many situated along Summit and Portland Avenues, the least blighted areas of the neighborhood, and as previously mentioned, where the reinforcement of the avenues began. Although a little over 80 percent of the early settlers lived in single-family and duplex structures, a significant proportion owned apartments in the area. Some claimed they had the same tenants for the last fifteen years. Many were forced to subdivide their dwellings in order to remain in the same structure.

There was a mixed response to questions concerning the condition of structures when the new owners moved in. Among the newcomers 55 percent found their units in a poor or deteriorated state. This compares to 33 percent of the established residents and 20 percent of the early settlers. This meant that major improvements were necessary and in some cases a complete overhaul of the structure had to be carried out. Many of these structures were located on Ashland and Laurel, and on the western end of the neighborhood.

Eighty percent of the early settlers and 60 percent of established residents found their structures in good or excellent condition. Many had been owner-occupied family residences and were well maintained.

Most of the owners had engaged in some renovation work. The housing stock was at a mature stage. Since many of the structures date back to the 1880s they required substantial maintenance to preserve their structural qualities.

Over 75 percent of all those surveyed claimed to have been personally involved in renovation work. Most work was done on the interior of the structures. Climate factors inhibited exterior work to a great extent. (The study was made in the winter months.) Many respondents explained that the warm summer days would permit outside work.

Professional help was sought in all cases. Among the early settlers, 86 percent hired such help. In comparison, 69 percent of the newcomers and 67 percent of the owners who had been in the area between seven and sixteen years made use of professional help.

Services of handymen and friends were used only marginally by owner-occupants who had lived in the neighborhood for more than seven years. In contrast, such services were used extensively by the newcomers. One likely explanation seemed to be the existence of a number of qualified craftsmen who live in the neighborhood.
by the Ramsey Hill Association, the owners were encouraged to exchange information and tips through the newsletter on matters concerning the improvement of their property.

A large majority of all respondents perceived the neighborhood as being suitable for persons of different ages. A few elderly owners were skeptical, adding that the area was not suitable for the rearing of children. The location was cited as being highly suitable for elderly persons. Younger persons found the central location convenient for their needs.

Ninety-four percent of the owners responding to the questionnaire agreed that the varying life-styles of residents were part of the central character of their neighborhood. Many explained that this variety was one of the things they appreciated most in the area; in particular they valued the "freedom to pursue lifestyles of their own choice and preference," and the tolerance shown by the other residents.

The questionnaire asked residents to indicate their degree of agreement or disagreement with three statements concerning racial integration. First, although they generally agreed that Ramsey Hill was an integrated neighborhood, a few owners adopted a neutral stand. Several of the newcomers, almost 30 percent, disagreed. In fact, the U.S. Census of Population for 1970 showed that the neighborhood was largely white, possessing less than 3 percent nonwhite residents. Most of that 3 percent were renters, not owners. This investigator came across only two black homeowners in the Ramsey Hill neighborhood. Thus, the perceptions of the homeowners in the area concerning the degree of attained racial integration conflicted with reality.

Asked if Ramsey Hill should be a racially integrated neighborhood, 77 percent of the established residents, and 43 percent of the early settlers agreed or strongly agreed. A fairly large proportion of all those surveyed claimed to be neutral—21 percent of the newcomers, 38 percent of the established, and 36 percent of the early settlers. A few of the owner-residents who had lived in the neighborhood for over seven years felt a racially integrated neighborhood was not desirable. Many associated racial integration with "increasing minority problems," which in turn would result in an "unsafe neighborhood.

Finally, the owner-occupants were asked whether they thought the neighborhood was threatened by minority groups moving in. Of the newcomers, 75 percent disagreed, as did 46 percent of the established residents, and only 32 percent of the early settlers. Again, the neutral group was large, but 37 percent of the early settlers felt that racial minorities could threaten their neighborhood.

An average of 70 percent of the owners thought the neighborhood attracted owners of middle-income status. Some added that the area definitely attracted owners of middle-income background due to the type and condition of the housing stock. Some of the newcomers felt that many renters were of lower rather than middle-income status.

There was no consensus on whether the residents of the neighborhood had occupations requiring a college degree. Opinion was evenly divided between agreement and disagreement among the newcomers, while the established and early settlers leaned slightly toward the idea that most residents did not need college degrees for their work.

Reactions to the statement, "It is fashionable to live here," varied among the three groups. Fifty-two percent of the newcomers agreed and seemed quite definitive. This suggested that this living style was "fashionable" among these people. The largest proportion of the established residents, 34 percent, were neutral, though opinion was fairly evenly divided. However, 60 percent of the early settlers disagreed.

Fifty percent of all the owners agreed that Ramsey Hill was a closely-knit community where most residents knew their neighbors, while 15 percent voiced no opinion. A majority of the newcomers and established groups felt that this closeness was a reality, but 60 percent of the early settlers disagreed. Many of them felt the "neighborhood spirit" had been broken when many of their close friends left the area. The older residents seem to have relatively little in common with the new, young residents, except for a shared love and appreciation for the structures in the area.

In support of this possibility, 54 percent of these early settlers responded negatively when asked if most of the people with whom they regularly socialized lived in the neighborhood. Opinion among the newcomers was evenly divided, while a large proportion, 62 percent, of the established residents said they did not regularly socialize with neighbors. This suggested a general absence of social ties among the owners although to a marginal extent, such ties did exist among the most recent residents.

The owners cooperating with our survey tended to agree that the Ramsey Hill neighborhood was a much better neighborhood in 1975 than it was in 1970. While three-quarters of the newest residents agreed with the statement, another 25 percent were neutral. And while most of the residents thought that the neighborhood had improved in the five years between 1970 and 1975, several were undecided or disagreed, citing their feeling that the neighborhood "had seen better days."

At the time of this study, the neighborhood did contain a number of boarded-up homes. What the fate of these structures should be was the subject of large-scale disagreement among the owner-occupants surveyed. Closer examination of the data indicated several interesting "deviating" attitudinal elements in this disagreement. The newcomers were quite forceful in thinking these empty homes should stand, many suggesting that "action should be taken against the slum landlords, forcing them into selling, or else forcing them to maintain their properties." Almost 60 percent of the owners who had lived in the area over seven years, however, felt that the boarded-up homes should be torn down. Even though many were basically against HRA's program of tearing down homes, they felt that the boarded-up structures were eyesores and encouraged absentee ownership as well as crime, which in turn had the effect of downgrading the quality of the neighborhood.

The study asked if the owner-occupants thought that the renovation forced poor people to move out of the area. The newcomers tended to agree, many stating that it was unfortunate. Some commented that rising rental costs, largely due to renovated structures, could alter some of the diversity of the area, but others felt that funds should be made available for lower-income families who wished to maintain their property. A majority, 71 percent, of the established residents either disagreed with the statement or remained neutral. The early settlers generally voiced split opinions on this matter.

And, in response to a related survey question, the owners generally felt that the neighborhood should have mixed housing to accommodate a variety of income groups. One owner wrote, "A variety of housing does presently exist. Rising rental prices will tend to homogenize the rental population."

Finally, residents surveyed were asked to react to statements concerning the future of Ramsey Hill as they saw it.

First, over three-quarters of the respondents felt that one major way the neighborhood would be maintained in the future was through a detailed planning program. The newcomers especially felt that community spirit directed toward planning the neighborhood was a most beneficial factor. One owner expressed frustration about "the non-participants who could not care less about themselves or their property."

Some expressed exasperation at the multiple planning committees that already existed and felt that this could be
harmful for the neighborhood.

The respondents generally claimed to be active in plans for the neighborhood's development. A majority of the newcomers reported that they were actively participating in the community's development; but fewer owners in the other two categories reported personal involvement in the development of the neighborhood. Most of the owners who reported participation were members of the Ramsey Hill Association.

Over 80 percent of all the responding owners agreed that the period between 1975 and 1980 would see the neighborhood changing for the better. The newcomers were most optimistic, many adding that the "personal sweat equity" invested could only have the effect of improving the neighborhood. This optimism was generally shared by the other owners, particularly by the early settlers. Their general view was expressed succinctly by a widow who had resided in the area since 1933—"My family moved in when the area was nice and people took pride in their property. When I-94 was constructed, and HUD came in, it started to deteriorate. But with all the new young people moving in and taking interest in the lovely houses, the pride of the neighborhood is being restored. I believe it will succeed and be a good place to live in."

Why . . .

Finally, the study sought to discover why the Ramsey Hill resident who emerged from our profile was willing to invest what one of them called a "personal

sweat equity." Again, owner-occupants were asked to respond to questions and statements that centered around their attitudes toward their homes and the neighborhood in general.

First, the study tried to determine if any particular factors about the neighborhood were important in the decision to locate here (table 1).

Table 1: Owners' Reasons For Moving Into Ramsey Hill (by percent)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years of Owner-Occupancy</th>
<th>% (n*)</th>
<th>% (n*)</th>
<th>% (n*)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1-6 (Newcomers)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Spirit</td>
<td>21 (22)</td>
<td>8 (5)</td>
<td>2 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type of House</td>
<td>29 (30)</td>
<td>26 (16)</td>
<td>5 (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proximity and Central Location</td>
<td>27 (28)</td>
<td>27 (17)</td>
<td>38 (23)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Familiarity with Area</td>
<td>7 (7)</td>
<td>13 (8)</td>
<td>40 (24)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Life-Style</td>
<td>13 (13)</td>
<td>16 (10)</td>
<td>10 (6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
<td>3 (3)</td>
<td>10 (6)</td>
<td>5 (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100 (103)</td>
<td>100 (62)</td>
<td>100 (60)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Numbers are larger than the number of respondents since many tended to give multiple answers.

No one major reason could be cited as the reason for moving to this particular neighborhood. The central location seemed to be a common attractive factor. Whereas the newcomers and established residents cited "the house I liked was here," the early settlers claimed that they were familiar with the area. Note that several of the newcomers said that the "community spirit" in the neighborhood was important.

Virtually none of the respondents could cite a single reason for choosing a particular structure, either. Various structural qualities influenced their decision, and some found that certain special needs, such as space and price, were fulfilled (table 2).

Table 2: Owners' Reasons For House Move (by percent)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years of Owner-Occupancy</th>
<th>% (n*)</th>
<th>% (n*)</th>
<th>% (n*)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1-6 (Newcomers)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Character of House</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>size, space</td>
<td>8 (9)</td>
<td>28 (20)</td>
<td>11 (7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>architectural style</td>
<td>11 (13)</td>
<td>14 (10)</td>
<td>17 (10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>age</td>
<td>13 (15)</td>
<td>14 (10)</td>
<td>23 (14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>quality of construction</td>
<td>12 (14)</td>
<td>13 (9)</td>
<td>2 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unique</td>
<td>2 (3)</td>
<td>1 (1)</td>
<td>3 (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Price</td>
<td>24 (28)</td>
<td>18 (13)</td>
<td>5 (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Challenge, Restoration</td>
<td>18 (22)</td>
<td>3 (2)</td>
<td>2 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opportunity</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family</td>
<td>1 (1)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>11 (7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Area</td>
<td>6 (7)</td>
<td>6 (4)</td>
<td>23 (14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
<td>5 (6)</td>
<td>3 (2)</td>
<td>3 (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100 (118)</td>
<td>100 (71)</td>
<td>100 (61)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Numbers are larger than the number of respondents since many tended to give multiple answers.

The character of the structure, however, was most commonly cited by the owners. This included both external and internal features of the dwelling. Distinctive architecture, large lots, and solid construction were named as strong incentives to buy these homes, as was the internal space, with large rooms, high ceilings, authentic woodwork, clever craftsmanship, and stained-glass windows.

Each owner stressed other nonstructural factors as offering extra incentives for moving into the house. Among the newcomers the price of the structure and renovation accompanied every response. Many felt they had received a bargain. Though it was difficult to ascertain the price paid for each structure, an average structure with ten to fifteen rooms was normally purchased for under $25,000. The established residents emphasized a combination of space and price. Many felt that more room was required for sheltering their families. And, homes in Ramsey Hill filled this need at a reasonable price.

Many of the early settlers either had inherited the structures or lived within the area all their lives and felt that there was no particular reason beyond that for their residing there. Some added that the houses and the neighborhood were

Renovation in process at 422 Laurel Avenue.
attractive when they had first lived there, but had since “deteriorated into a ghetto.” Others commented that the quality of the structures made them good investments.

Owner-occupants were asked specifically whether or not a distinctive house was important to them. Fully 75 percent of all respondents said that distinctiveness was important, with the strongest agreement, 86 percent, coming from the newcomers. About 22 percent of the established residents and early settlers, however, were neutral about this issue.

The owners generally agreed that the age and architectural style of the structures were the most striking characteristics of these houses. This is not very surprising, since most of the owners commented on the character of the house as one of its most attractive facets. The minority who disagreed with the statement felt that there were other, equally striking features. An overall disengagement with the neighborhood was reflected in the responses of owners who had lived in the area for more than seventeen years.

Again, residents strongly agreed that the internal space available in these houses was a distinguishing feature. None of the newcomers or established residents disagreed. A relatively large segment, 75 percent, of the early settlers remained neutral, and 9 percent disagreed, which again may suggest a general unhappiness with the area on their part.

The rising property values in the area led us to ask whether or not any of these owners had bought their homes solely as an investment. Almost 12 percent said they did, but the large majority denied that an attractive investment was their only motive for moving to the area. It appears reasonable to assume, however, that very few of the owners in the area would deny the presence of the investment factor.

Over 75 percent of the owners regarded these old, large houses as a scarce resource. One respondent explained, “I am an antique collector and have found the best antique money can buy. My collection seems to fit right in.” However, a large proportion, 18 percent, of the early settlers remained neutral on this point.

Opinions differed on whether or not this kind of house was difficult to maintain in today’s economy. Twenty-two percent of the owners were reluctant to commit themselves at all on this point, with about 43 percent agreeing that it was a difficult proposition, and 37 percent admitting to no particular hardship. Some of the older residents added that rising fuel costs were presenting some hardship. One newer resident explained, “Any house is difficult to maintain in today’s economy.” One other resident commented that her heating bill was reduced because of the good construction.

The newcomers unanimously agreed that it was important that the house be maintained well in the future. This seems indicative of the general enthusiasm for and personal involvement in the structures in this group. Seventy-five percent of the established residents and 79 percent of the early settlers also agreed. But, several owners in these two categories remained neutral on this attitudinal point. One owner commented that he “really did not care if the house was still standing in the future.”

Two-thirds of the owners said they would reduce other expenditures to own and maintain their houses. Strongest agreement on this point was among the newcomers, 74 percent of whom were willing to sacrifice other things to maintain these homes, and the early settlers, 70 percent of whom expressed this opinion. A few of the established residents, however, expressed no opinion or disagreed with the statement.

There were varied responses to the statement that “this house represents my position in the community.” A large proportion, 34 percent, of all the owners remained neutral. About half of the earliest owners, and 38 percent of the more recent owners agreed that their homes reflected their community position. An average of 24 percent of all owners disagreed.

Beyond the findings...

The bare recital of statistics offered by the study’s observed empirical findings required closer examination. Primary attention was again paid to the group labeled “newcomers,” since it appeared that this group of homeowners were at the core of the revitalization process of the Ramsey Hill neighborhood.

To reiterate, an increase in the number of owner-occupied structures and the number of owner-occupants in the area occurred after 1969, and especially after 1972. The timing of this renewed interest in the area’s housing stock caused one to seek for possible occurrences prior to 1969-70 that could have spurred this mobility phenomenon.

In the early 1950s a similar process had begun in the area south of Summit Avenue. Young families moved in and began renovating structures, forming the Summit Hill Association in 1968. It seems reasonable to suggest that this early trend diffused into Ramsey Hill by the late 1960s.

The formation of Old Town Restorations, Inc. in 1967 by a few select homeowners in Ramsey Hill was crucial for this trend. Many of those living on Summit and Portland Avenues had witnessed the deterioration of structures to the north, on the “doorstep” of their environment. A main objective of the founders of Old Town Restorations was to stall this blight by buying older homes, renovating them, and then selling them to owner-occupants. They tried to main-

Laurel Avenue during the Ramsey Hill House Tour, 1975. A neighborhood open house sponsored by the Ramsey Hill Association to show renovations completed and in process and to promote the neighborhood.
tain owner-occupancy of single-family houses. The houses were relatively cheap and in plentiful supply. Clearly, a basic idea was to instigate a housing demand in the area.

However, the local idea did not materialize until the early 1970s. The formation of the Old Town Restorations group no doubt provided an important incentive for other owner-occupants to stay on. The group also created a base for future occupants. Their homes could be used as examples of "what could be done" and showed new owners that the gamble they were about to take could pay off. A positive and attractive demonstration effect had been fostered in the area.

The formation of the Ramsey Hill Association in 1972 provided the extra incentive the process needed. This community organization advertised the area, attended to the welfare of the homeowners, and skillfully developed the necessary political clout to stall any undesirable initiatives on the part of the Housing Authority or other related agencies in the area.

At a time when "citizen participation" had taken the Twin Cities by force, the Ramsey Hill Association came through as being both effective and responsive to citizen needs, offering a secure and stable base to incoming homeowners. Homeownership seemed less risky and far easier to justify on a number of counts, by virtue of the work of the association.

This influx of new owner-occupants also seems to have been influenced by another factor. The demand for housing in the area had generally increased as those born in the post-World War II "baby boom" had reached the age when house purchase had become highly desired. Meanwhile, few houses had been built due, in great part, to the slump in the housing industry. Inflated real estate prices made it difficult for many young persons to acquire a house of their own. The older and relatively inexpensive homes in the Ramsey Hill neighborhood could meet the demands of these buyers.

Almost all the owners surveyed, whether old or new residents, felt that the housing stock was special. For most of the newcomers, this was the central attraction of the area. One must examine why this kind of a housing stock was so attractive, and who it attracted.

The study showed the principal attraction was the structural "character." No uniform definition of meaning of "character" can be derived from our findings. However, the responding owners used a number of terms that seem to pertain to the concept—age, architectural style, size, and good construction. Age and quality construction together constitute a special kind of housing stock in relatively short supply, making it a scarce resource to be likened to a valued antique. In an age when many people seek unique living places as well as promising investment property, an "architectural antique" becomes highly attractive.

One factor which further added to the houses' attractiveness for the owners was their potential. Re-creation of the interiors of the houses while maintaining the exterior architectural design, gave them, they felt, opportunity to be creative and independent in shaping internal space to suit personal needs and tastes. Added to these incentives were the houses' relatively low prices, mostly due to the condition of the structures and the relative lack of interest shown in the structures up to the early 1970s. The increased demand and limited supply, however, has resulted in rising prices.

After 1970 a certain kind of resident was attracted to the area. Two basic characteristics distinguished these people: an appreciation for the home as a central part of one's life and a willingness and desire to renovate the structures.

Most of the newcomers in this study were young people looking for a family house. They were highly educated and tended to be professionals by occupation. Drawing mainly middle- to upper-middle-class incomes, they possessed the leisure time needed to renovate their homes and participate in relevant neighborhood affairs. They also had relatively easy access to loans and grants for any improvements. Clearly, persons in the lower-income brackets would have a difficult time securing the required finances to renovate these structures.

The family size of most of these recent residents made their renovation activities easier, too. Most of them had no children, permitting them to devote more time to the structure and other interests. Moreover, the average of two adults per household allowed the family to use the extra rooms for privacy and for special renovation uses.

The other two resident categories also showed affection for their structures but tended to be far less preoccupied with renovation. Although most were involved in regular maintenance, their incentives for having moved into the house put them in a different category than the newcomers. Many of the early settlers and established residents lived with their parents in the area and inherited the houses. Others moved in because they needed the space for their families. In contrast, space for family expansion appears to have been of low priority for the newcomers.

The older residents also differed from the newcomers on other counts. They tended to be high school graduates. Many were retired. Others worked in clerical or operative jobs. Among the established residents, we found a few who were highly educated, placed in upper-class income levels, and who were highly motivated in promoting the area. It should be noted that these professional families were originally instrumental in setting the stage for the neighborhood revitalization process.

A majority of the newcomers were not born in St. Paul and had lived in other places than in the city. In contrast, many of the older resident-owners in Ramsey Hill were from St. Paul and had lived there for most of their lives. Most of the newcomers had lived in the vicinity of Ramsey Hill before purchasing their present dwellings. Quite a few lived in the area south of Summit Avenue, but the high real estate prices discouraged many from buying property in the area. Also, because many second-generation families seemed to be returning to occupy the houses of their parents in the Summit Hill area, these Ramsey Hill owners had looked for housing elsewhere. Because many worked in St. Paul and were familiar with this environment, Ramsey Hill offered an alternative. The presence of a neighborhood association and persons interested in improving the area, helped the owners feel secure about the future prospects. The neighborhood's organization, serving as a chief local real estate agent, was crucial in inspiring this confidence.

Looking closely at these newcomers' perceptions of their residences, it was evident that many were beginning to identify more closely with their structure. Many felt that a distinctive house was important to them, that the improved condition of the dwelling yielded satisfaction from the "sweat equity" they had invested. Quite a few felt they would live in the house for some years to come. Although some admitted hardship in maintaining the house in the current economy, to most of them it was important that the structure be well kept.

In contrast, many of the established residents were neutral on this point, while the early settlers tended to have stronger attachments through family bonds and traditions.

Several neighborhood elements were important to the owners responding to our questionnaire. Many pointed to the area's proximity to downtown. Its central location suited all age groups, but especially the older people. Several pointed out that the area is close to downtown shopping, banking, and insurance facilities. It is close to the river, and affords an attractive scenic view. The Hill location gives the area a distinc-
tive topographical quality many of the owners took pride in. As many of the owners worked in downtown St. Paul, this meant a short ride to work and back, with convenient public transportation.

Diversity of life-styles was another factor that made the area popular. Many of the most recent adopters felt the area was suitable for different age groups. Various life-styles were present, and many owners pointed out that the neighborhood was racially integrated. (However, as a resident pointed out, the notion of the area being racially integrated is not substantiated by census figures.) Many of the newcomers felt that the area gave them the freedom to pursue the life-style they chose, and that the area’s “pluralism” made it a “select” neighborhood.

However, our data on the owners’ socio-economic background suggested that most of them fall into a homogeneous profile of similar educational, occupational, social, and economic background. The diversity of the area seemed due to a larger measure to the renter than to the owner population. The renters were in the majority and the source of many of the owners’ perceptions about ethnic and socio-economic variety of the area.

The newcomers thought the neighborhood possessed “close community atmosphere.” However, as our findings suggest, these feelings tended not to be shared by the other owners. Certain internal and external factors in the neighborhood may help explain these perceptual differences.

We almost have to dismiss the assumed existence of internal community bonds on the basis of our findings. The principal common bond that every owner shared was interest in renovation and maintenance of the structures. This is the focus of community attention, a focus that could hardly be classified as a “typical” social bond.

The Ramsey Hill Association represented the most important and visible manifestation of the homeowners’ common concern for renovation and maintenance of structures. Through the association they projected their love and concern for the houses and property. Beyond these “structural bonds,” however, it was not obvious that the community possessed strong social ties.

As far as external bonds among the newcomers are concerned, the Housing and Redevelopment Authority was often cited as the “unifying enemy.” Many older owners resented this agency for what several called “the ulcers it caused the owners who did not know when their structures would be bulldozed next.”

Many newcomers criticized the HRA for tearing down the older homes. Many owners advocated citizen participation in a planning program for the area to improve and preserve the neighborhood in the future.

Most of the newcomers felt that the area was generally improving and that their efforts were vital in this process. General optimism was shared in the upgrading of Selby Avenue, which many suggested would be revitalized gradually through the renovators’ efforts in the neighborhood. Many resented the city’s negative attitude toward the street, which reflected on the neighborhood as such, but most felt that this would change for the better with time.

Residents felt it was important that the area’s diversity be maintained; most owners agreed that mixed housing for different income levels should be available. Some commented on the effects of renovation. While the poor were forced to move out, the higher rents of renovated structures tended to attract a more economically homogeneous group of renters to the area. Generally, even though most new owners claimed to be actively involved in the area’s development, everyone felt that he or she somehow contributed toward the maintaining and improving of the structures they lived in.

The future of Ramsey Hill is unpredictable. By 1975, when this study was made, revitalization was apparently successful as measured by owners’ general enthusiasm and plans to stay in the area. The investment of personal toil in the structures, it seemed, would make most of the owners strive to make the neighborhood an even more viable living environment.

A central element in the revitalization process has been the Ramsey Hill Association, a driving force in recruiting owners for the homes and dealing with issues of general concern for the neighborhood. Its record in promoting the area, voicing concern over the unavailability of low-interest loans for rehabilitation and the increasing tax burden on home improvements has been of great value to the area.

The association’s performance on monitoring speculators in the area has also been vital for the overall balance in the neighborhood maintenance efforts. However, the improvement of houses in the area did trigger rising real estate prices. As the homes in better condition were sold, more dilapidated structures were being held, to be sold when prices attained “desirable levels.” The association, it seems to this writer, would do well to step in and initiate proper action against those absentee landlords who make no improvements and yet reap benefits from the area.

Finally, it would seem important that the association continue to emphasize maintaining the residential character of the area. Any commercial intrusion is likely to disrupt the continuity of the neighborhood and affect the property values. As part of this effort the association should start to pay more attention to the needs of the renters. Even though this group is generally considered transient, there is no need denying that many of them have lived in the area for long periods of time. They are part of the “character” of the neighborhood and should have some say in its general development.

The primary objective of the study was to better understand the forces which have the potential for reviving inner-city neighborhoods. Inner-city neighborhoods have received many death notices. But the Ramsey Hill neighborhood defied dire predictions. The neighborhood offers rich and innovative learning potential for a number of inner-city neighborhoods which may find themselves in situations similar to that which Ramsey Hill faced in the early 1970s.

Photographs and study area map courtesy of Old Town Restorations. St. Paul map by Sandra Haas.

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Register of Deeds, The Office of, City Hall, St. Paul, Minnesota.
St Paul Daily Globe, February 4, 1883.
Student Papers in the Public Administration Library

Research papers prepared by masters degree candidates in the Hubert H. Humphrey Institute of Public Affairs are lodged in the Public Administration Library after they have been approved by the institute’s faculty. Believing that many of these papers may be of interest to our readers, we begin with this issue of the CURA Reporter to list recently acquired “Plan B papers,” as they are called. The Public Administration Library is located in room 365, Blegen Hall, West Bank Campus of the University of Minnesota (637-2892). The faculty advisor for each study is indicated at the end of the entry.


Koek, Cynthia Longseth, Recipient copayment as a Medicaid cost containment mechanism. 1978. 30p. Anderson.


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More City-to-City Busing?

Can an increase in intercity bus service encourage enough additional ridership to pay for itself? Which existing lines have the greatest chance of success for additional buses? Are there unserved destinations where a new bus route might be successful? These were the questions addressed by a University of Minnesota, Geography Department graduate Eli Stern in a study of all Twin Cities-oriented bus routes.

Stern, in his “Bus Transportation as an Intra-Regional Transit Mode” (Ph.D. thesis, July 1976), studied the role and potential for intercity bus service in southeastern Minnesota. He was particularly interested in how the level of bus service and the socioeconomic characteristics of intercity travelers can influence the probability of an individual’s using a bus between the Twin Cities and other directly-connected cities. He surveyed bus riders and used a Highway Department (now the Minnesota Department of Transportation) screened line auto survey to establish a modal choice model. He then increased bus levels of service within the model and observed the results, identifying routes that could lure enough people from their autos to buses to make new or additional bus runs profitable.

Establishing and calibrating the model proved to be a challenge. The author had established the stability of the model by testing it in different locations and with different data sets. As a special one-month project in the summer of 1977, he applied the model to all Twin Cities-oriented bus routes. The resulting paper is “The Effect of Level of Service on Intercity Bus Ridership in Minnesota.”

Seventeen existing routes were examined to see whether additional buses could be profitably added. The model identified eight corridors where the total number of auto drivers likely to switch to the bus was greater than the route average loading factor (ridership per bus). These routes were split into first- and second-priorities and recommended for experimentation. First priority routes were those with a better chance for success based on the trip purpose and socioeconomic characteristics of the automobile drivers. These travelers would be the most receptive to the prospect of improved bus service. Second-priority routes generally were at the threshold of supporting new service. (See figure 1 for a map of all considered routes categorized by designated recommendation.)

Stern then looked at potential origins for Twin Cities-oriented bus lines. Eleven places that generate or attract more than forty trips per day (capacity of one bus) between themselves and the Twin Cities are shown in figure 2. Results showed potential too small for supporting a new line. The possible exception might be a line from River Falls to Prescott. Stern suggests (see inset) running this line through Hudon and Hastings. Other parts of Minnesota are well enough connected with the Twin Cities and could only benefit from the increased service frequency indicated above.

Stern was able to show where the greatest potential for improved bus services might lie. His conclusions do not call for major abandonment of the automobile and increased bus service everywhere. However, the information provided can help transportation planners make projections about the markets that could be most effectively served by increased service. Stern’s paper is an example of an academic work turned into a useful planning tool. “The Effect of Level of Service on Intercity Bus Ridership in Minnesota” is available from CURA’s Central Office (612-373-7833) on request.
Recycling the Central City: The Development of a New Town-In Town, CURA 78-1, $6.00.

A detailed examination of the planning and development of a New Town-In Town is presented in this study by Judith A. Martin. Cedar-Riverside, located near downtown Minneapolis, was the first planning effort of this sort. A failed attempt at urban renewal combined with the activities of real estate speculators and an aggressive program of institutional expansion to ensure that the redevelopment of this community would be, at the very least, unusual. The prime mover in the area, Cedar-Riverside Associates, assembled most of the non-institutional land and, after the passage of an urban renewal plan, worked closely with the local housing authority to implement a staged approach to community development. Two singular features of this approach were the insistence on maintaining and upgrading an interim community rather than doing wholesale clearance, and the effort to alter the character of the community by subsidizing various cultural groups that were brought into the area.

Martin's study details the activities of Cedar-Riverside Associates throughout the various phases of planning and through the first stage of construction and occupancy. It looks closely at the relationship of the private developer to the different institutions and to the concerned governmental bodies and regulatory agencies. It describes the developer's efforts to create a socially and economically mixed environment in
the face of discouraging federal regulations. It also details the process through which this particular development became the first federally-sponsored urban new town. One section of the study includes survey material which was gathered after the first year of occupancy; the focus of the statistical material tries to determine degrees of residential satisfaction and motives for choosing to live in the new town, as well as patterns of neighboring. The book is presented with a large number of maps, photographs, and design models to help chronicle the progress of this unusual redevelopment project. Phone CURA (373-7833) for information on where the book can be purchased.


This wall map shows the distribution of various types of heating fuel used in housing units throughout Minnesota. Based on data from the 1970 Census of Housing, seven maps were prepared showing distributions for the various types of fuel: utility gas; fuel oil, kerosene, etc.; bottled, tank, or LP gas; electricity; coal or coke; wood; and “other.” Census data were collected by asking 5 percent of the occupants of year-round housing units which fuel was “most used for house heating.” The fuel use characteristics of all housing units were inferred from this sample. The number of housing units using a given fuel is depicted with dots and shaded circles. For many of the maps the supply system for the fuel is indicated in a color overlay. For example, the gas pipeline network is overlaid on the utility gas fuel map. By placing all seven maps on one wall size sheet, comparison of usage for different fuel types is made easy.

Single copies of this map are available from CURA (373-7833) or the Land Management Information Center at the State Planning Agency (296-1212).

Room at the Top: Moving Women into Administrative Positions in Social Welfare, CURA 78-3.

A conference held at the Spring Hill Conference Center in January 1978 was designed to aid in bringing more women into administrative positions in the area of social welfare. This publication presents the proceedings of that conference as edited by Esther Wattenberg, chair of the Women’s Issues Task Force for the Minnesota chapter of the National Association of Social Workers, the committee which conceived and sponsored the conference with the aid of CURA. The conference was designed to probe three interrelated issues: the identification of both internal and external barriers which appear to impede opportunities, an assessment of the critical skills needed in social welfare management, and the potential for developing a network of women in Minnesota who have administrative career aspirations. Basic administrative concepts, the historical patterns and trends in Minnesota, different styles of administration, and some typical administrative problems are presented and discussed within the 28-page summary of the conference.

See the Sun Again, CURA 78-2.

As part of the Sun Day celebrations on May 3rd, this 20-page pamphlet was prepared summarizing current solar research at the University of Minnesota. Designed for popular distribution, the pamphlet highlights current University research on collecting Minnesota’s sunshine, the storage problem, catching the wind, building below ground, and plants for power. The publication was a cooperative project of the All-University Council on Environmental Quality and the Graduate School Research Development Center.

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- related programs and projects in the University
- related programs in other Minnesota colleges and universities, and
- actions outside the educational establishment which affect our plans and programs.

Comments and contributions are welcome.
Thomas M. Scott, director; Thomas L. Anding, associate director; William J. Craig, assistant director; Judith H. Wein, editor.