RICE UNIVERSITY

THE SOUTH FREEWAY PLANNING PROCESS
AND RESIDENTIAL RELOCATION IN HOUSTON

by

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A THESIS SUBMITTED
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

Master of Architecture

Thesis Director

Houston, Texas

May 1972
ABSTRACT
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The planning of freeways typically revolves around cost-benefit analysis; the route that serves the highest number of users and costs the least is the route selected. One concern in this type of analysis is the cost of obtaining the required right-of-way for the freeway. To keep acquisition cost low, freeways are frequently routed through low income areas, forcing out residents in the path of the freeway.

This thesis analyzes the freeway planning process and the problem of relocation, with particular attention to low income neighborhoods, and the effects of relocation on displaced individuals and businesses in these neighborhoods. A review is given of federal legislation as it relates to highway relocation assistance. Selected case studies of new trends in freeway planning illustrate the growing awareness of the seriousness of dislocation of people by new freeways.

In conclusion, an in-depth study is made of a proposed freeway in Houston, Texas, the South Freeway,
and the effects of relocation from this freeway on displaced individuals. A questionnaire sent out to displaced individuals illustrates how the process of relocation has affected the lifestyles of this lower income group. From this study recommendations are made as to how the relocation process can be improved.
"Relocation has forced an extension of our horizons to include the human being in the equation not simply in a conception of things as they might be, but in terms of the realities of bringing about changes in a community of human beings, institutions, politicians, businessmen and others who, for a variety of reasons, resist most forms of change."

Jack Meltzer
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The freeway to a large extent is an urban phenomenon; a system to move large numbers of people in a short period of time. Traditionally, planning for freeways has evolved around cost-benefit analysis, which puts freeways in areas where they will benefit the highest number of people. With this as the only method it is possible occasionally to design freeways through undeveloped areas, but in too many other cases the freeways cut through the urban core. When this is necessary the government has the right to take an individual's land on the principle of eminent domain; the public good is more important than the rights of the individual. Relocation of individuals displaced is a responsibility of the taker of the land, in this case the state highway department. Freeway planners have been able in most instances to route a proposed freeway through the worst sections of town, where housing values are low (or lower than average), thereby reducing acquisition costs. Opposition to the taking of property in these areas is
substantially less than if the freeway were to cut through middle and upper income areas. In addition, the lower income areas have much less political influence in mounting opposition to a proposed freeway. A justification often made for routing freeways through these areas is that this is a form of urban renewal which removes blighted sections of the city, but too often it doesn't help the remainder of the neighborhood which frequently continues to deteriorate at a faster rate. Such freeways are likely to take out certain community services as well that will not be replaced after completion of the project.

Many groups in the city see the low income areas, so called slums, as devoid of any significant community values and social system. As this thesis will show, it is precisely these low income areas which exhibit a high degree of cohesiveness and pertinent social values. By cutting through a neighborhood, many important relationships may be severed, and certain sections of the community which make it viable may be forced out. It is this group, the low income community, that can least afford to make a required move, for mobility in
this group is very low. Because of limited incomes there is a rather narrow selection of housing available to this group. In most instances moves will be to areas adjacent to the freeway zone; in other terms, these moves are internal rather than external.

The negro faces an even more severe problem. Because of discrimination in housing choices the negro is forced to take housing that in many cases is substandard. In addition to the negro there are two other groups which face severe hardships in relocation: the elderly and the small businessmen. The elderly have neither the physical nor the mental ability to make successful moves; the small businessman does not have the capital or ability to relocate business patterns that he has established, often over long periods of time. The businessman too often does not have the capital to start up his business again.

Federal legislation regarding relocation came into being in the Housing Act of 1937. The demolition of slum units was the primary concern of this early legislation. Relocation assistance in regard to highway construction did not come under federal legislation until
the 1964 Highway Act, but this legislation merely set guidelines; it was still left up to the individual states as to whether or not to provide assistance to families displaced by highway construction. The 1968 Highway Aid Act made it mandatory for all states to give assistance in relocating families, but it did not cover people renting, and gave little assistance to uprooted businesses. The most far-reaching legislation to date is the Uniform Relocation Assistance and Real Property Acquisition Act of 1970. This gives equal benefits to people displaced by any federally aided programs. But regardless of federal legislation it is impossible to give back to people lifeways that have been torn asunder by dislocation for a freeway.

The thesis will study a proposed freeway in Houston, the South Freeway, and the effects of relocation on the individuals displaced by this freeway. A questionnaire has been developed and sent out to the displaced individuals to obtain their reactions and opinions on the forced move. From the questionnaire we will learn how long ago acquisition took place, and how long the land has remained vacant. The method of notification will be
determined, and how the displaced found new living accommodations and how long they spent looking for this new housing. The questionnaire asks opinions as to whether payments were adequate. Questions are asked concerning impressions of new living accommodations; are rental or mortgage payments more or less than before, are living accommodations better or worse than before, is the neighborhood better or worse, do old friendships continue, does social activity continue with people from the area from which displaced, do the respondents continue at the same job, is the distance to work more or less, and were the respondents treated fairly in regard to relocation assistance.

From this questionnaire we will look into the success or failure of relocation services in Houston. Recommendations as to how the process can be improved will be given. In addition, the thesis will present case studies that demonstrate some of the new trends in highway design as they relate to community disruption; the multidiscipline design team approach and the multiple use principle.
The Freeway Planning Process
The freeway planning process is best characterized by economic studies dealing with cost-benefit analysis, origin-destination reports, future land use trends and population forecasts. In all of these studies little if any emphasis is placed on the social conditions, community consequences and economic disruption of neighborhoods through which these freeways pass.¹

The focus of a majority of freeway studies is on cost-benefit analysis, trip generation and origin-destination reports. Cost-benefit ratios present worth of benefits minus present worth of costs.² This type of analysis has a series of shortcomings. There is no consideration for losses to small businesses, disruption of neighborhoods, moving people, and removal of tax property from the roles. Cost-benefit studies usually measured user-direct type of benefits; costs that accrue directly to the drivers on the highway. It must be pointed out that there are three other types of considered benefits: indirect-user benefits, non-user direct benefits and non-user indirect benefits. Indirect-user benefits are intangible benefits which measure quality of service
such as comfort, convenience, and reduction in travel time. Non-user direct benefits are benefits to those whose environment is affected by the freeway such as property values and accessibility. Non-user indirect benefits are those that accrue to communities through taxes, social changes, etc.

Trip generation techniques involve taking an area and assigning average trips to the households, then totaling these trips for the area. Again many shortcomings can be cited from this type of study. It is based upon the premise that an area is homogeneous in nature, whereas in reality areas are actually characterized by wide variations in actual land use. To make trip generation studies reliable continual updating is needed. Current estimates of the inputs to the forecasting procedure and data describing the changes in the estimating relationships must be made. Recent advances in trip generation studies have been made through the use of surveys which deal with the individual households within an area. Samples are taken periodically to see if there are any changes in the pattern of travel. If an area changes in size or makeup the study would not lose its viability.
Along the lines of the trip generation technique is the site analysis study; surveys are taken at major impact points, such as a new shopping area or an intensive employment area. Similar to these studies is the journey to work survey; if a freeway can handle peak loads at rush hours to work, then it can handle in-between loads. Journey to work surveys are taken at places of employment to determine mode of transportation, information regarding family characteristics such as income and size, time and routing of work trips as well as attitudes regarding work travel.

A derivative of trip generation studies is the origin-destination model. An early technique of origin-destination studies was the taking of volume counts and cordon counts at selected points in the city: these counts were a guide to selection of suitable pavement surfaces, determining sources of congestion and their means of elimination, evaluation of the effects of traffic on street cleaning, and as an aid in the establishment of regulatory measures. Street design in early studies was to permit maximum return to investors in land speculation. Home interviews were set up to
determine demand for transportation facilities. Studies were also set up to study truck and taxi movement, external traffic, and existing traffic movements. Results of origin-destination studies can be broken down into three parts: first, a census or description of urban travel activity at a single point in time; secondly, an analysis of the survey data to determine the forces which explain different travel patterns; and third, forecasts of future traffic in terms of both volume and spatial distribution. Certain faults can be found in origin-destination studies. A problem exists when lumping all data for a zone into an average; wide variations in trip generation within the zone will not be recognized. Another problem is the wide variation in trip generation rates among different land uses, which is substantially greater than the variation among zones for the same land use. It is also difficult to predict future travel demands; they are not likely to be of a stable rate of increase.

Cost-benefit, trip generation, and origin-destination studies deal with the middle to upper income groups whose mobility and travel desires are much greater and
more easily met than the lower income groups, yet it is the lower income groups who benefit the least and suffer the greatest harm to their environment. Freeways should be analyzed not only from economic and population aspects, but from community aspects as well. Concern should be given to noise, air pollution, glare, economic, and social changes that occur within the neighborhood through which the freeway passes.

As is usually the case, most highway planners have engineering backgrounds and are uncomfortable when involved with sociological problems. The highway planner puts heavy emphasis upon vehicle operating costs. Public officials put most of their emphasis upon the movement of local traffic. Matters of concern to the community such as noise, air pollution, and accessibility are given only minor consideration by public officials and highway planners.

Highway studies are done within the state highway planning office. The highway planner controls and conducts the study and contacts community groups only to present findings. Plans may or may not be adjusted to meet objections of affected parties after presentation of findings.
This is the way highway planning was done up until the last five to ten years. Federal legislation and public concern have changed to a great degree the way highway planning is done now. "Transportation planning can no longer be based strictly on economic and engineering efficiency, but must be weighed against social, economic, environmental, aesthetic needs, personal mobility, accessibility to opportunities, comfort and convenience, clean air, open spaces, pleasing surroundings, preservation of neighborhoods, and urban diversity."5

The first problem the highway planner has before him in analyzing the impact of a freeway upon a community is the definition of community values. Before he can study what elements are important to the community he must determine if a community exists. "A community is defined by the occurrence of mutual activities through participation in organizations which have as their goal the satisfaction of physical, social and psychological needs, within an appropriately limited spatial field."6 There are three elements in the defining of a community: social unit, place, and way of life. The community is
a social unit of which space is an integral part. A community is place, a relatively small one. And a community indicates a desire towards a particular way of life, how the inhabitants do things and what they want.

Problems in defining the community have been in separating phenomena which may or may not be attributable to a community. Does the community contain all aspects of social life, namely, family living, voluntary associations, political and economic organizations? The community participant's position is determined by age, sex and social rank, and it is necessary for a community to be made up of many groups. A grouping of community leaders form the "power elite" or persons of influence.

For a community to have any degree of interaction there needs to be integration and unity within actions. In a study done by Jon E. Burkhardt six descriptors are pointed out in measuring the degree of interaction present in a community, three behavioral; neighboring, use of local facilities, and participation, and three perceptual variables; identification, commitment, and evaluation. It is essential that if an action is to be considered valid within a certain locality, it must
express a number of interests in the local life or be closely related to other actions which express such interests. Important to the interaction within a community is the realization of certain values and cultural themes which the people want in their locality. Another aspect to consider is what does the community wish to become: one is the idea of homogeneity, participation and face-to-face contact, and the other is cosmopolitanism, anonymity, and mass contact.

To the planner, community values are directly related to physical assets or an aggregate of physical assets. Through this definition it is often possible to miss changes which are not reflected immediately by markets, or which may be too subtly meshed with other systematic changes to be discernible by relatively crude quantification. Physical asset impacts will quite likely have effects on social assets as well. Social systems also interact with physical surroundings creating physical change.

The U. S. Bureau of Public Roads defines community values as, "in a democratic society peoples values about public expenditure are largely weighed through the
political process. The technician has the responsibility for developing alternatives that take these values into consideration and then helping to evaluate the alternatives."  

Another definition is "that quality of a thing which individuals or society feels is worth acquiring, protecting, and conserving."  

Community values may be determined from market analyses, public opinion polls, anthropological surveys, public hearings, interviews with informed leaders and press content analysis. A major problem lies in the fact that community values may vary from one person to the next, and the list of important values can become staggering. The most widely used method of gaining an idea of community values is through attitude surveys, even though most attitude surveys usually reflect opinions rather than true attitudes. Opinions are usually beliefs, views or judgments and are the feelings of a group rather than an individual. Opinions are often easily swayed by a particular happening or event. Attitudes can be obtained, however, by measuring abstract elements such as time, comfort, convenience, cost prestige, aesthetics and education. People with similar
socio-economic backgrounds are found to respond in a similar manner with regard to attitudes, and will share common community values. 9

A second concern of the highway planner is neighborhood limits. Freeways that cut through neighborhoods, interrupt lines of movement, dislocate important businesses, residents and public service facilities. The problem for the planner is to define the limits of a neighborhood. "A neighborhood is the smallest subcultural cluster of primary families." 10 A family selects a neighborhood in which the behavioral patterns of the residents are most like their own. 11 Residents tend to define their neighborhood geographically in terms of major streets and highways. To the degree that population in a neighborhood is stable, cultural patterns of that neighborhood can be expected to be continuous, persistent and enduring. The effects of a freeway cutting through a neighborhood would be to disrupt the cultural continuity.
"Transportation is not an end in itself but a tool for bettering the condition of urban life. It is not just to move people but to enhance the quality of cities and improve the social well being of residents. Information is needed to perceive individual community preferences. To formulate goals in the light of new technology and changing habits and values, to evaluate the impacts of various proposals." A good transportation design is one that yields the highest social return on the investment, and that alleviates effectively the conflicting interests of the individuals and groups affected by the project. Transportation planning must be done concurrently with land use planning, and should reflect long range land use plans. Both land use and transportation plans should agree upon desired objectives. The transportation planning process can be viewed as a tool to structure the urban environment in accordance with prespecified political, social and economic goals.

One freeway planning proposal established by an architect, Andrew F. Euston Jr., sees the planning process as made up of three teams: a decision team, citizen or community team, and a multidisciplined design team.
The decision team would be made up of federal and city agency representatives empowered to implement designs and goals, and to determine the composition of the remaining elements of the team. A citizen or community team would be made up of businessmen and neighborhood representatives. A multidisciplined design team would be made up of consulting highway and traffic engineers, architects, landscape architects, economists, sociologists, acoustic engineers, illuminating engineers and artists.

The planner must be aware of a gamut of pertinent guidelines in the planning process such as: concerns to community and property owners, total project cost, assessed value of right-of-way, number of dwelling units displaced, index of right-of-way acquisition factors, index of freeway effect on community appearance, benefits to users of freeway and major streets, total net traffic capacity, major street traffic relief, time saved, accidents prevented and local use of the freeway. At the conclusion of each design stage the planning strategy is reviewed and modified within these pertinent guidelines.
An essential element in the planning process is the involvement of the community. Two ways of getting responses from individuals are to measure their reactions to a simulated transportation system, inferring from this relevant dimensions and areas of importance; and measure their opinions and preferences within existing systems or proposed plans. The highway planner must promote participation in the study to get affected parties to interact. He supplies methodological and technical skills and serves to synthesize objectives. The highway department should establish an office to act as a go-between from the planning department to the community. This liaison office would be involved in the community; defining its goals, short and long range, and gaining an understanding of what must be done to meet transportation needs with respect to community objectives. A community workshop might be established to get community leaders involved in the planning process.

"A better understanding of the potential effects of a physical change on a people can lead to the incorporation of programs that can help to dispel fears,
immobilize some of the opposition, and produce results which not only correct the situation as the public improvement aims to do but also can contribute to the betterment of the community itself and to the satisfaction of most of its residents."\textsuperscript{13}
FOOTNOTES


11. Ibid., Pg. 36.


Case Studies: Baltimore
Chicago
Miami
Philadelphia
Opposition to freeway planning in Baltimore centered around the controversy of tying together three interstate highways, I-70 from the northwest, I-95 from the south, and I-83 from the north. The proposal was to tie these three highways together into a massive sixteen lane interchange with a bridge crossing the Inner Harbor of Baltimore. This scheme would have cut through Rosemont (a stable middle class negro neighborhood), a predominantly negro slum area bordering the Franklin-Mulberry segments, the historic Federal Hill area made up of restored eighteenth century townhouses, and the historic Fells Point area. The freeways would converge at the Inner Harbor interchange, overpowering the intimate scale of the surrounding neighborhoods.

Opposition to this proposal led to architect Archibald Roger's proposal for the formulation of an "urban design concept team," composed of architects, land planners, sociologists, politicians, environmental and behavioral scientists. It was hoped that they would dispel fears on the freeway proposals, and would be able
to blend the freeway construction into the city fabric. Skidmore Owings and Merrill, architects, along with Wilber Smith and Associates, traffic engineers, and Parsons, Brinkerhoff, Quade and Douglas, transit consultants, agreed to serve on the team along with J. E. Greiner Co., engineers, who had been responsible for most of the freeway design in Baltimore up to the present time of 1972.

Skidmore Owings and Merrill along with the other team members agreed to two stipulations: no team member was to confer with any federal official or agency without permission of the State Road Commission (even though the Bureau of Public Roads was putting up the money for the study), and secondarily, no team member was to give out information to the public.

One statement in the urban design team contract did present an opening to the design team for community participation. The highway had to "provide for social, economic, and esthetic needs of the city's environment." To do this Skidmore Owings and Merrill attended meetings set up by neighborhood groups to determine the needs of the people. Through these meetings they were able to
dispense information about the proposed freeway. In this way citizens gained a full understanding of all proposals.

The urban design team found that the segment through Rosemont violated many principles of good highway planning: it would bisect the community, remove commercial establishments, and alter lines of movement. According to the team, the freeway would never have been routed through this area were it a white neighborhood. Another section, the Franklin-Mulberry branch, a negro slum, had already been cleared ten years in advance of construction; it was too late to offer alternatives for this section.

The urban design team asked to make an in-depth study of the Rosemont branch to offer alternatives. From this study came a proposal that would have cost $400,000 less than the original Rosemont branch, cutting through a cemetery, displacing 3600 dead bodies, and missing the Rosemont area altogether. The proposal was turned down because of a state law which prohibited the taking of cemetery land. The team offered the suggestion that the federal government had the power to take the land, but the Policy Advisory Board (a group of city
and state officials appointed to oversee the urban design team) still vetoed the proposal.

The urban design team then decided to concentrate on the traffic service of the proposed freeway system. In all instances they found that the proposed system would not accommodate anticipated traffic; the concept team asked permission from the Policy Advisory Board to come up with an alternative proposal. From this came two alternative proposals: 3A and 3C. 3A eliminated the Inner Harbor bridge and interchange, and added a southerly bypass through mostly vacant industrial land diverting through traffic away from the inner city. The Rosemont segment was still in these plans as originally proposed. Broad boulevards would feed traffic into downtown Baltimore, eliminating the Fremont segment completely. The second proposal, 3C, had the same route as the original plan, 1A, with the addition of a southerly bypass and the narrowing of the Inner Harbor bridge to four lanes. The team was split on which proposal to back. The engineers were in favor of 3C, the architects were in favor of 3A. The Baltimore Highway Department backed 3C and threatened to kick Skidmore Owings and
Merrill off the team if they did not back 3C. But the public had gained by this time a good understanding of highway planning, and were aware of alternatives open to them. The community formed a coalition, Movement Against Destruction, in opposition to plan 3C. The final decision rested with Mayor D'alesandro, and amid all the protest he finally approved plan 3A, but with the Rosemont area being saved by the route through the cemetery. The Federal Hill area will be avoided by a boulevard that will skirt the historic site. The Franklin-Mulberry section will get a school built on the air rights above the roadway and there are several other joint development projects in planning. The Fells Point community, which is still in the path of the freeway, is hoping to have their area declared an historic site which would force the plans to be altered again.
Urban Design Team Proposal: 3A
The Crosstown Expressway in Chicago marks the first time an interdisciplinary design team composed of architects, landscape architects, urban designers, city planners, civil and structural engineers, traffic analysts, sociologists, urban geographers, economists, applied mathematicians, lawyers, and market experts has actually been called upon by a city to design an expressway.

The Crosstown scheme as planned by an earlier Crosstown Expressway Task Force was to have been an eight-lane expressway structure, 120 feet wide and 83 feet high in some sections. It was designed to be built on stilts over the already elevated Belt Line Railroad tracks. There are twenty well defined communities along the route made up of well kept houses occupied by middle class families; criticism of the expressway abounded from civic organizations, professional groups and newspapers that the expressway would blight each neighborhood along its path.

Under considerable fire, the design was given to the Bureau of Public Roads. The Bureau, a division of
the then newly established Department of Transportation, had a new director, Lowell K. Birdwell. Because of growing concern over damages caused by urban expressways and freeways and the damaging effects this freeway might have on the completion of the interstate program, Birdwell recommended the restudying of the proposed expressway under the guidelines of two new ideas: the joint development concept and the urban design team concept.

The joint development concept requires the highway department to purchase more land than required for right-of-way alone and to sell this extra land to the city at cost. The city could use this land for parks, schools and housing developments. Under this concept the Bureau of Public Roads would also give the city the air rights over the expressway.

The urban design team concept is to bring together professionals from many disciplines who can thoroughly study various alternative plans and decide upon the best one with respect to cost-benefit analysis and social, psychological and economic effects to communities bordering a proposed expressway.
The urban design team concept was the choice decided upon, and divided into two groups, a study team and a design team. The study team was made up of two representatives from city, state and federal agencies. Their purpose was to supply the design team with necessary data for design. Two architectural firms, C. F. Murphy and Associates and Skidmore Owings and Merrill, along with two engineering firms made up the design team. The head of the design team was Joseph R. Passoneau, who with an architectural and engineering background supposedly would be familiar with both disciplines.

The expressway alignment was to be based on three key areas established by the earlier group, the Crosstown Expressway Task Force: traffic and engineering, the impact on existing communities, and potential land use. This group had been responsible for two earlier solutions, one an eight lane depressed facility taking the place of Cicero Avenue and the other an eight lane elevated structure over the Belt Line Railroad tracks, the favored scheme which ultimately caused the fresh start. In itself the choice of the elevated route was a break with tradition, in that it was much more expensive.

The Cicero Avenue depressed alignment was $200 million
cheaper, but the Belt Line elevated alignment would displace far fewer homes, businesses and industries, and it would not disrupt any of the communities along the route.

The urban design team led by Passoneau solved the opposition to the elevated proposal. The team proposed two four lane expressways, one to be located along the Cicero Avenue alignment and the other along the Belt Line Railroad on vacant land adjacent to the railroad tracks. This solution eliminated the two most detrimental elements within the community: the rundown Cicero Avenue commercial district and the unused vacant land adjacent to the Belt Line Railroad tracks. Communities along the expressway would be preserved and the only relocation would be 69 residential units along Cicero Avenue. Parks were planned in the area separating the two roadways with playgrounds, recreation areas and green belts which the communities lacked. Frontage roads along the insides of the two segments of the expressway serve as a buffer between expressway and the neighborhoods, as overflow valves when expressway traffic is clogged, as a main thoroughfare for local traffic, and as a way of channeling local traffic to bypasses.
MIAMI

An expressway in Miami completed in 1971 cut a fifty yard wide path through a negro ghetto. A majority of workers in the area are employed as domestics at hotels on Miami Beach. The neighborhood is made up of low income housing and a central shopping area that serves as the focal point for the community. In spite of the fact that the people are poor, there is a good deal of social cohesion. Of the 7500 people that lived in this area a third were out of work. Thirty five hundred people in the area were displaced by the expressway and at that time (5-6 years ago), the federal government did not require the Florida Highway Department to give any assistance to the people thrown out. In addition a Florida law stated that the Highway Department was not required to buy any more land than that which was absolutely required for the right-of-way. A result of this was that some stores were actually cut in half. The Florida Highway Department paid the storeowner for the part needed; many of these stores eventually went out of business.
Before the expressway was opened in 1971, the Florida Department of Transportation authorized a study to measure the damage the expressway had done and the ways to repair it. Designated the "multiple-use opportunities study," the Dade County Planning Department came up with these goals: minimize the barrier effects created by the expressway, provide new public services for the black residential area, create new job opportunities and raise property values along the expressway, and eliminate noise, air and visual pollution caused by the expressway. From these goals, recommendations were made: land under the expressway was to be returned to the people and used as it had been before construction of the expressway, neighborhood stores were to be built to unify the shopping area. Slum housing along the expressway was to be demolished and residents were to be moved into nearby low income housing. A community center to be built beneath the expressway would contain employment, health and welfare offices, and a day care center and playground. A reception center, to be run by the Chamber of Commerce, was to be built beneath the expressway at the junction with busy Biscayne Boulevard. Because this
land is within the expressway right-of-way the Florida Department of Transportation owns the land and can sell it back to private interests with leases as low as one dollar a year. In this way black businessmen can afford to build shops under the expressway to bring back the commercial activity to this area.
PHILADELPHIA

The downtown expressway system in Philadelphia is composed of four segments forming a loop around the central business district. The first section, the Schuylkill Expressway, was built in the 1950's. It is an above ground expressway which meets the needs of moving traffic efficiently, but with little regard for environmental affects. The second section of the downtown loop is north of the central business district; it is a depressed facility with crossovers at major streets. The third section, along the riverfront, is also depressed, but is covered for three and a half blocks as it passes the Society Hill area. The fourth section, the South Street Expressway, proposed for construction in the 1970's, is to be an eight lane depressed road, but has met with considerable opposition.

The rallying point for opposition to the South Street Expressway centers around a low income housing shortage of 45,000 units in Philadelphia. The proposed expressway would uproot more than 5,000 persons with no place to go, 90 percent of them black, 65 percent tenants and 80 percent eligible for public housing. In addition
the project would form a barrier between white and black neighborhoods. South Street, the main shopping street for the negroes, would be eliminated by the expressway. When plans were formulated for the expressway, merchants and landlords stopped maintaining their property. Robert Mitchell, head of the City Planning Commission, 1945-1947, and head of the Urban Traffic and Transportation Board at the time the South Street Expressway was being planned, admitted the board's position thus, "again we were planning only for the transportation function, neglecting the social aspects, except that a goal was to strengthen and enhance the central business district." The State Highway Department supported the design and construction of the South Street Expressway, saying that without this link other proposed regional highway projects would collapse.

In the late 60's an Associate Professor of Planning at the University of Pennsylvania made a study of the proposed South Street Expressway. His study showed that the proposed cost of this expressway had jumped from an estimated cost of $66 million in the 60's to approximately $130 million in 1971.
During this same period in the late 60's the South Street area had been designated for urban renewal. The architectural firm of Venturi and Rauch, along with Ueland and Junker, proposed staged redevelopment of the South Street commercial strip that was in the right-of-way of the expressway through private and public investment. A community development corporation was formed to spearhead the work. This group in addition owned seven properties in the highway corridor.

At about the same time the mayor vetoed the proposed expressway on the possible threat that there would be summer riots in the South Street area. But in March of 1969 the mayor reversed his stand and agreed to form a Crosstown Expressway Committee. The committee voted on the proposed expressway and passed it on a one vote margin. Renewal money for the area was held up pending the outcome of another expressway proposal. The Crosstown Expressway Committee agreed to appoint a multidiscipline team to study the proposed expressway. The resultant team was headed by Alan M. Voorhees and Associates. In the later part of 1970 the team reported that the proposed expressway would be "an underutilized
and overpriced facility not responsive in cost-benefit terms to the city's transportation needs." The team recommended a grade separated spur connecting the Schuylkill Expressway with downtown. The Voorhees study showed that the projected growth for the downtown area was not accurate, and that in fact the downtown area activity rate was in a decline. After this disclosure the committee vetoed the proposed expressway.

Martin Verman, a local architect, takes a different view of the proposed South Street Expressway. The area designated for purchase by the State Highway Department has been a refuge for the black, the poor and aged. If plans for the expressway are abandoned, rehabilitation of this area will occur, done by middle and upper income groups, forcing out the blacks. Verman proposes that the South Street Expressway be built under two streets, South and Bainbridge Streets, on either side of the original right-of-way. The land between the two segments (40 acres) would be cleared, relocation of the residents would be in adjacent areas which are capable of rehabilitation. The land cleared can be claimed at no cost by
the redevelopment authority under a DOT provision. Housing, parking, recreation and public buildings would be built there to serve the bordering communities. As Verman puts it, "The highway can be used to help the city, only if we harness a transformed highway building program into the great new public enterprise system that is necessary for responding to our urban problems on the scale they require."
South Street Expressway
These four studies point out the need for good planning and what good planning can accomplish. The highway planner and his proposals can no longer be isolated from the community. An essential part of the planning process must include community evaluation and feedback from the community. No longer can a highway planner tackle the job of planning urban freeways alone. In spite of the fact that highways only account for three percent of the land in a city they are probably one of the greatest shapers of our city, affecting more people than any other urban form. For this reason it is necessary that other disciplines be brought into the planning of freeways.

The urban design team concept is designed to recognize the tremendous impact a freeway has on the environment and upon people, not only people who will use the freeway but those whose lifestyles may be changed.

The multiple use principle recognizes the potentials that can be derived from a freeway, not only in moving people, but utilizing the freeway as an integrated element in planning community facilities, housing or private enterprise. The Miami study points out that once
a freeway is built, land over, under and around the freeway can be maximized. This study in addition shows that multiple use opportunities are not limited to the freeway at the design stage, but can be employed years after a freeway is completed. There are many freeways in this country that can use these principles to lessen environmental degradation and make use of wasted spaces that are underutilized.
Communities, Slums &
Working Class Communities
Freeways that pass through established communities tend to lower environmental quality, alter access to services within the community, change land use and improve the quality of transportation service. Not only must the freeway planning process consider the people actually dislocated, but also the remaining community. Businesses around the freeway may experience positive or negative effects depending on whether accessibility has been improved or hampered. The freeway may obstruct access and views to some attractive or neighboring facilities; shopping patterns may be altered. The price of high value residential real estate will decrease in value, whereas industrial or commercial land near the freeway will increase in value. The real estate market will suffer generally through the reduction in marketable land. Manufacturing establishments would be altered by a change in accessibility patterns for both people and goods. The area is likely though to experience some positive effects as well, such as removing blighted areas from the community. Retailers near freeways will benefit in terms of sight advertising.
Two views of a freeway on a community are expressed by Kevin Lynch and Jane Jacobs. Lynch sees the freeway as having an edge which serves as a barrier to certain activities or a seam which will tie together or bring together certain objects. Barriers will tend to repel whereas seams tend to attract. Jane Jacobs says that when the functions of an area are curtailed its utility is reduced. This leads to less use which creates a vacuum, which is used only by those who prefer to remain unseen.

Within the community the process of interaction may be changed to a great degree depending on what type of facilities are removed by the freeway and how it alters lines of movement. "The transportation impact process may be defined as the set of events which transform transportation systems outputs, such as altered accessibility and environmental quality into a final set of consequences, such as changes in land value and mobility." Certain community facilities such as churches, schools, and recreation centers may be displaced, altering the movement patterns and linkages of individuals in the community. Remaining schools and churches will also be
affected by overcrowding of remaining facilities. The houses of community leaders may be in the right-of-way causing them to relocate outside of the community, thus affecting community activities. The residents remaining in the community may have their lines of movement altered by certain streets being closed down that were formerly used. Commercial establishments may be displaced causing residents to locate other facilities to meet their needs.

The importance of various linkages can be determined by their substitutability. Three factors that must be considered are existing linkage patterns, the availability of alternative activity sites, and characteristics of the household. Linkage substitutability is also a measure of the group being studied. In measuring the impact of a particular freeway, changes in residential linkages may be used to compare consequences of alternative route locations. Disruptions in linkages may be of a short time nature, therefore it is important to study in two time frames: immediately following construction and over the long term. "Before a freeway is to be built the location should be studied to determine the
social boundaries of community, major social needs of residents, the important social functions carried out, and the critical spaces within which these functions operate. From this data it can be determined where and how the community should be shielded from the freeway, and which functions within the community are most in need of maintenance."²

One of the most recent studies that has been carried out in regard to neighborhood disruption caused by a freeway was done by Jon E. Burkhardt, of Resources Management Corporation. "The degree to which a geographic area functions as a neighborhood can be calculated by the amount of social interaction and cohesion evidenced by the residents shared behavioral patterns and perceptual patterns."³ Through physical and demographic descriptions readily available in census data it was possible using percentage of families that lived in the area for two years or less, percentage of residential land, housing units per net residential acre, and percentage of substandard dwelling units, to come up with an interaction index. By measuring various freeway route locations and how they affect the above interaction
factors Burkhardt was able to put into quantifiable terms the effects of a freeway on interaction within a neighborhood.

Another recent study done by Clarkson H. Oglesby, Bruce Bishop and Gene E. Willeke, from the Department of Civil Engineering, Stanford University, involved a two part approach to alternatives in freeway location. One part involved an economic study that includes all items that can be reduced to money terms, similar to a cost-benefit ratio. The second part involved an analysis of items that cannot be stated in terms of money but must be weighed in the decision process. To analyze the second part a community factor profile was devised. The profile scale is based on percentages ranging from a negative to positive one hundred percent. Factors and measures are selected that will appropriately measure important elements to a particular community. For each alternative location of the freeway the positive or negative value for any factor is calculated as a percentage of the maximum absolute value over all alternatives, and is plotted. Two alternative solutions are compared by weighing the cost or benefit from the economic
analyses against the differences in community impact. Decision makers representing the highway department and community would choose their preferences from the alternatives. "Such comparisons make clear the actual points at issue and may greatly reduce the number of irrational arguments that accompany most controversial decisions." 

In metropolitan areas the role of the freeway is to bring large amounts of traffic into the central business district in the least amount of time. In large metropolises it is necessary that there be many freeways handling traffic in all directions. Mainly because of political pressure and action groups in the middle and upper income areas, freeways have been designed along paths of least resistance, through run down neighborhoods. Because of this the low income groups have had to share an enormous bulk of the displacement. Highway planning is seen as a way of clearing slum areas; many people contend that highway planning through these slum areas is a form of urban renewal.

It is important to have an understanding of the displaced individuals socio-economic conditions. The
relocation process does not affect all levels of people in the same way. To high and middle income groups it is an inconvenience; to the poor it can spell disaster. The wealthy have a wide range of housing possibilities and have greater mobility and money to make a move.

The decline of personal identity in urban areas can be attributed to centralization, specialization and the increase of impersonal relationships. This statement has led many people to believe that there is no viable social system within the cities, especially the lower class urban sections. However, recent studies have shown that even the lowest income areas generate integral systems of living that supply their residents with a good deal of personal satisfaction, a sense of neighborhood, identification with a physical region, and a great reluctance to give up housing for better residence. The slum establishes a relatively homogeneous segment of society in a residential environment with which one can maintain a sense of place, acceptance and self-esteem. "The slum offers an outlet for aggressiveness, for deep feelings of belonging without undue sacrifice of uniqueness or identity, for sex satisfaction, for
strong if not fierce loyalty, for a sense of independence from the pervasive, omniscient authority in general."^8

It is important to trace the development of the slum to be aware of the social and mental background of its inhabitants. The slum served as a transitional community adapted to social and personal needs of a rural preindustrial population confronted with complexities of urban industrial life. Workers were generally recruited from agricultural areas. Housing for industrial workers had to be close to places of work because transportation was not developed through the middle of the nineteenth century. Real estate exploitation and housing policies gave rise to conditions of inadequate housing that created the slum. The slum may be characterized by blighted housing and the occupants are generally transient. Their job expectations are unstable and they use the slum as a refuge from the pressure of achievement in the outside community. Several inhabitants of this area are the indolent, the social outcast and the fugitive. The indolent are characterized as being apathetic and immobile. The social outcasts
include the winos, drug addicts, peddlers, pushers and hustlers who live in the slum to escape, and to seek refuge, sympathy, tolerance and even to be around people of their own kind. The fugitives live in the slum to escape the law, or credit agencies. Another group which doesn't live in the slum but uses it as a source of income are those that exploit the inhabitants through bookmaking and excessive drinking in taverns.

There is a difference in many instances between the slum and the working class community. There may be certain physical similarities but the working class community has greater lifestyle expectations. The working class community is made up of people who lack the economic mobility to move up to better residential locations, but the community is a place where physical conditions will be coped with by residents for the benefits of low rent, or for social satisfactions resulting from a sense of belongingness. "There is an available reference group of peers who are of similar class position and who can modify the personal implications of failure to achieve a respectable position in society." The working class community provides a relatively stable and secure
environment, which can be relinquished as people gain a greater sense of inner comfort and psychological freedom. "It is the working class community which provides a basis for social action and for a common identity despite diversities of ethnic origin. It provides a gradual adaptation to the altered environment and to the radically different set of expectations which eventuate in preparedness for social mobility within the larger industrial society."¹⁰ Achievement in the occupational role is not an objective of the working class community. Within the working class community the community supplies the sense of belonging, social participation, continuity, and reciprocity in interpersonal relationships.

The working class community is made up of several types of residents: the respectable poor, the trapped, the beginners and the young marrieds. The respectable poor live here because they do not have the economic means to move up in position. Their lifeways and aspirations however are still those of a socially higher class. There is also the person who is trapped; he lived in the community when it was in much better physical condition.
The beginners are a group who are new to the city, and seek the low income area as a transitional home until their position is more stable. There is the young married group who are just starting out who live in the area because it is inexpensive to do so.

The working class community is predominantly oriented to the collectivity, there is the importance of an accepted position in the community based on the territory. Local orientation is relied on because of comfort within familiar networks and discomfort outside the community. The working class focus in group identities as a primary source of personal meaning.

The negro marks the greatest threat to the slum as a transitional element. Negro mobility and urban assimilation have been thwarted by discrimination in housing, education and job opportunities. To the negro the neighborhood furnishes a sense of security and self defense. His move out of the slum is likely to be characterized by moves to newly formed negro areas adjacent to their previous locations. One stays close to what one knows or is secure with, especially when experience and opportunities are limited.
In summary the goal of the transportation planning process should be, "The needs of the individual are preserving and fostering an urban environment drawn to the human scale, with values, services and facilities that respond fully to the needs of various groups, that offers the opportunity to move up the social and economic scale, to participate in economic, social and political life, and offers a variety of ways of life."
FOOTNOTES


Relocation & Federal Legislation
There are various projects that involve relocation: urban renewal, highway construction, schools, public housing, code enforcement and natural disasters. The major contributor has been highway construction.

Most urban renewal projects have federal aid and are carried out by city agencies or independent authorities. Renewal areas are usually large and are occupied by low income and minority groups. This type of project usually involves several years of advance planning, and the federal relocation requirements promote early contact with site residents, including preparation of plans for relocation into standard housing. Highway planning on the other hand is done by state and federal agencies. Traditionally, this planning is done behind closed doors to prevent land speculation and outside conflicts arising over proposed routing. Rights-of-way are not revealed, and contacts with residents are made only when negotiations for property acquisition are to be made. Usually schools are constructed on sites that are in new neighborhoods on vacant land, expansion or replacement of schools in older neighborhoods may cause some displacement. Public housing projects are developed by
independent housing authorities under federal aid contracts. They are built on vacant land but are developed in older sections of the city causing some displacement. If a family's income exceeds that of public housing requirements they will be forced to relocate out of the area. Enforcement of municipal housing and health codes is also another form of relocation. It is difficult to have any type of relocation planning in this type of displacement because it is scattered throughout the city, and is usually brought about in response to complaints. Since 1964 federal aid has been authorized for concentrated code enforcement. Emergency displacement is also a result of fires, floods and other types of natural disaster. Relocation work is handled by the Red Cross.

As of 1970, 200,000 persons per year were displaced by public action. Of this number 30,000 families were displaced by urban renewal, and 50,000 families by highway construction. As mentioned earlier, some groups consider highway construction a form of urban renewal, but there are basic differences that should be pointed out. Urban renewal brings back into the area certain parts of the community that were removed such as improved
housing, community facilities in some instances, and business establishments. Highway construction also takes certain parts out of the community (the same as mentioned in urban renewal) but fails to put back any of these amenities. Residents forced out must seek housing outside of the community from which they come. Urban renewal tends to upgrade the community, in many cases helping families to take a greater interest in their surrounding environment and in improving their lifestyle. Highway construction on the other hand tends to cut apart a community, reducing accessibility within the community, lessening the environmental quality, and taking out elements within the community. In some instances freeway planning has been handled to remove certain blighted sections of the community, as well as improving travel time to other parts of the city.

The laws and federal legislation applying to relocation of individuals from highway construction projects must begin with a study first of laws applying to urban renewal. It is urban renewal legislation that sets the stage for certain parts of highway relocation assistance.
The federal laws governing relocation assistance in renewal areas did not come into being until the Housing Act of 1937. That act established the principle of "equivalent elimination"; demolition of slum units was the prime concern. For each new unit built, a slum unit was to be demolished. Local public agencies were urged to give some consideration to families displaced, but even after World War II the primary concern was still the demolition of substandard housing. In order to achieve "humane and effective" redevelopment, however, cooperative planning among relocation, housing and social service agencies was a necessity. Site offices were established, occupancy surveys were enlisted to obtain sociological and personal data, and neighborhood committees were established to educate residents. The plight of the urban poor family was exposed.

In 1949 the first pertinent piece of legislation was passed, the "Title 1" program, centering on the ideal that every American family deserves a decent home in a suitable living environment. It was aimed primarily at slum clearance, and written for exciting private interests in the reconstruction process. The program outlined
the federal role in financial support, but localities were required to provide the needed relocation units. "Contracts for financial aid shall be made only with a duly authorized local public agency and shall require that; there be a feasible method for the temporary relocation of families displaced from the project area, and that there are or are being provided, in the project area or in other areas generally not less desirable in regard to public utilities and public and commercial facilities and at rents or prices within the financial means of the families displaced from the project area, decent, safe, and sanitary dwellings equal in number to the numbers of and available to such displaced families and reasonably accessible to their places of employment."^2 Lacking in this legislation was regard for the social disruptions experienced in relocation. The Housing and Home Finance Agency in 1952 urged local FHA offices to encourage builders to develop housing for displaced families, and the National Housing Act of 1954 authorized under section 221 the development of standard housing or relocations outside the project area and the purchase of existing housing through more favorable
mortgage terms. This act gave residents the protection of a mortgage rather than an installment purchase contract. The 1956 Housing Act offered special privileges to elderly people in relocation, authorizing the down payment for homes to be made by a corporation or persons other than a mortgager if the person was over 60 years of age. The 1956 act also set up payments for moving cost; families could receive $100 and businesses $2,000. Over the period of the next three years these amounts were increased to $200 and $3,000, respectively. In 1959 a new federal program provided federal funds to promote rental housing for the elderly, and authorized relocation payments for all renewal areas regardless of the governmental program. In 1961 small businesses were given full compensation for moving expenses even in excess of $3,000. Also in 1961 the "221 (D) 3" program was established which provided developers with low interest rate money to build low cost housing. In 1964 an act gave elderly relocation adjustment payments up to $500 and small businesses were given $1,500 in addition to moving costs.
Federal aid to the highway program was established in 1934 and the Interstate Highway Program came into being in 1956. The first provision for relocation assistance did not come until the Federal Aid to Highway Act of 1962. The act provided that prior to approval of any interstate highway plan, federal aid to highway construction, urban extension projects, right-of-way acquisition or actual construction, the Secretary of Commerce would require that state highway departments give satisfactory assurance that relocation advisory assistance was to be given to displaced families. There was no provision for assistance to single individuals or businesses and reimbursement of direct loss of personal property was not authorized. The federal law authorized federal sharing in relocation expenses with states, but actual payment depended on the state's legal authorization. No assurance was required of state officials to show the existence of a feasible method of relocating families and other individuals, and the availability of standard housing within their means. The law did provide that if more than 25 families were to be relocated a local office must be established listing
properties for sale, available rental properties, public housing projects and services offered by related agencies. With the passage of this law only 28 states actually authorized relocation payments. States contended that with intelligent planning and advance acquisition of rights-of-way moves would be more voluntary than forced.

The 1968 Highway Act made relocation assistance mandatory nationwide for all owners and tenants who were displaced from residential sites, and made relocation assistance optional for business establishments. An additive to the "fair market value" of property acquired was made in the form of replacement housing payments up to $5,000, and a rent supplement payment in the amount of $1,500. This act provided payment of expenses to the property owner, incidental to the transfer of his property to the state, and for expanded relocation services to the displacee. The definition of several real property acquisition policies that are mandatory on all federal highway acquisitions was defined in this act.

The Bureau of Public Roads in the 1968 Highway Act set up minimum standards for replacement housing. Housing must conform to all applicable provisions for building
codes under plumbing, electrical, housing and occupancy codes, to ensure a continuing and adequate supply of potable safe water, a kitchen or area set aside for kitchen use that contains a sink in working condition and connected to hot and cold water, an adequate heating system that will maintain a minimum temperature of 70°, except in geographical areas where such is not normally included in new housing, a bathroom well lighted and ventilated, affording privacy to the person using it, a provision for artificial lighting in each room, in structural soundness, and in good repair. The requirements for each building used are that it have two safe unobstructed means of egress leading to safe open space at ground level, 150 square feet of habitable floor space for the first occupant in a standard living unit and at least 100 square feet of habitable floor space for each additional occupant. Decent, safe and sanitary housing for a rental or sleeping room must have 100 square feet of habitable space for the first occupant and 50 square feet for each additional occupant, and have lavatory and toilet facilities that provide privacy including a door that can be locked if such facilities are separate from the room.
The 1968 act also required that replacement housing be measured by a series of factors in regard to the average price of a comparable unit, which is defined as one that is substantially equal and functionally equivalent with respect to number of rooms, area of living space, type of construction, age, state of repair, accessibility to public services, places of employment and type of neighborhood. The person eligible for payment of relocation expenses must be promptly notified of his eligibility for payment and if dissatisfied will be given full opportunity to be heard.

In 1964 the first mention was given to the concept of uniform assistance in all governmental relocation programs. Opposition to this bill centered around the completion of the Interstate Highway Program. The 41,000 mile project was to be completed by 1972; critics argued that taking funds to handle the relocation problem would cause a delay in the completion of this project. But in 1970 the most far reaching legislation in regard to relocation assistance was passed; the Uniform Relocation Assistance and Real Property Acquisition Act of
1970; "A bill to provide for uniform and equitable treatment of persons displaced from their homes, businesses, or farms by federal and federally assisted programs and to establish uniform and equitable land acquisition policies for federal and federally assisted programs. . . ."³

It is important to study specific aspects of this new law because it substantially changes the assistance and economic benefits displaced individuals and businesses will receive. But regardless of economic considerations there is still the sociological and psychological effects of a forced move that cannot be handled by federal legislation.

Under this new law, which will be referred to as Title II throughout this section, businesses and farm operations are reimbursed for direct losses of tangible personal property as a result of moving or discontinuing a business, not to exceed expenses required to relocate property. Under this section businesses are reimbursed for costs involved in searching for a new location. A business or farm may also receive a fixed amount equal to the annual earnings of the business, not less than $2,500 or more than $10,000. Under the 1968 Highway Act the maximum earning amount was $5,000. Certain provisions
for receiving this annual earning payment are that the business cannot relocate without a substantial loss of its patronage, and that it is not part of a commercial enterprise with at least one other establishment not subject to purchase by the U. S. Government. The section dealing with replacement housing for a homeowner deletes the requirement that the new dwelling be a single, two or three family unit in order to receive an additive. The maximum additive a person can receive is $15,000, an additional $10,000 over the previous law. The new law reduces the period of ownership from one year to 180 days and contains a new provision for reimbursement of increased costs, which a person is required to pay for the financing of a comparable replacement dwelling. In addition, increased interest costs will also be reimbursed to the homeowner. Title II authorizes the payment of evidence of title, recording fees, and other costs incident to purchase of replacement dwelling. Under Title II provisions are also included for rental units. The period of rent supplement payments was increased from two years under the 1968 act to four years under Title II and the amount to be increased from $1,500 to $4,000. Also under
Title II replacement rental units must be reasonably accessible to the occupants place of employment.

Provisions relating to relocation advisory assistance state that agencies shall "provide current and continuing information on the availability, prices, and rentals of comparable commercial properties and locations for displaced businesses." The agencies must also provide information on federal and state housing programs, disaster loan programs and other programs giving assistance to displaced persons. Advisory assistance may now be given to properties adjacent to property acquisitions if such person has been caused substantial economic injury. "Heads of federal agencies shall coordinate relocation activities with project work and other planned or proposed governmental activities in the community or nearby areas which may affect the carrying out of relocation assistance programs" and "provide other advisory services to displaced persons in order to minimize hardships to such persons in adjusting to relocation." Title II states that heads of federal agencies shall not approve a grant to a state agency unless assurance has been given that fair and reasonable relocation
payments have been made, and that relocation assistance has been given providing reasonable, decent, safe and sanitary dwellings to displaced persons. A clause under this section waives these requirements, therefore assistance in all instances is not mandatory. This section states that, "except that the head of that federal agency may prescribe by regulation situations when such assurances may be waived." Title II authorizes the establishment of a loan program relating to the construction or rehabilitation of replacement housing, assistance in obtaining insured mortgage financing and meeting costs of planning and other preliminary expenses in the construction of said housing. Persons will also be considered for relocation benefits if their property is taken by code enforcement, rehabilitation and demolition programs.
FOOTNOTES


4. Ibid., Section 205 (c) (2).

5. Ibid., Section 205 (d).

6. Ibid., Section 205 (c) (6).

7. Ibid., Section 205 (c) (3).
Dislocation & Relocation
An indirect result of freeway planning is getting rid of the oldest and least desirable housing. The oldest areas are usually in close proximity to the central business district where most freeways lead to. The property is less expensive, reducing acquisition costs. The low income groups who live in this area tend to be less organized, reducing the opposition to the proposed freeway. As of January 1, 1970, fifty thousand people had been displaced by the Federal Highway Program; three-quarters were from urban areas. Approximately 87 percent of the property taken was residential, 10 percent business and non-profit organizations, and 3 percent farms. A majority of the residential property was middle to low income. The average house was worth less than $15,000 and rentals were usually less than $110 a month. Of the families relocated it was estimated that 50 percent could not afford housing over $20,000 in value. ¹

The government operates under the principle of "eminent domain," the right to condemn property for public use on the principle that the public good can be more important than the rights of the individual. In order to create the needed right-of-way for a proposed freeway
it is necessary for the government to purchase real property, whether vacant or improved. Owners are given "fair market value" for their property, which is defined as "the price a buyer would be willing to pay if there was no compulsion or pressure to sell and the property was exposed to the free market." If the owner feels he was not adequately compensated he may take legal action, but for the poor this course of action is rarely taken.

Actual property appraisal and acquisition of property is not usually made until the highway plans have been given final approval. Between that time and when the community first realizes the freeway may cut through their property, the area goes through a period of change which is likely to affect the fair market value. Owners are not likely to make any improvements to their property and people outside the community are unwilling to purchase property in the area. Deterioration of the neighborhood is likely to occur caused by vacancies, vandalism and crime. Tenant occupied property is likely to suffer; expecting condemnation tenants will seek other living accommodations, reducing the income of the owner.
People expecting condemnation will in some cases leave ahead of acquisition. If they leave before highway authorities begin purchasing property they will receive no compensation. Fair market value in these areas is likely to be much less after deterioration occurs. Physical deterioration is likely to spread to surrounding areas. The area in general typically suffers a decline in population, not only from the freeway land acquisition but from surrounding areas due to lower environmental quality.

The relocation process has distinct effects on three types of displacees: the population in general, the elderly and the businessman. Each group has distinct problems and needs which must be met in order to make relocation successful. Dealing first with the population in general: the recipient in relocation is characterized as being "incompetent and inadequate to meet the demands of competitive life." It has often been held that an individual has the right and in some cases the responsibility to take advantage of improving his style of life. This assumption is not necessarily so for the
lower class working community. A person's home can determine the view he has of his place in the community, his role, his status, and his style of life. Within the slum there is a sense of security of not having to meet the demands of achievement in the middle class bureaucracy. Relocation officials see relocation as a form of "managed mobility."^4

But mobility for the lower class is severely limited by economic and social status; the negro especially is limited in his choice of housing because of racial discrimination. The lower class person because of his poverty is forced to make internal moves within the slum; moves out of the area would force him to delegate too great a portion of his income to housing. Because of his limited transportation capability he is forced to keep his moves in close proximity to his place of employment. The lower class move is likely to be into an area where he feels safe and secure.

The difficulty experienced by an individual in forced relocation can be predicted along three guidelines: the greater a person's commitment to an area the greater his grief following relocation, the greater the amount
of area known the more difficulty he will experience, the more familiar he is with an area the larger is his commitment. "A sense of spatial identity is fundamental to human functioning. It represents a phenomenal or ideational integration of important experiences concerning environmental arrangements and contacts in relation to the individual's conception of his own body as space."\(^5\)

"Dislocation from a particular area marks a disruption in the sense of continuity. Either spatial identity or group identity may be a critical focus of loss of continuity leading to severe grief."\(^6\) "Losses bring about fragmentation of routines, relationships, expectations, and an alteration in the world of physically available objects and spatially oriented action."\(^7\)

The primary problem in relocation is finding adequate housing for the displaced. The opinion has been stated that if low cost housing were available in units sizes and at prices which could be afforded in communities where facilities were pleasant, adequate, easily accessible and in areas which have a certain status attached to them there would be little opposition to moving. In reality there is not adequate housing available
at prices the displaced can afford to pay. Their housing is limited to the lowest end of the scale. Housing in this category to a large extent is substandard and some of it is being removed in urban renewal projects.

A minority of the displaced move into low cost public housing. There is the feeling of a stigma that attaches itself to families that live in low cost housing. Families in some instances are too large for public housing. People who qualify are sometimes considered undesirable. Their incomes may be too high or too low to qualify. Tenants dislike the physical character of public housing and are unwilling to accept rules and regulations. Regardless of the lower class views toward public housing there is an insufficient amount to meet the needs.

For the most part displaced families rely on the filtering down process to find available housing. If large numbers of new houses are being built the filtering down process works rather rapidly, but in a tight market vacancies decline leaving little available housing for low income households. As mentioned previously, the low income group because of their low mobility are forced to seek housing in close proximity to their
previous location. This puts severe pressure on the housing markets in certain sections of the city; the pressure is not equalized over the entire city. Because of this over pressure the displaced family may have to go out of the area for housing, forcing them to delegate a greater share of income to housing. If poor cannot afford better housing they may be forced into taking substandard living accommodations, or may be forced into sharing a house with another family.

Besides the physical loss of one's property there are other losses caused by displacement. The individual may experience a break in credit relationships with banks or stores, and patterns of social and commercial interaction may be altered. Many low income households are forced to buy housing under contract. Payments on their housing are likely to be higher because they are considered high risks. When the government purchases the property, the fair market value may be less than that which the person living in the house is paying. The individual living in the house may be forced to make up the difference to the mortgager after being displaced. If the government knows of such a deal all claims will be
wiped out against the resident, but many times these deals go undiscovered. There is also the additional cost of looking for replacement housing, which means taking time off from work. The poor must often take housing that is physically better but socially poorer.

"An elderly person is often described as well adjusted if he remains as he was during his middle years and as maladjusted to the extent that he becomes less active. Another view of the elderly is that old age is a process of gradual disengagement, commensurate with one's declining capacity." The neglect of older persons stems from the fact that value is placed on economic production and leadership, two areas that the elderly can rarely compete in. Home ownership to the elderly is an important psychological value and gives them a feeling of security. In some instances the home has become a source of income, by renting out rooms.

The elderly often live in the older sections of town, but when the house was purchased it was probably new. The neighborhood has gone through periods of change. When the area was new the families were young and had
kids in school. As the kids grew up and moved out the houses became too big for them to keep up. For the families to maintain the houses they were forced to rent rooms out to keep up their income and the house. People that moved in were usually transient and the conditions of the housing generally declined. Lower income groups started to enter the neighborhood turning some housing into apartments and the decline worsened into the present conditions of the slum. The elderly that remained in the neighborhood saw their property decline with the surrounding neighborhood.

Because of their limited mobility many elderly people prefer to live in close proximity to the central business district, transportation services and important neighborhood facilities. The most crucial social problem is companionship which is often more important than material income and housing. Relocation for the elderly must take into account modified independence, residential concentration, hominess, and proximity to desired facilities.

The elderly face two types of losses, direct financial loss and the indirect effects of higher living costs
at a new location. Because of the severe financial hardship faced by the elderly it was necessary for federal legislation to protect them. Bills were passed to encourage housing for the elderly. In the Housing Act of 1959 the "202" program was established, which was set up to handle elderly families whose income was too high for public housing. The "202" program offered advantages to non-profit organizations to build housing for the elderly. Since 1962 over half of all housing legislation has included provisions for the elderly. The "202" program established guaranteed payment of 90 percent of the mortgage payments for nursing homes constructed by private enterprise. Recently rent supplement programs have been established, and financial grants have been established to improve the elderly's property in renewal areas, and the public housing authority has been given authority to purchase sites or structures in varying areas of the city specifically for elderly occupants.

The elderly businessman is severely affected by relocation. In some cases his home is above his store and he faces the problem of not only finding a new business location but also a new home. Most businesses
run by the elderly make only slight profits, just enough to keep the business running and to handle the expenses of the couple. To relocate means finding a new location, moving equipment, finding new clientele, and legal fees need to be paid. In most instances the elderly would sooner submit to retirement.

The losses to the elderly are more than just economic. The psychological experiences of being displaced are even more severe; it is a break with the past, the memories of a lifetime are destroyed. Relationships with other residents of the area may be cut. This psychological trauma may be sufficient to end all desire for living.

The third area of concern in relocation is the business located in the right-of-way of the highway construction. Displacement has its greatest effect on small businessmen who have a limited clientele restricted to a certain area of the city. On the other hand, many large businesses that are forced to relocate see displacement as a means of getting rid of older buildings, and opening up in a newer section of town in expanded and more modern facilities. Larger businesses have a
much greater range of clientele and a move will not affect their business operation as severely as the smaller business.

According to Jane Jacobs small businesses are an important element in the survival of the neighborhood; they are guardians of the street, sources of social ability, communication and agitation, credit safety, convenience and contact. Small businesses produce taxes, rental income, jobs, and create the opportunity for more individuals to own their own business. To minority groups the small business affords the opportunity of introducing new people to new skills. Business offers minorities the chance for economic independence, and offers the neighborhood special services. To many in the neighborhood the local store offers a source of credit normally not available outside of the area. Most of the small businesses are independent and rarely have over five employees. They are to a large extent commercial and personal service establishments. A large number of these occupy rental space and for this reason rarely participate in condemnation proceedings. Because they operate in blighted areas their rents are substantially
lower than in better areas. Once these businesses are displaced from the area they are rarely replaced by similar operations.

Some problems faced by businesses displaced are that time is short, there is strong pressure to choose a new location quickly, there is a shrinking supply of suitable space, the time of the move is in the hands of others and it is not always possible to develop internal financial organization to apply for outside loans. Once the planned right-of-way has been agreed upon, income in the area will decrease. People will start doing business at establishments that will remain in the area after the freeway is completed. People whose lease runs out before property acquisition takes place will have to operate on a month to month leasing arrangement, often at a penalty. Construction activity and altered movement patterns will affect business operations. There is a loss of income during the period of transition between displacement and relocation. Once a new location has been established there is a period of decreased income until a new clientele can be built up; this period could last for several years. In seeking a new site the largest
problem is the increased cost of a new location, whether
the business was building a new store or taking over an
existing building. In some instances it is particularly
difficult to find a building to suit your specific needs.
Another problem exists in finding a site that has zoning
requirements that allow the relocated business type.
The businesses most likely not to succeed in the reloca-
tion process are those that have a very limited clientele
or a very specialized product. Those that deal with an
ethnic or minority group also find it difficult to
succeed after displacement. The age of the owner will
also have some effect on his ability to relocate. As
was brought out earlier, displacement is particularly
hard on the elderly.

The degree of managerial experience and professional
skill of the businessman are two factors that enter into
the picture of success or failure. Not only does an
inability to relocate affect the owner of the business
but if there are employees they will be forced into unem-
ployment. If the business does succeed the employees will
have the problem of transportation to the new location.
A majority of businesses that do relocate do so in the
suburbs where property costs are lower and the area is in better condition. This trend is forcing businesses out of the central city, taking businesses off the tax roles in some cases. Most businesses operating in the slum areas are run by people who live in the suburbs; quite commonly they will move their business closer to their place of residence.

An additional factor that has a bearing on success or failure is who handles the relocation services. In some states relocation is handled by existing social service agencies. If this is the case the agency usually lacks trained personnel and an adequate budget, and usually has an overloaded case load so that relocation is just another burden which cannot be adequately handled. In some cases the highway department itself handles relocation. This work in most instances is handled by a one or two man office unable in many cases to give much assistance to each displaced family because of the small staff. Highway department personnel are seldom trained in social work, and are in many instances unaware of the problems the dislocated family is likely to face. Case
referrals to other public agencies may or may not be followed up. If a city has renewal and highway construction going on at the same time there may be two separate relocation agencies in operation. Since benefits are now equal for all relocation programs, this is a waste of manpower, resulting in conflicts in finding suitable housing, and competition for building locations.

In a publication done for the National Association of Housing and Redevelopment Officials, Robert P. Groberg makes the case for a centralized relocation agency in each city; such an agency would treat all relocation cases equally. Because it would be a single public agency, coordination would enable setting priorities for giving services to various projects. It would control a much better position in controlling housing resources, and allocation would be a smoother operation. Referral to social work agencies would be much more efficient. Because of the larger workload, a unified relocation agency would be able to maintain a full time work force of better qualified personnel. Research on relocation would be possible because of a central records point. As a major city service it would be possible to receive an adequate budget.


4. Ibid., Pg. 371.


6. Ibid., Pg. 366.

7. Ibid., Pg. 362.

A Case Study:
The South Freeway
The Houston freeway system was begun in 1948 with a two mile section of the Gulf Freeway. As of 1972 there are 171 miles of freeway in use. A 30 mile inner loop (Interstate 610), which will form a continuous circuit around Houston, is scheduled for completion in 1973. There are another 306 miles of freeway under planning or in construction; included are a 90 mile beltway and a 130 mile outer beltway referred to as the Grand Parkway.
The South Freeway in Houston was first conceived in 1956. The Texas Highway Department estimated that a proposed freeway in the Southeast corridor of Houston would handle an estimated 170,000 vehicles per day.

At that time all that was required of the Houston Urban Highway Department in order to get preliminary approval from the Texas Highway Department for a freeway route was a letter of intent showing a need for such a facility. Today, however, all state highway departments must prepare studies on social, economic and environmental effects of a proposed freeway to meet federal legislation. Major points a study must show are effects on: economic activity, recreation and parks, residential and neighborhood character and location, conservation, noise, air and water pollution, multiple use of space, replacement housing, and displacement of families and businesses.

The South Freeway as originally planned would have followed the alignment of Almeda Road. At the northern end it was to intersect the Southwest Freeway and at the southern end it was to intersect the Loop 610 Freeway. A 1959 study done by the Texas Highway Department extended the South Freeway all the way to Brazosport on
the Gulf of Mexico. Reasons for this extension were that the Brazosport area had become a center for chemical manufacturing and the Brazos River had been improved to accommodate ocean shipping. The study pointed out that eighty-five percent of the homes in the Brazosport area were owner occupied indicating a high degree of stability, and a planning commission had been established to control growth. "It has been predicted by the City of Houston Planning Commission that by 1990 it is probable that Houston and Brazosport urban areas will practically be continuous."\(^1\) Angleton, 43 miles south of Houston is also involved in the chemical industry and is part of this growth. Monsanto Chemical Company has located a plant 13.5 miles northeast of Angleton on the Chocolate Bayou.

Within Harris County the Southeast and Southwest quadrants of Houston have experienced considerable growth during the past ten years. The Southwest quadrant from 1960 to 1970 has increased in population from 240,568 to 446,415, an eighty-five percent increase. The Southeast quadrant has increased thirty-eight percent in population and is the most populous quadrant in the city, with
547,855 people, and has the highest population density, 1695.6 persons per square mile.\(^2\)

The alignment as it now exists is slightly to the east of existing Almeda Road. The reasons given for the change in alignment are that the Almeda alignment would interfere with the Harris County Sports Stadium (Astrodome) located slightly to the west of Almeda Road at Loop 610, that it would have run adjacent to the Veterans Hospital at Almeda and Holcombe Boulevard, that a portion of Hermann Park which has its eastern boundary at Almeda Road would have to be taken for freeway construction, and that since Almeda Road was an important distributor of traffic its elimination would create overloads on existing streets.
The study area affected by the South Freeway is bounded generally by Almeda Road on the west and Dowling and Hutchins on the east, on the north by Alabama, where the South Freeway intersects the Southwest Freeway, and on the south by North Macgregor Way. South of this point the character of the right-of-way changes in regard to housing density and land use.
The area south of Alabama was built in the 1920's and 1930's and is mainly of brick construction. The northern part of this area has seen a slight decrease in population, but the southern half has almost doubled in population from 7,636 in 1950 to a present figure of 12,159. Likewise the density in this half has increased from 6,757 persons per square mile to a present 11,087.61 persons per square mile. In fact, this is the most populous section of the entire city.

The shift in racial makeup is probably the greatest change that has occurred in the study area over the past 20 years. In 1950 eleven percent of the residents were black and a majority lived in the northern section. Presently, ninety percent of the population is black and the only whites are located along the southern section of the study area.

Within the study area in 1950 rental units accounted for 62 percent of all occupied units, and there was a 7 percent vacancy rate. In 1972 rental units have increased to 85 percent of occupied units and the vacancy rate has increased to 15 percent. Presently, a majority of the owner-occupied houses are located in the southern
half of the study area and a majority of the vacancies occur in the northern half. The value of owner-occupied houses has remained almost constant with a slight increase over the past 20 years. Housing values range from $13,000 at the northern end of the study area to $19,000 at the southern end. Rental rates have increased from an average of $61 per month to a present figure of $81 per month. And again, the greater rents are toward the southern end. Density within housing units has increased from 2.2 persons per unit to a present 2.6 persons per unit.

The predominant age of the population in the area has changed from the 35 to 54 age group, which accounted for thirty percent of the population in 1950, to the 20 to 34 age group, which accounts for twenty-seven percent presently. In addition, the under five age group has doubled from six percent in 1950 to ten percent today. Females within the area slightly outnumber males. Marrieds outnumber singles two to one, which is a slight increase over 1950.

Commercial activity within this area is primarily restricted to Almeda Road and Dowling. There are a
scattering of businesses on Southmore, Holman and Alabama. Strip commercial is the primary type of business, consisting mainly of small restaurants, gas stations, beauty parlors, and fix-it shops. Within the study area itself businesses consist of small restaurants, laundromats, and beauty parlors. The owner of these businesses usually lives either adjacent to or in close proximity to his business. In addition there is no industrial activity within this area.

Public facilities that serve the study area are San Jacinto Senior High School, Miller Junior High School, Ryan Junior High School, J. Will Jones Elementary School and Turner Elementary School. To the east of this area, within two miles, is the University of Houston and Texas Southern University. At the southwest corner of the study area is a Y.M.C.A., but there are no parks within the area. Emancipation Park is located just to the north and Brays Bayou directly to the south, which has the potential of becoming a bike and trail path linking it to Hermann Park, southwest of the study area.
## 1950

### STUDY AREA CENSUS TRACTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Census tract</th>
<th>46 (307)</th>
<th>45 (306)</th>
<th>39 (124)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Area</td>
<td>1.13</td>
<td>0.64</td>
<td>0.75</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Population

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1950</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>7636</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>7413</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negro</td>
<td>218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population/household</td>
<td>3.11</td>
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### Age and sex distribution

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Total, 1950</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Negro</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Under 5</td>
<td>578</td>
<td>491</td>
<td>450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-19</td>
<td>1450</td>
<td>1018</td>
<td>924</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-34</td>
<td>1704</td>
<td>2372</td>
<td>2062</td>
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<td>35-54</td>
<td>2584</td>
<td>2275</td>
<td>1907</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55-64</td>
<td>772</td>
<td>752</td>
<td>553</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65 &amp; over</td>
<td>548</td>
<td>546</td>
<td>493</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>3568</td>
<td>3437</td>
<td>3011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>4068</td>
<td>3917</td>
<td>3378</td>
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</table>

### Population density

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>6757</th>
<th>11490</th>
<th>8518</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(per square mile)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Marital status

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Status</th>
<th>1950</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>1277</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>2061</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Housing units

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1950</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2618</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owner occupied</td>
<td>1587</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Renter occupied</td>
<td>857</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vacant</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Median No. of rooms

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All occupied</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owner occupied</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Renter occupied</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Median value of owner occupied units

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1950</th>
<th>39 (124)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Median value of owner occupied units</td>
<td>$19198</td>
<td>$13448</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Average monthly rent

<p>|                      | 70 | 65 | 51 |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Census tract</th>
<th>46 (307)</th>
<th>45 (306)</th>
<th>39 (124)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Area</td>
<td>1.13</td>
<td>0.64</td>
<td>0.75</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Population**

| Total, 1960 | 10027 | 8552 | 6010 |
| White       | 2544  | 1796  | 1776  |
| Negro       | 7433  | 6726  | 4230  |
| Population/household | 2.96 | 2.87 | 2.79 |

**Age and sex distribution**

| Under 5     | 946   | 1008  | 807   |
| 5-19        | 1716  | 1587  | 1231  |
| 20-34       | 3310  | 2561  | 1560  |
| 35-54       | 2280  | 2066  | 1452  |
| 55-64       | 625   | 630   | 504   |
| 65 & over   | 542   | 570   | 418   |
| Total males | 4885  | 4018  | 2894  |
| females     | 5142  | 4534  | 3116  |

**Population density**

(per sq. mile)

|         | 9000 | 13300 | 8010 |

**Marital status**

| Single | 3146 | 2437 | 1457 |
| Married | 4344 | 3760 | 2261 |

**Housing units**

| Total, 1960 | 3760 | 3173 | 2492 |
| Owner occupied | 1507 | 751 | 331 |
| Renter occupied | 1798 | 2158 | 1767 |
| Vacant | 455 | 264 | 394 |
| Median No. of rooms | 4.9 | 4.3 | 3.7 |

**Median persons/unit**

| All occupied | 2.5 | 2.4 | 2.3 |
| Owner occupied | 3.0 | 2.5 | 2.3 |
| Renter occupied | 2.2 | 2.5 | 2.3 |

**Median value of owner occupied units**

| $16500 | $13300 | $12400 |

**Average monthly rent**

| $ 77 | $ 67 | $ 58 |
1970

**STUDY AREA CENSUS TRACTS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Census tract</th>
<th>307 (46)</th>
<th>306 (45)</th>
<th>124 (39)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Area</td>
<td>1.13</td>
<td>0.64</td>
<td>0.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total, 1970</td>
<td>12159</td>
<td>7634</td>
<td>4822</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>564</td>
<td>832</td>
<td>790</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negro</td>
<td>11938</td>
<td>6771</td>
<td>3965</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population/household</td>
<td>2.87</td>
<td>2.85</td>
<td>2.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age and sex distribution</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under 5</td>
<td>1340</td>
<td>827</td>
<td>465</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-19</td>
<td>3069</td>
<td>2070</td>
<td>1192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-34</td>
<td>4033</td>
<td>1866</td>
<td>1171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-54</td>
<td>2513</td>
<td>1675</td>
<td>1132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55-64</td>
<td>797</td>
<td>607</td>
<td>430</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65 &amp; over</td>
<td>767</td>
<td>589</td>
<td>432</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total males</td>
<td>5963</td>
<td>3661</td>
<td>2426</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>females</td>
<td>6556</td>
<td>3973</td>
<td>2396</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population density</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(per sq. mile)</td>
<td>11087.61</td>
<td>11928.13</td>
<td>6429.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marital status</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>2598</td>
<td>1460</td>
<td>918</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>5279</td>
<td>3073</td>
<td>1903</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing units</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total, 1970</td>
<td>4634</td>
<td>2947</td>
<td>2303</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owner occupied</td>
<td>1197</td>
<td>564</td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Renter occupied</td>
<td>3023</td>
<td>2063</td>
<td>1665</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vacant</td>
<td>414</td>
<td>320</td>
<td>421</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median No. of rooms</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median persons/unit</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All occupied</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owner occupied</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Renter occupied</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median value of owner occupied units</td>
<td>$18300</td>
<td>$15200</td>
<td>$13000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average monthly rent</td>
<td>$ 97</td>
<td>$ 79</td>
<td>$ 68</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A questionnaire was developed to obtain the opinions of those persons displaced by the South Freeway in the study area.

Lack of assistance by the Texas Highway Department forced me to obtain from other sources the names and current addresses of those displaced. Knowing the approximate time that acquisition occurred (1968-1969), it was possible, using the Houston City Index, to obtain the names of individuals who participated in the displacement process. Using a current Houston City Index it was possible to obtain their current addresses and mail out the questionnaire.

Within the study area, according to the index, there were approximately 500 address listings. From this number approximately ten percent were listed as being vacant at the time acquisition occurred. All but a very few of the listings were residential; there were only a few restaurants, beauty parlors and laundromats. This indicates that the area was fairly homogeneous in residential character. Of the residential listings less than ten percent were apartments; there were a scattering of rear units and garage apartments which were also rental units.
From the units listed as occupied it was possible to trace 196 current addresses, or forty percent of all units. There are several reasons for the lack of other current addresses of those displaced. In some instances where more than one person listed with the same last name it was impossible to determine which one was the person involved in displacement. Others did not respond to the questionnaire for the Houston City Index so there was no current listing for the displaced person. There were a high proportion of listings of widowed, single and divorced women, who might have remarried since the 1966 and 1967 listings; there would be no current listing under their previous name. Finally, some of the displaced individuals may have moved out of Houston after displacement so that they would not be listed under the current Houston index.

From the 196 current listings of displaced individuals, 150 questionnaires were sent out. The questionnaire was set up to obtain three types of responses: a yes-no answer, a judgemental answer based upon three degrees, and opinions. Questions were asked on three topics: displacement, relocation and assistance, and current
living conditions as compared to before relocation conditions. Questions on displacement referred to time of notification, method of notification, time to obtain new housing and payments received for the old property. The relocation assistance questions asked if assistance was given in finding new housing, and if the respondents felt they were treated fairly in regard to the relocation process. Current living condition questions were asked to determine if a greater share of income had to be devoted to housing, and to obtain a comparison of current living conditions with that before relocation. A comparison of neighborhoods before and after relocation was requested, are friendships carried on with people from the old area, has relocation affected employment, and were the respondents satisfied with living conditions before relocation.
This questionnaire involves relocation caused by the new freeway between Almeda Road and Dowling in Houston. This study is being done by a graduate student in architecture at Rice University, for his master's thesis. It would be greatly appreciated if you would please fill out this questionnaire and return it in the enclosed envelope. If you were not involved in relocation please state so on line number one and return.

Thank you

RELOCATION SURVEY

1. Present Address_____________________________________________________

2. What was your address prior to relocation?______________________________

3. When were you first notified you had to move?

_________month_________year

4. How were you notified?_______________________________________________

5. Did you rent____or own_____this house or apartment?

6. Were you given any assistance in finding housing by the highway department? _____yes or____no. If not how did you find housing?__________________________________________
7. How long did you look for a new place to live? ______

8. Do you feel you were given adequate payment for your property?   _____yes or_____no.

9. What was your FIRST address following relocation?

_____________________________________________________

BASE ALL FOLLOWING ANSWERS ON THE ADDRESS LISTED IN QUESTION 9.

10. Were your rental or mortgage payments more_____or less _____than at the address listed in question number 2?

11. How does (did) this house or apartment compare to the address listed in question number 2?   _____worse _____same_____better.

12. How does (did) this neighborhood compare to the one previous to relocation?   _____worse_____same_____better.

13. Do you carry on friendships with people from the area you were displaced from?   _____yes or_____no.

14. Is the distance to work_____less_____same_____more?

15. Were you able to continue at the same job following relocation?   _____yes or_____no. If not why?_________

_____________________________________________________

16. Were you satisfied with your living conditions before relocation?   _____yes or_____no.
17. How many families lived in your previous building?  
   _____  How many live in it now?  _____

18. Do you feel you were treated fairly?  _____yes or  
   _____no. Please explain your answer__________________________
   __________________________________________________________
   __________________________________________________________

Comments:__________________________________________________
   __________________________________________________________
   __________________________________________________________
Any time a questionnaire is sent out for people to fill out it is difficult to determine to what degree responses will be obtained. To some it is an invasion of privacy, to others it is too big of a chore, and many feel that they will never see the results of the questionnaire so there is no reason to fill it out. When dealing with the low income group there is a natural resentment to being quizzed because they have been guinea pigs to many surveys and studies.

Based upon other peoples opinions I was not hopeful from the beginning of getting too big a response, a fifty percent response would be phenomenal. Of the 150 questionnaires sent out 33 were returned with wrong addresses; this indicates that since the end of 1970 the individuals have moved and no forwarding address was given. Another 10 were returned indicating that they were not involved in displacement and relocation. This could indicate two things: they moved out of the area before property acquisition occurred or they were not the last ones to live at the address at which acquisition occurred. From the remaining 110 questionnaires 22, or twenty percent, responded that they had been involved and filled out the questionnaire.
The twenty percent response I did obtain was from all streets within the study area, therefore I felt I was not getting one block's opinion. It would be difficult to surmise any conclusive results that would reveal the degree of success or failure based upon the 20 percent response, but I felt that it was worthwhile to use the results obtained to see how various individuals felt. In addition, because all the answers were not negative in regard to displacement and relocation I felt there was some validity in the results. It is this 20 percent response from which the following results were determined.
**RESULTS**

RELOCATION SURVEY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>QUESTION</th>
<th>YES</th>
<th>NO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Were you given any assistance in finding housing by the highway department?</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>86%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do you feel you were given adequate payment for your property?</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>86%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do you carry on friendships with people from the area you were displaced from?</td>
<td>71%</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Were you able to continue at the same job following relocation?</td>
<td>95%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do you feel you were treated fairly?</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Were you satisfied with your living conditions before relocation?</td>
<td>82%</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MORE</th>
<th>SAME</th>
<th>LESS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Were your rental or mortgage payments more or less than before relocation?</td>
<td>68%</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Is the distance to work more, the same or less?</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WORSE</th>
<th>SAME</th>
<th>BETTER</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>How does this house or apartment compare to the one before relocation?</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How does this neighborhood compare to the one before relocation?</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Of the responses obtained 86% of the displaced individuals owned their houses or were paying mortgage payments prior to displacement, 14% were renting at the time. At present all but one of the respondents owns his house. The date at which they were notified of displacement ranged from 1965 up through 1971. The method of notification of displacement included notification by letter from the Texas Highway Department, by property appraisers, and in one instance indirectly by a neighbor. The process of finding a new house was done in almost all cases by searching in the want ads or working through a realtor. The time spent looking for a new living accommodation ranged from one month to one year. In a majority of cases the people spent four months looking for a new place to live. There was no indication that assistance was received from the State Highway Department in finding housing. Through contact with the Texas Highway Department I have learned that assistance was available and that listings were maintained on available housing. At the time of acquisition federal laws governing housing assistance did not make it mandatory for the displaced individual to take housing listed
by the highway department. To get a $5,000 maximum additive to the price given for property, the owner simply had to show proof of a difference in the price of replacement housing and what was received for his property. Today it is mandatory that the displaced individual take one of three comparable units listed by the Texas Highway Department or let them inspect the replacement housing to see that it conforms to all decent, safe and sanitary requirements. The current $15,000 maximum additive to the price given for property is denied unless this procedure is followed. The lack of accepted assistance by the Texas Highway Department in the South Freeway case is due partially to the fact that the displaced individuals were black and resented white assistance from the Highway Department that displaced them. Another fact is that the Texas Highway Department Relocation Office in Houston, is a one man operation and is unable to handle the case load adequately.

The most important question on the questionnaire was, "Do you feel you were treated fairly? Please explain your answer." The actual yes or no responses didn't vary as sharply as expected, 41% felt that they had been treated
fairly. The explanation section provided a way for them to express their opinions about relocation or anything they wanted to comment on. It is worth giving some of these comments because the person who has been displaced can give the best analysis of the process:

"Our home on Oakdale was outstanding we had put so much into this house and it had a great deal of potential, for an architect had designed it as his personal home."

"The property owner should not be required to subsidize by indirect means the cost of highway right-of-way. Based upon this and other experiences with state condemnation of property for highway right-of-way, it is our belief that the state deliberately pays less than the value of the property. Knowing that the cost and time involved in contesting their actions will be self-defeating to the owners."

"I lost more than four thousand in the change of addresses."

"I heard rumors that the right-of-way would require the property. I went to the highway office and they
showed me a map and told me they would not need my property. I then spent several thousand dollars for repairs. They then took my property. I am not an engineer but from my observation I see less desirable neighborhoods undisturbed that would have made cheaper route for the same freeway. This particular freeway seems to have chosen the more desirable homes for demolition and left the rat infested area nearby undisturbed."

"My parents moved out on request of the family simply because of the rundown condition surrounding a once beautiful area to live in."

"Monetarily no but I am glad to be out of the neighborhood."

"We had courteous settlements, adequate follow through and consultation on minor problems after transaction completed. We dreaded the task but it could not be avoided. Each person with whom we dealt with gave us splendid service (don't want it to happen again)."
Because of housing availability the move out of the area was easily met. Looking at the relocation map, 64% moved over 1/2 mile from their original location which is in opposition to the general knowledge which stated that many moves were internal rather than out of the area. In addition, the negro move is characterized as being adjacent to the area displaced from. The study area was 95% negro and based upon the percentage of individuals that moved over 1/2 mile the moves are not to adjacent areas.
FOOTNOTES

1. Texas Highway Department, *Report on a Controlled Access Facility Between the City of Houston and the Brazosport Area*, 1959, Pg. 10.


3. Ibid., 1950.

4. Ibid., 1960.

5. Ibid., 1970.
Recommendations & Conclusions
In conclusion, what can be said about the South Freeway planning process, the freeway effects on the remaining community, and residential relocation in Houston?

The South Freeway was first planned over fifteen years ago and it is unlikely that it can still be built as originally planned. An area can change considerably over a fifteen year period in regard to density, racial makeup and economic condition which could reflect changes required in a transportation project. Alternate proposals should be developed weighing various community factors, and the plan should be selected that best meets desired goals.

The South Freeway is likely to cause an increase in commercial activity along frontage roads and at access points. Commercial activity along Almeda Road will decrease, with traffic being diverted onto the South Freeway. Indeed, a decrease in commercial activity has already started to occur, businesses that relocate will leave behind empty stores that will deteriorate; this deterioration will spread to surrounding neighborhoods.
East-west through streets that cut across the freeway will receive an increase in vehicular movement and commercial activity. The result of all this commercial activity along frontage roads and through streets will create residential pockets, less desirable for living, surrounded by commercial uses. Upkeep of property is likely to wane, driving down the residential values, and housing will take on slum characteristics. The residential property between Almeda Road and the South Freeway will undoubtedly be the first to experience a decline in living conditions. The only increase in residential activity is in the southern section of the study area. This increase in residential construction will be in the form of apartment construction which has already started to take place.

From census tract data the area from which the people were displaced indicates that this is a newly formed black community. This transition occurred rather abruptly between 1950 and 1960. Housing has not deteriorated and is still in good condition. A majority of the area is single family residences indicating a much more stable population than indicated by apartments.
In analyzing the results of the questionnaire, and how successful or unsuccessful the relocation process was, it is important to identify respondents. Of the people that responded, 86% owned their homes. These are the people that took pride in their area and maintained their property. The renter is transient and therefore shows less concern for the area. Based upon background knowledge of displacement and relocation assistance it is the property owner who shares a greater burden in the relocation process rather than the renter. Therefore it is the property owner who is most likely to respond to a questionnaire, because he has been affected more and has stronger feelings about the relocation process. From this fact it would appear that the response would be heavily weighted to the negative side unless the displacement and relocation process is handled successfully. Housing availability as brought out in this thesis is probably one of the most important factors that can determine the success or failure in relocation. Houston at present is going through a tremendous building expansion; a wide range of housing is available. Because Houston is a growing city and a young city it has not
experienced the racial strife of a number of older northern cities. The negro has not been limited in housing choice as severely as in other cities; there is a fairly large market of housing available to the negro. If he has financial capability he can improve his lifestyle. Based upon the relocation map it would appear that a number of families did move out of the area. The response to the question based upon the neighborhood they now live in suggests that only one-fourth of the people moved into a worse neighborhood and three-fourths moved into a better area. This tends to back up the assumption that there is still a chance for the negro to better himself in Houston; his housing choice is not limited to the lowest quality. In regard to quality of housing 55% stated that their present house or apartment is in better condition than the one from which they were displaced. There was no response given to the answer "same" in regard to housing condition, but there was a 45% response stating that living accommodations were in worse condition. Of the people who moved into worse housing not one said the neighborhood was in better condition. Only one individual that moved into better
housing said the neighborhood was in worse condition. Concerning the question that asks a response in regard to housing payments; 68% said their payments were higher and 32% said their payments were less, and again there was no answer given that said their housing payments were the same. In comparison, of the people who said their living accommodations payments were less, 50% said their accommodations were in worse condition.

It appears that despite the move, over 70% of the respondents carry on friendships from the area from which they were displaced; the move didn't force a break in patterns of behavior simply because of distance. A job change was not forced because of the move although the distance for over half of the people increased. One of the most important answers was that 82% were satisfied with their living conditions before relocation. As brought up earlier this answer probably reflects the opinion that homeowners took a greater pride in their residences than the renters and were reluctant to give up their living accommodations. Of equal importance is whether or not the individual felt satisfied with the relocation process, and if he felt he had been treated
fairly. From these responses, 40% of the people felt that they were treated fairly. Of this number half of those treated fairly were renting at the time of displacement and all of those treated fairly now own their homes.

The recent passage of the Uniform Relocation Assistance and Real Property Acquisition Act of 1970 is a step in the right direction but assistance is still needed in lessening the social problems attributed to relocation. If a family has strong ties to the area from which displaced, assistance should be given in finding decent, safe and sanitary housing in the same area. If the right-of-way is occupied by an ethnic or minority group, people from the same group should be employed to contact residents concerning displacement and relocation. When a family or group of relatives are forced out of adjacent housing there should be an attempt to find for them housing in the same neighborhood to maintain contacts.

Because mobility is restricted in the lower class, ways of getting to and from places of work after relocation should be included in services. People forced out of work
should receive unemployment benefits and services in finding new employment or training in other fields. Families should be given aid in obtaining loans and credit. There should be low cost loans and mortgages made available to families who wish to purchase homes, and payments given to cover closing costs, down payments and taxes in purchasing homes. Families must be made aware of public services that are available to them, and must be helped in filing necessary changes with service agencies so there will be no loss of service. Families should be allowed to stay in the acquisition area until replacement housing is found. There is usually a great deal of pressure to find replacement housing as quickly as possible. With more time a better choice could be made.

Although there was little business displacement in the study area, certain recommendations can be made concerning relocation assistance. Businesses that wish to relocate in the original area should be given additional assistance in finding adequate facilities. Businesses that have special building problems or zoning restrictions, should be given assistance in finding
desirable locations. Assistance should also be given to businesses to obtain working capital to make the transition period as easy as possible.

Houston is a young city, spread out and growing. The Houston freeway system when complete will make travel to any part of the city relatively easy. As A. C. Kyser, recently retired head of the Houston Urban Expressway Office, stated, "Houston is a freeway designers dream, it is spread out, the people enjoy having their own private transportation system." Mass rapid transit for Houston seems unlikely because the city is so spread out and the density is not conducive to rapid transit in the classical form. The cost as stated by Kyser would be four times the $500 million dollar cost of the Houston freeway system. If any system is developed it will probably use the freeway as a transport medium. The freeway system has another 20 years ahead of it before completion. Relocation will be continuing for many years and as the city grow to an estimated 5,000,000 people by 1990 relocation will not be handled as easily as it is handled today. It is unlikely that the construction boom in
housing will continue as land becomes less available, therefore the housing market will become increasingly tighter.

It is important for the Highway Department to prepare now for this coming period. Some recommendations can be made. Preliminary planning of rights-of-way will prevent people from moving into these zones of displacement. Priorities in property acquisition should be reordered to prevent properties from remaining vacant for several years after acquisition until construction actually occurs. To illustrate this, in 1956 there was a 34 month delay from preliminary planning to the start of construction. Currently there is a 78 month period from planning to the start of construction. Because property acquisition is handled by the state and county appraisal offices the time table for property acquisition may be sooner than required by the Texas Highway Department. Freeway corridors should not be restricted to vehicular movement but should serve a multitude of uses. If the freeway is depressed, air rights over the freeway should be used for community centers, schools, recreation areas and housing. If the freeway is elevated, space
under the structure should be landscaped, used for recreation, community facilities and shopping. In most cases the freeway should become a seam in a community, not a barrier.

In determining success or failure of the relocation process it can be said that no forced move will be looked upon with favor. The economic and mental position of the displaced will determine how well the situation is handled. The forced relocation of the negro in some instances also has racial implications; a black minority being forced out by the white majority. The degree of maturity on the part of the displaced will have a bearing upon success or failure. Some highway planners see only irrationality on the part of the displaced for their opposition to being forced out of their so-called deplorable living conditions. But as has been illustrated by this research, relocation has involved the uprooting of families, searching for a new home, sacrifice of neighborhood values, threats to sources of political unity, and the superimposing of a way of life quite often in opposition to the premises of the relocation plan. New movement
patterns must be established, shopping locations need to be found, friendships must be established in the new area and children must change schools. To some individuals, relocation is a blessing in disguise; it affords them a chance to improve their lifestyle, and to get favorable economic return from their former property. In other cases, relocation forces individuals to devote a greater share of their limited income to housing, which will drive them deeper into poverty. Relocation can only be deemed successful when it improves the social and economic condition for the individual.

The aim of a transportation plan should not be just to move people, but to enhance the quality of life, not only for the users of a freeway but also for the non-users whose environment has been affected.

In any thesis where new techniques or special devices are used it is important to convey the problems encountered for future theses. In the case of this thesis a questionnaire was developed to determine attitudes of displaced individuals.
There are three phases in gaining attitudes or opinions from individuals. First, one must determine how to obtain responses; either personally, or through a questionnaire to be filled out by the individual. Second, once the method has been determined, questions must be developed to obtain the necessary study data. Third, when responses have been obtained, analysis is necessary.

I chose a study area before determining the type or method of data acquisition. I suspect, from my experience, it would be better to first decide on the type of questioning to be done; either personally or through a questionnaire. The size of area should then be chosen based on the physical area that can be covered with this type of questioning. A personal interview response implies a smaller study area than a mailed out questionnaire. Once the method of questioning and size of area have been determined, the names and addresses of those to be questioned should be obtained. In my case lack of assistance from the Texas Highway Department forced me to obtain on my own names and addresses of those displaced. A lot of wasted effort can result if unreliable sources are used which lead to faulty
information. If reliable information cannot be obtained the questionnaire method should be abandoned. In fact, determining if information is available should be the first step.

In developing questions it should be mandatory that assistance be obtained from people who have developed or know of techniques in developing questionnaires. Wording of questions can sometimes lead to responses not in tune with what was to be achieved. Simplicity is important because the respondent may not have a high degree of educational training, and if he is unable to answer the question, analysis may be impossible. In the case of my questionnaire I had other questionnaires as models that were designed to get similar responses. Another point is brevity; if the questionnaire is too long the respondent may lose interest and leave certain questions unanswered. The form of the answer is important; yes-no responses must be to questions that can be answered simply, that call for little judgment on the part of the respondent. A question that asks for various degrees of responses such as: more, less or same, must not be too limiting in degrees and offer a sufficient range of
responses to answer the question adequately. Too many degrees of answers can lead to indecision. Questions that ask verbal responses should be designed to make answers simple and to the point. Each question should ask only one response not a series of responses; this tends to confuse the readers decision.

The analysis of the answers is probably the hardest part, and should be handled with the help of someone with a background in questionnaire development or sociological research unless the researcher is already competent in this area. If the results are to be valid more than a surface appraisal is required. The degree to which a questionnaire is successful or valid varies in part by the number of responses, but there is no set percentage of the total number needed to make the survey valid; this depends upon the subject and group being surveyed.

An interesting possibility within the framework of the university would be the multidisciplinary approach. Through the cooperation of the sociology and psychology disciplines it could be possible for students to develop questions based upon areas set up by the person using a
survey technique in his thesis. It could be possible for students to do field work in interviewing of the respondents in the survey. Analysis of a survey could be part of their required training and at the same time benefit the person writing the thesis.
Bibliography
BIBLIOGRAPHY


