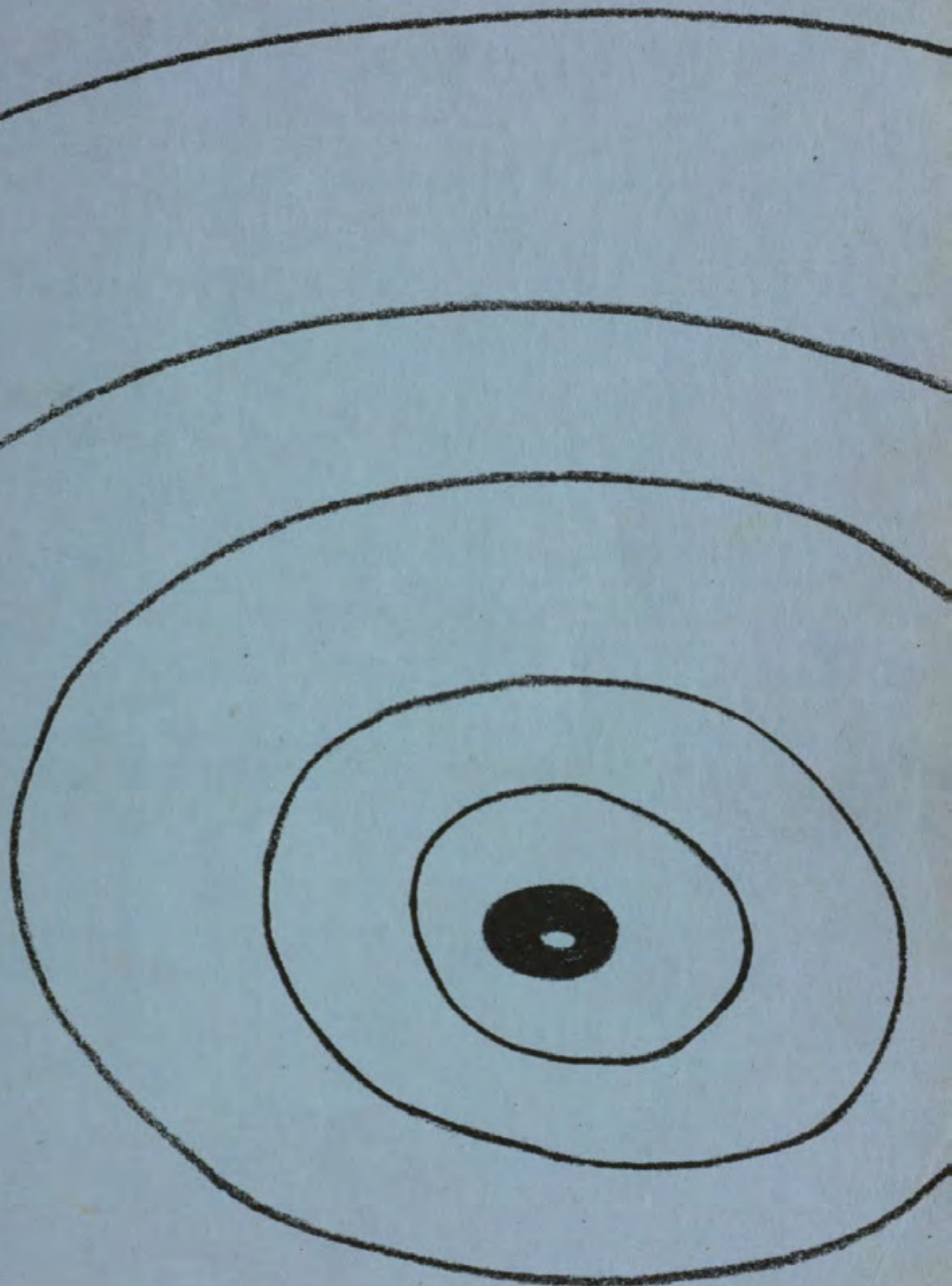


central city



A NEIGHBORHOOD ANALYSIS - EAST ST. LOUIS, ILLINOIS

CENTRAL CITY -

A NEIGHBORHOOD ANALYSIS,

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and

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Edwardsville, Ill(inois)

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The Public Administration and Metropolitan Affairs Program is a part of the University's Area Services Division, with its operation centered at the Edwardsville Campus.

Through the joint use of staff personnel, it is linked as well to the Social Sciences Division and the Business Division, academic units on the Campus.

It is an urban studies and services Program, oriented principally to the Illinois portion of the Greater St. Louis Metropolitan Area. The Program undertakes and sponsors basic urban studies using the area as a laboratory, it engages in a systematic program of area data collection and storage, and it services governmental units and regional policy-making bodies with technical and consultative services.

AN ADVISORY AND CONSULTANT STUDY: REPORT NO. AC 11

PREFACE

The purpose of the following report is two-fold. One objective is to provide the City of East St. Louis and the citizens of the Central City Neighborhood timely information that will be useful in developing meaningful planning proposals. Secondly, we are proposing a number of planning policy alternatives for Central City that are based upon the results of a detailed analysis which we have made of the neighborhood. The reason we are making proposals at this point is to provide a framework for a community dialogue involving city officials and Central City residents.

The data collected as a basis for our proposals is reported in the introductory section of this report. This data has been drawn from a variety of sources. We have tried to pull together all existing information about Central City. There are, however, significant gaps in this data. Most of these gaps are due to the fact that Central City is a rapidly changing community and data collected in the past is no longer valid. This was particularly true of the census data. For this reason a team of researchers was sent into Central City to interview neighborhood residents. A copy of the questionnaire used by our interviewers is included in the appendix to this report. The questions asked were designed to produce three kinds of information. First, the usual socio-economic characteristics of the population were determined. Secondly, we asked people about the availability of facilities for their day-to-day activities such as work, shopping, recreation, medical care, and religion. Information about the location, frequency of use, and means of transportation was obtained for each kind of activity in order to assess the need for maintaining existing facilities or to locate additional ones in or near the neighborhood. Finally, we asked for the opinions of neighborhood residents about the nature of community problems and the means that they think should be taken to solve the problems.

The questionnaire was administered to a sample of the Central City population selected on a random basis. The size of the sample was sufficient to enable us to make conclusions about the population as a whole with a high statistical reliability.¹ Interviewers were drawn largely from the Central City neighborhood or from places nearby. The interviewers were trained by Mrs. Jane Altes who utilized funds granted under Title I of the Higher Education Act of 1965. It was hoped that by using neighborhood people to survey the neighborhood that a greater substantive citizen involvement in the planning process could be obtained.

Our report is divided into three parts: Part I is a description of the Central City Neighborhood. We have included social, economic, and physical characteristics of the neighborhood. Part II is an analysis of neighborhood problems based on the data in Part I, our observations, and the opinions of Central City residents. The final portion of this report makes alternative planning proposals based on the data and analysis presented in the Parts I and II.

A large number of people from our staff contributed to the content of the neighborhood analysis. As mentioned above, Jane Altes trained the interviewers and contributed significantly to the design and coding of the questionnaire. Hubert Williams conducted the study of housing conditions. A detailed description of his methods and findings will appear in a separate report. John Goss contributed significantly to the processing of the data. Terry Proffitt helped supervise the interviewers and assisted in the coding of the results. Ken Johnson also assisted with the tabulation of data. The graphic work was

¹The size of our sample was large enough to assure a 95% probability of accuracy. The return rate of our questionnaires was 81.3%.

done by Gary Mook and Roberta Ranney. Catherine Sumner, Connie Stimac, Karyle Moore, and Carolyn Evans worked on data tabulation and typing. Although we received this considerable help from the members of the Public Administration and Metropolitan Affairs staff, the responsibility for the content of this report lies solely with the authors. In fact, we wish to stress that the analysis of neighborhood problems and all opinions and recommendations expressed in the report to follow represent solely the views of the two authors and not necessarily those of the Public Administration and Metropolitan Affairs Program or those of Southern Illinois University.

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Introduction

Central City neighborhood lies in the heart of East St. Louis. The map on the following page shows the exact location of the neighborhood. Central City contains within its borders a small part of the Central Post Office District of East St. Louis and also many of the city's major streets. Most of the area, however, is residential in character. In many respects it is typical of neighborhoods which surround central business districts of large cities. The housing at one time was quite good but has begun to decline. The case of Central City, that has

PART I

CENTRAL CITY: PROFILE OF A NEIGHBORHOOD

is rapidly becoming a problem area, has reached the point where it is beyond saving. There is still a considerable amount of basically sound housing and good facilities for shopping and other neighborhood activities. Thus, it is quite possible that the present trend deterioration can be halted and reversed. The question is what are the most appropriate steps to reverse the decline and save the community? The answer to this question is not a simple one and it must be approached through careful planning. This planning must aim toward the establishment of community goals and must encompass economic, social, and physical aspects of the future development of this neighborhood. To establish these goals and priorities all of the available information about the neighborhood must be brought together and analyzed. In order to begin this process the first part of this report describes the economic and physical nature of Central City today and demonstrates the nature of the community.

Demographic Characteristics

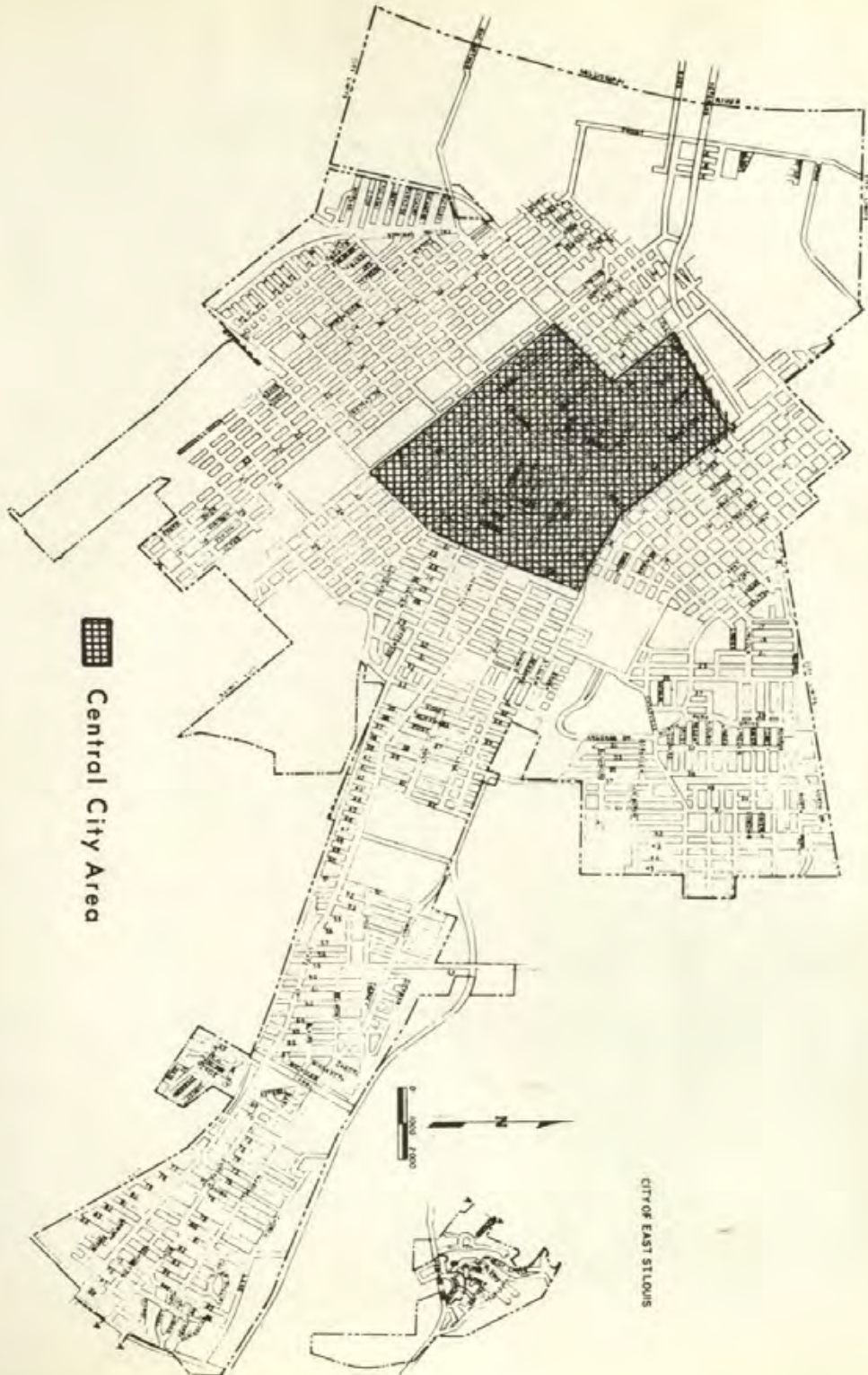
Estimates of the total population of Central City have been made on the basis of information obtained from our questionnaire. Our method was to

Introduction

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Socio-Economic Characteristics

Estimates of the total population of Central City have been made on the basis of information derived from our questionnaire. Our method was to estimate



Central City Area



CITY OF EAST ST. LOUIS

Figure 1
Proximity to the CBD

CENTRAL BUSINESS DISTRICT LIES BELOW THE TWO BRIDGES IN THE CENTER OF THIS PHOTO. TO THE RIGHT OF CBD IS THE GOMPERS HOUSING PROJECT.



THE VACANT LAND IN THIS PHOTO IS THE URBAN RENEWAL PROJECT. TO ITS LEFT IS THE CENTRAL CITY, WHILE ORR-WEATHERS IS IN THE BACKGROUND.



the average number of persons per dwelling unit and multiply that number by the number of dwelling units in the area. Some distortion in our population estimate is present because of the fact that there was a higher refusal rate among White families than among Negro families and the Whites have smaller families than Negroes. The difference was not so great to preclude a reasonably good estimate and the total population figure derived was scaled downward slightly to make it even more accurate. Our finding was that population grew between 1960 and 1967. The rate of growth was about 14% or 2,219 persons in absolute terms. This rate of growth is actually greater than the numbers imply because

TABLE 1

CENTRAL CITY POPULATION AND AVERAGE NUMBER
OF PERSONS PER DWELLING UNIT,
1960-1967

<u>Year</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>Persons Per Dwelling Unit</u>
1960	15,497	2.82
1967	17,716	4.01

since the 1960 Census a number of people were displaced by an urban renewal project. The population growth appears to be due to an increase in the average number of persons per dwelling unit. In 1960 this average was 2.82 according to the census. Our survey results showed that the average had increased to 4.01 by 1967. A large change in the dwelling unit density is a strong indication that there has been a considerable turnover of population in the past seven years. Other data reported later in this study substantiate the proposition that there has been a high population turnover. The fact

many of the people who live in Central City in 1960 no longer live there today raised some questions that are very important to our understanding of the nature of the Central City Neighborhood. What is the nature of the change that has occurred in socio-economic terms and what kinds of people inhabit Central City today?

One aspect of the population which is essential to the planning of Central City is the age of the people who live there. Figure 2 compares the age distribution in 1960 to that in 1967. This comparison indicates that the population in 1967 is considerably younger than the 1960 population. Between 1960 and 1967 there has been a relative increase in persons between the ages of five and nineteen and a relative loss in virtually every other age bracket. The median age of the population has fallen considerably, indicating the magnitude of the change in Central City's age structure. The definition of family head used was simply person designated as the head by the respondent to the questionnaire. Family heads in Central City are anywhere between 2

TABLE 2

MEDIAN AGE OF POPULATION, 1960-1967

<u>Year</u>	<u>Median Age</u>
1960	31.6
1967	17.8

and 88 years old. There is no "typical" age of a family head; the number of family heads of different ages is fairly evenly distributed. The median age of family heads is 47.7.

Figure 2
AGE DISTRIBUTION IN
CENTRAL CITY
1960-1967

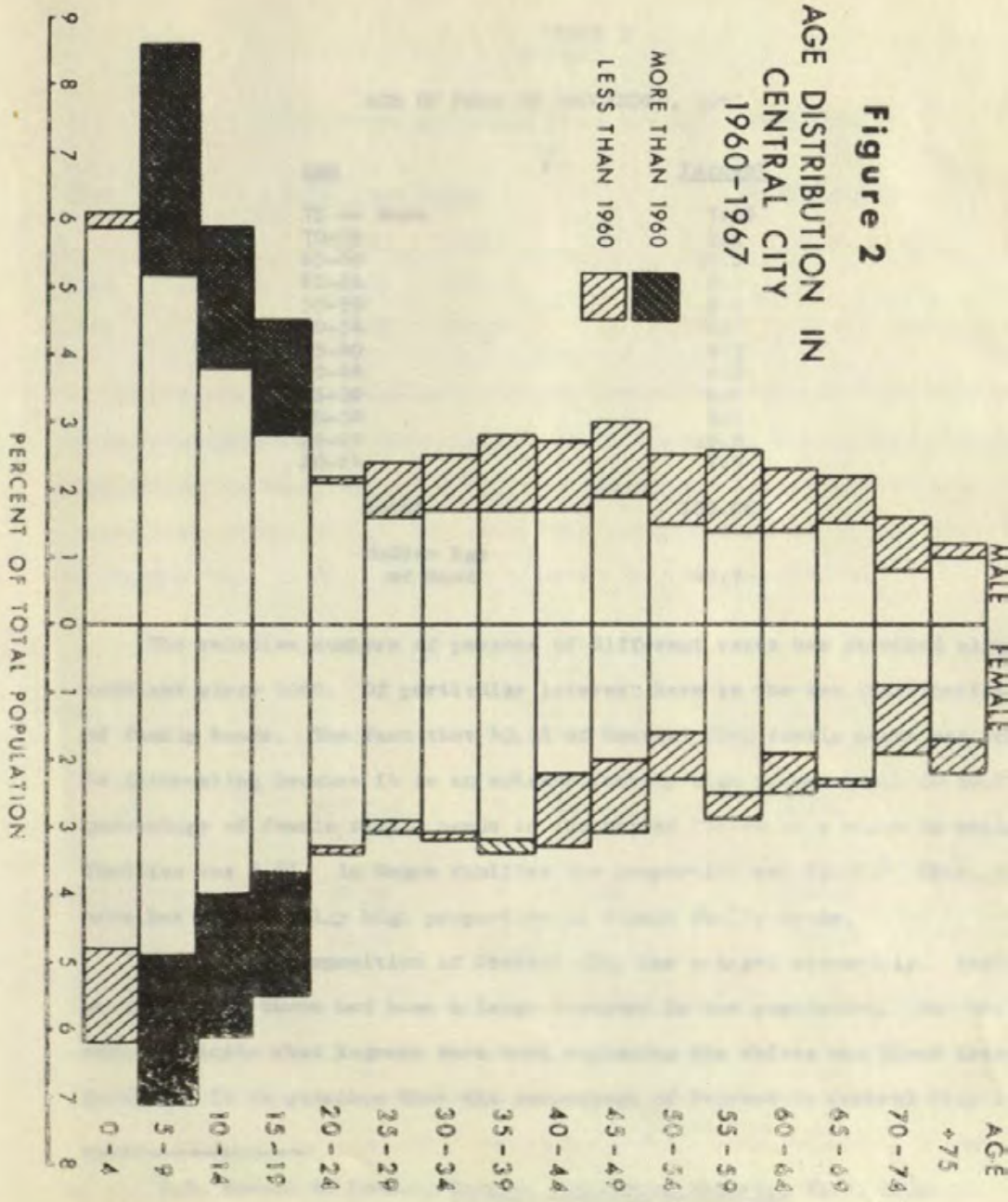


TABLE 3

AGE OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD, 1967

Age	Percent
75 or more	7.3%
70-74	4.2
65-69	10.1
60-64	8.0
55-59	9.0
50-54	6.6
45-49	9.7
40-44	9.0
35-39	9.0
30-34	9.0
25-29	10.8
20-24	7.3
Total	100.0%
Median Age of Head	47.7

The relative numbers of persons of different sexes has remained almost constant since 1960. Of particular interest here is the sex distribution of family heads. The fact that 43.1% of Central City family heads are female is interesting because it is an extraordinarily high proportion. In 1962 the percentage of female family heads in the United States as a whole in white families was 8.6%. In Negro families the proportion was 23.2%.² Thus, this area has an unusually high proportion of female family heads.

The racial composition of Central City has changed enormously. Earlier we noted that there had been a large turnover in the population. Our data would indicate that Negroes have been replacing the whites who lived there in 1960. It is possible that the percentage of Negroes in Central City is

²U.S. Bureau of Census, Current Population Reports, #125, 1962.

TABLE 4

SEX OF POPULATION AND OF FAMILY HEAD, 1960-1967

<u>Year</u>	<u>Total Population</u>			<u>Family Head</u>		
	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Total</u>
1960	46.2%	53.8%	100.0%			
1967	45.2%	54.8%	100.0%	56.9%	43.1%	100.0%

slightly overstated because of the higher refusal rate on our questionnaire in white neighborhoods. Nevertheless, it is clear that the change in racial composition has been very great and that Negroes are now the predominant inhabitants of the Central City area. The relative increase in the proportion of Negroes from 45.3% to 80.5% has occurred in just seven years.

TABLE 5

RACIAL COMPOSITION OF FAMILIES, 1960-1967

<u>Year</u>	<u>Percent White</u>	<u>Percent Negro</u>	<u>Total</u>
1960	54.7%	45.3%	100.0%
1967	19.5%	80.5%	100.0%

Up to this point we have been describing the demographic and social composition of Central City. In order to understand the implications of our findings, further information on the economic potential and the manifestation of this potential is necessary. One measure of economic potential is the level of education. Particularly important to families is the education of the

head or of other members of the family who are over 25 years old and thus probably past their school years. The table below shows the distribution of the number of school years completed by family heads and by all persons 25 or older. The median number of school years completed is also reported. There is very little difference in the educational attainment of family heads as opposed to all people who are at least 25 years old. What is important to note here is that 72.7% of the people 25 or older never completed high school and that 20.6% only got through the sixth grade. The average residence

TABLE 6

PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF THE NUMBER OF SCHOOL YEARS COMPLETED
AND THE MEDIAN NUMBER OF SCHOOL YEARS FOR FAMILY HEADS
AND ALL PERSONS 25 OR OLDER, 1967

<u>School Years Completed</u>	<u>Family Heads</u>	<u>All Persons 25 or Older</u>
No Years of School	1.3%	1.0%
1-4 Elementary	6.2	6.1
5-6 Elementary	14.3	13.6
7 Years	5.8	5.1
8 Years	18.1	18.9
1-3 High School	30.5	28.0
High School Graduate	16.8	19.9
1-3 College	4.3	5.3
4 or More College	2.7	2.1
Total	100.0%	100.0%
Median Years of School	9.6 years	9.5 years

has 9 1/2 years of education which means that they dropped out during the second year of high school. Comparable figure for all families in the United States was 12.0 in 1966.

The income level of families in Central City is consistent with the level of educational achievement. Median income has decreased since 1959 from \$3,300 to \$2,803. This is disturbing when we consider that incomes in the United States generally rose during this period. The low income level of Central City residents can be even more graphically illustrated by looking at the distribution of income. As the table below shows 53.9% of the families earned less than \$3,000 in 1967. In the United States as a whole, only 16% earned under \$3,000 in 1965.

TABLE 7
MEDIAN FAMILY INCOME IN UNITED STATES AND
CENTRAL CITY, 1959-1967

<u>Year</u>	<u>United States</u>	<u>Central City</u>
1959	\$5,660	\$3,300
1962	5,956	
1963	6,249	
1964	6,569	
1965	6,882	
1967		2,803

Source: Bureau of Census, Current Population Reports and sample survey reports.

TABLE 8

INCOME OF FAMILIES, 1967

<u>Income</u>	<u>Percent of Families</u>
Under \$2,000	35.1%
\$2,000-\$2,999	18.8
\$3,000-\$3,999	11.4
\$4,000-\$4,999	10.0
\$5,000-\$5,999	8.5
\$6,000-\$7,999	8.2
\$8,000-\$9,999	2.2
\$10,000 or Higher	5.1
Total	100.0%

These very low income figures reflect a high rate of unemployment in Central City. Our survey found that 25.4% of the labor force in Central City could be classified as unemployed. The definition of unemployment is important because employment statistics can vary considerably depending on the criteria used. Our definition of an unemployed person is one who is looking for work but cannot find a job. This definition is the same as that used by Jane Schusky in her 1963 employment study of the entire City of East St. Louis. It is interesting to compare the Central City results from our 1967 survey with Jane Schusky's results for East St. Louis in 1963. She found that 21% of the East St. Louis labor force was unemployed, but with regard to the Negroes

³Jane Schusky, Employment and Unemployment in East St. Louis, Illinois (Edwardsville, Illinois: Public Administration and Metropolitan Affairs Program, Southern Illinois University, January, 1964).

East St. Louis, 33% of them were unemployed. The rate of unemployment in Central City is therefore fairly consistent with the Schusky findings. The rate of unemployment in East St. Louis and Central City is far from typical of the United States, or of Illinois. As a matter of fact only 2.9% of the population of Illinois was classified as unemployed in January 1967, by the Illinois State Employment Service. The enormous difference between the Illinois rate and that found in Central City is somewhat overstated because of differences in definitions of the labor force. If Illinois State Employment Service had utilized our definition their rate would have been higher. Nevertheless, it is safe to say that unemployment in East St. Louis and thus in the Central City neighborhood are very high.

A better understanding of the employment potential of these unemployed persons can be partially derived by looking at the occupational structure of the community. This structure applies only to those who were working at the time of the survey. It is some indication, however, of the kind of labor that exists in Central City. In the table below a comparison is made between our results for Central City in 1967 and the 1960 Census findings for the entire City of East St. Louis. Although the occupational distribution has shifted in the city since 1960, the differences between Central City and East St. Louis are striking. A very high proportion of the Central City labor force is engaged in unskilled laboring jobs while relatively few are employed in white collar, skilled or even semi-skilled blue collar positions.

To summarize the social and economic characteristics of the residents of Central City, it can be said that this neighborhood is predominantly made up of low income Negroes who are either unemployed or working as unskilled laborers. Many Central City residents have relatively large families and many of those who are employable do not even have a high school education.

TABLE 9

CURRENT OCCUPATION OF EMPLOYED PERSONS IN CENTRAL CITY AND EAST ST. LOUIS 1960, 1967

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Central City (1967)</u>	<u>East St. Louis (1960)</u>
Professional, Technical & Kindred	4.1%	7.6%
Managers, Officers & Proprietors	.8	5.8
Clerical & Kindred	4.1	18.7
Sales	1.7	6.6
Craftsmen, Foremen & Kindred	5.0	12.4
Operatives & Kindred	11.6	23.5
Service Workers	18.2	15.6
Labcrers	54.5	9.8
TOTAL	100.0%	100.0%

Aside from the social and economic characteristics, it is also useful to know a little about the cohesiveness of the neighborhood socially. Since there have been some major shifts in the nature of the Central City population since 1960, we can assume that most residents have lived in their present homes for a relatively short period of time, and this assumption has been substantiated by our survey results. One question which was asked in this survey was how long residents of Central City had been living in their present homes. The answers to this question are reported below. Our results clearly indicate that most of the population have lived in their houses for only a short period of time. The median length of residence is only 3.6 years. 77.6% of the residents have

moved into their present home since the 1960 Census. This does not mean that all of these people moved from outside of the Central City area. In fact, there is reason to believe that there has been some movement within the neighborhood. The question was asked of the Central City residents "Where did you live before you moved here to this house?" We have not broken this answer down by length of residence but the results do indicate that almost half of the people in Central City came to their present residence from some other location in East St. Louis.

TABLE 10

LENGTH OF RESIDENCE, 1967

<u>Length of Residence</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Cumulative Percent</u>
Under six months	16.0%	16.0%
6-11 months	4.5	20.5
1-2 years	23.3	43.8
3-4 years	21.6	65.4
5-7 years	12.2	77.6
8-9 years	1.8	79.4
10-14 years	7.7	87.1
15-19 years	4.2	91.3
20 years or more	8.7	100.0
Total	100.0%	

The results of our survey show that a large proportion of the population rent their homes and that almost all of the present residents have no

TABLE 11

PREVIOUS PLACE OF RESIDENCE

General Area Characteristics

<u>Location of Previous Residence</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Within Central City	42.5%
Other East St. Louis	46.5
Within Metropolitan Area	6.5
Southern U.S.	.8
Other U.S.	2.5
Outside U.S.	1.2
Total	100.0%

TABLE 12

HOME OWNERSHIP, 1967

Owner Occupied	35.8%
Renter Occupied	64.2%
Total	100.0%

TABLE 13

PLANS TO MOVE, 1967

<u>Nature of Plans</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Plans to move	5.9%
No plans to move	85.5%
Don't Know	8.6%
Total	100.0%

move in the immediate future. When asked whether they had any plans to move our respondents answered "no" most of the time.

General Land Use Characteristics

The use of land is one very important characteristic of any neighborhood. All human activities are related in one way or another to the way land is used. The compatibility of different land uses and the adequacy of such uses as factories, stores, residences, and public facilities are a major component of the quality of the urban environment.

The existing land use in the Central City of East St. Louis is shown below in detail. A generalized land use map is presented on the following page.

TABLE 14

LAND USE IN CENTRAL CITY, 1967

<u>Land Use</u>	<u>Acres</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Residential	372.9	40.7%
Streets	336.2	36.7
Commercial	60.6	6.6
Vacant	53.1	5.8
Public Housing	32.1	3.5
Urban Renewal	21.4	2.3
Public and Semi-public	20.0	2.2
Industrial	16.2	1.8
Parks	2.3	0.3
Warehouse	1.2	0.1
	<u>916.0</u>	<u>100.0%</u>

LAND USE

- RESIDENTIAL
- COMMERCIAL
- INDUSTRIAL
- PUBLIC HOUSING
- PUBLIC & SEMI-PUBLIC
- URBAN RENEWAL
- WAREHOUSES
- PARKS
- VACANT

CENTRAL CITY AREA

East St. Louis, Illinois

SCALE
0 100 500 1000 FEET



This map shows graphically the location and extent of existing land use. The use shown on each block of the map is that which occupies over 50% of the space on that block. For example, a block that has 55% residential, 25% commercial and 20% vacant will be shown on the map as residential. Thus, incompatibilities of land uses which may exist within a block would not appear on this map. Our calculation that 53.1 acres of the Central City are vacant is an understatement. Because the land use has been generalized, individual vacant lots or combination of lots are not included. Except for the extension of the central business district at the junction of Illinois, State and 10th Street, existing commercial facilities are of strip design and located along Illinois-State to a lesser degree, St. Clair Avenue. Other commercial facilities are either non-conforming retail land uses or represent changes in the Zoning Ordinance City Council subsequent to passage of the ordinance in 1961.⁴ Streets use a large amount of Central City space due to a large number of undersized blocks in the area. On the other hand, park space is negligible consisting of only 2.3 acres for approximately 18,000 people. The two small parks which are passive-type recreation areas are located at the juncture of 9th-10th Street with St. Clair Avenue and at Pennsylvania and Summit Avenues.

Comparing the existing land use with the zoning ordinance, map deviations between the two are found. Zoning is a planning tool which is supposed to control the use of land by a special piece of legislation. As already noted there is more commercial property than the ordinance provides for, indicating a considerable number of commercial establishments which are not in conformity with the 1961 Ordinance. There is also a great difference between the amount of industrial property allowed under the zoning ordinance and that which presently exists. In this case there is far less industrial property than the ordinance

⁴1966 Annual Budget, City of East St. Louis, pp. 37A, Appendix, pp. XXXVII.

provides for. A large area has been zoned industrial on the eastern boundary of the Central City between 20th Street and the Terminal Railroad tracks. Much of this land is unused and comprises a major share of the vacant land on the existing land use map. The zoning map does not make provision for public and semi-public uses; hence these uses, as well as the urban renewal land, are classified in the zoning ordinance as either commercial, residential or industrial. Generally the comparison of the zoning ordinance with existing land use is suggestive that many land uses do not conform with the ordinance.

TABLE 15

COMPARISON OF EXISTING LAND USE
AND ZONING ORDINANCE

	<u>Existing Land Use (Acres)</u>	<u>Zoning Ordinance (Acres)</u>
Comparable Land Uses:		
Residential (Including Public Housing)	405.0	376.1
Commercial (Less Parking)	60.6	46.9
Industrial and Warehouses	17.4	134.2
Parks	2.3	2.3
Streets	336.2	336.2
Non-Comparable Uses:		
Highway Commercial		20.3
Vacant and Urban Renewal	74.5	
Public and Semi-Public	<u>20.0</u>	
	916.0	<u>916.0</u>

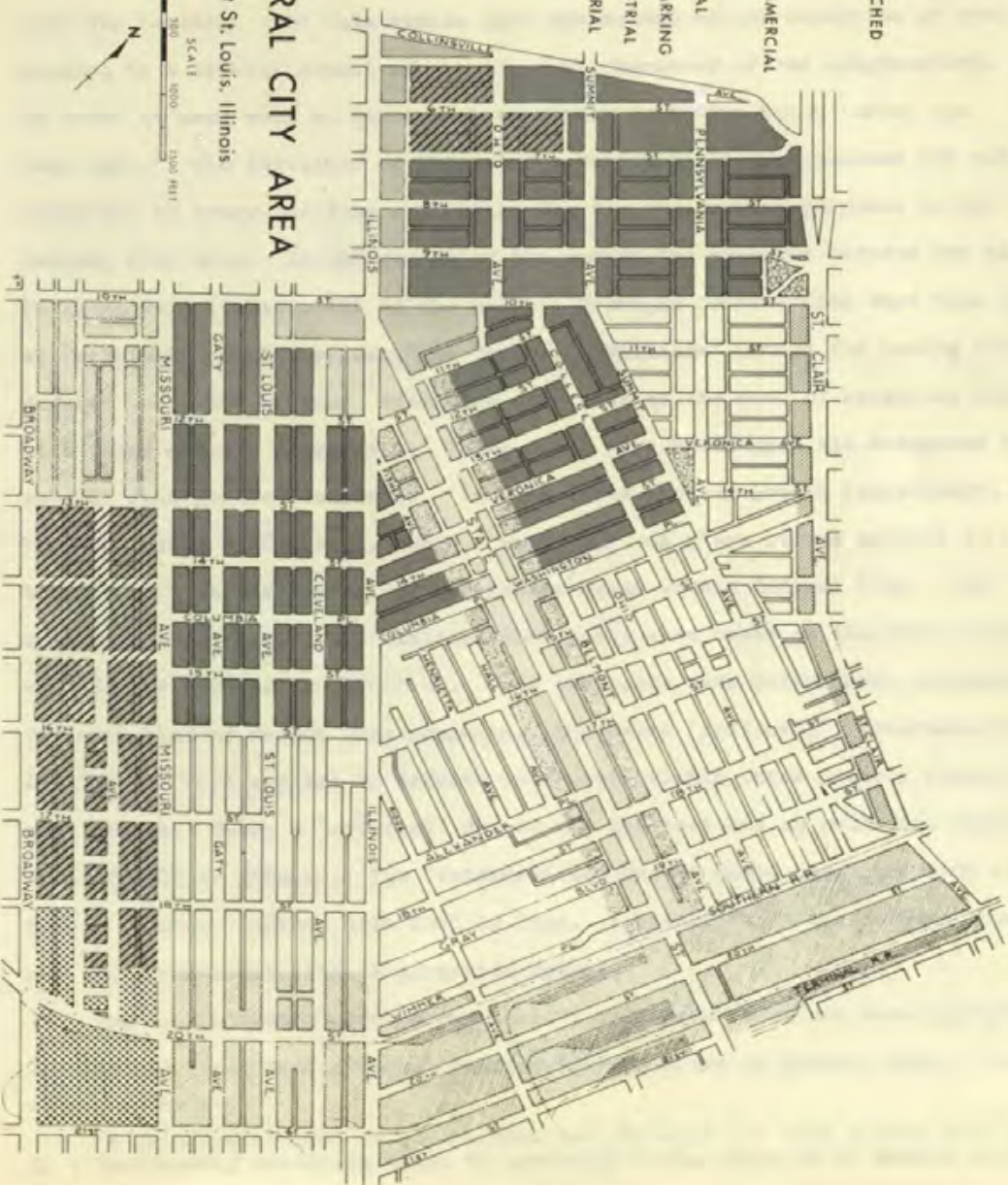
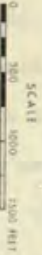
ZONING DISTRICTS

LEGEND

- R-1A SINGLE-FAMILY DETACHED
- R-2 TWO-FAMILY
- R-3 MULTI-FAMILY
- C-1 NEIGHBORHOOD COMMERCIAL
- C-2 CENTRAL BUSINESS
- C-3 HIGHWAY COMMERCIAL
- C-3A HWY. COMMERCIAL PARKING
- M-1 MEDIUM MFG. & INDUSTRIAL
- M-2 HEAVY MFG. & INDUSTRIAL
- PARKS

CENTRAL CITY AREA

East St. Louis, Illinois



Housing Condition

As noted in the previous section, 40.7% of the land in Central City is used for housing. For this reason some assessment of the condition of that housing is a crucial aspect of the over-all character of the neighborhood. In order to make such an assessment a housing condition study survey has been made.⁵ The initiator of this study, Hubert Williams, examined the exterior condition of every building used primarily for residential purposes in the Central City area. In the course of the survey the exterior defects for each building were listed. All of the defects found in Central City were then rated as "critical," "intermediate," or "minor." Williams' method for rating the defects was quite unique. Estimates were made of the cost of repairing houses with those defects enumerated. These costs were based upon the estimates of several construction companies. In some cases such as gutter replacement, cost was given by the foot. When a unit cost was given it was applied to a house size that was typical of particular areas within Central City. The same kind of procedure was utilized when costs were based on the pitch of a roof or the type of construction. Once the costs were determined, averages for each kind of defect were computed. The terms "critical," "intermediate" and "minor" were applied to defects which fell within three clearly identified cost ranges. Thus, a "critical" defect was one that had an estimated repair cost of \$825 or greater. The "intermediate" defect would cost from \$405 to \$740. A "minor" defect cost \$365 or less. A breakdown of the defects found and their classification is presented below.

The cost estimate devised for each of the items above has been applied to the defects enumerated for each residential structure in Central City. Fur

⁵ A detailed account of the methods and findings for this survey will be in a forthcoming monograph which is presently being prepared by Hubert Williams.

TABLE 16

EXTERIOR HOUSING DEFECTS IN CENTRAL CITY

CRITICAL DEFECTS (\$825 or greater)

- Leaning or Sinking Foundation
- No Foundation
- Sagging Roof
- Inadequate Original Construction
- Fire, Flood or Storm Damage
- Damaged Structure in Rear of Lot

INTERMEDIATE DEFECTS (\$405-\$740)

- Blocks Missing from Foundation
- Structure Tilted, Leaning or Bulging
- Holes in Roof
- Makeshift Porch
- Garage Partially Destroyed
- Junk Yard in Lot

MINOR DEFECTS (\$365 or less)

- Cracks in Foundation
- Siding Missing
- Rotten Window Sills, Borders, or Door Frames
- Separated Cornices
- Missing Shingles or Tarpaper
- Faulty Chimney
- Loose or Missing Boards on Porch
- Porch Tilted or Separated from Structure
- Porch Supports Rotten or Missing
- Porch Railings Missing
- Garage in Disrepair
- Broken or Leaning Fences
- Gutter Torn Away
- Gutter Missing or Has Holes
- Downspout Missing

an estimate of the total cost of repairing all of the exterior defects of each structure has been made. It should be stressed that it is not intended that these estimates be taken literally. These estimates are actually only an index of the relative condition of the housing in Central City. Using this system each structure has been rated relative to other structures in the community.

relative ratings actually produced a continuum of exterior condition running from \$0 to \$9,000. In order to analyze these results, groupings along the continuum had to be devised.

Five groupings or categories of exterior housing have been enumerated. These are: Sound, Deteriorating, Deteriorated, Deteriorated-Dilapidated, and Dilapidated; and homes falling into each category generally have certain characteristics which are unique to that classification. These unique characteristics provided a basis for determining where to break the exterior condition continuum. Homes classified as "sound" had a repair cost index number from \$0 to \$125. Homes in this range had either no visible defects or only a few defects which were termed "minor." Homes called "deteriorating" had visible evidence that they were on the decline. The range of repair cost index figures was from \$200 to \$820. Structures within this range generally had a combination of minor and intermediate defects that were definitely contributing to further deterioration. A significant break in the index number (from \$125 to \$200) clearly separated these structures from those designated as "sound." The third category, "deteriorated," included houses with index numbers ranging from \$825 to \$945; and structures in this category were clearly in inferior condition compared to those called "deteriorating." The deteriorated buildings had combinations of minor and intermediate defects or in some cases had a single critical defect. Houses in the "deteriorated-dilapidated" category were just a shade above total dilapidation. The cost index range for these buildings was from \$950 to \$2455. Many of these homes had one or more critical defects or some combination of minor and intermediate defects. Few of the structures in this category are worth rehabilitating. The final category, "dilapidated," is separated from the homes called deteriorated-dilapidated by a significant

break in the repair cost index. Dilapidated buildings have index numbers \$2,575 or greater. All houses called dilapidated had a minimum of nine minor or intermediate defects, or one or more critical defects or some combination. Most of the homes in this final category should be demolished.

The repair cost index numbers of the individual homes were averaged by block, and each block was then placed into one of the five categories described above. The housing condition by block in Central City is illustrated on the map on the following page. Quite obviously, there are certain limitations to the conclusions that can be drawn from this map. The most obvious is that there is no necessary correlation between exterior and interior condition. The exterior condition is, however, a general indication of the over-all quality of the housing.

Generally, we can say that the best housing in Central City (aside from public housing) lies in three small areas. One is in the area bounded by St. Clair, 10th Street, College Avenue, and 14th Street. A second area runs along Belmont from 17th Street to the Southern railroad tracks. A third area where the housing is basically sound runs along Wimmer Place from State Street to Illinois and between Illinois and Ridge to 18th Street. Housing that is just beginning to deteriorate seems to be concentrated in two districts--Summit to Illinois, 10th-14th Streets and State to St. Clair from 14th to 18th Street. There are two areas where the housing is rapidly approaching dilapidation. One is that bounded by St. Clair to Illinois, Collinsville to 10th. The other area is State to Illinois, 14th to Alexander. The worst housing in Central City is found between Broadway and Illinois, 10th and 20th Streets.

Community Facilities

The condition of housing is only one aspect of the quality of a residence

Figure 3 Public Housing



THE SAMUEL GOMPERS HOMES IS A PRE-WORLD WAR II PROJECT CONSISTING OF TWO-STORY BUILDINGS.

WITHIN A SHORT TIME MORE THAN 10% OF THE HOUSING IN EAST ST. LOUIS WILL BE PUBLICALLY OWNED.



A NEWER PROJECT, ORR-WEATHERS, LIES BETWEEN BROADWAY AND MISSOURI, EAST OF THE VACANT RENEWAL TRACT.

neighborhood; the nature of the facilities for community activities is another important community facilities in the Central City are indicated on the map on the following page. Some of these facilities will be discussed later in the report. There is a semi-institutional character between St. Clair and State near 9th and 10th Streets. The Library, YWCA, Boys' Club, Rock Junior High, Southern Illinois University, and Summers College of Commerce are all in this vicinity. Christian Welfare Hospital is another important facility in the Central City. This hospital is one of two serving the East St. Louis area. The other, St. Mary's, is just outside Central City, being two blocks east of the vacant urban renewal land. The Knights of Columbus Building is a potential community facility. At the present time it is not being used to the fullest. This five-story edifice is located at the corner of State and Washington. Built about 50 years ago, the structure contains a gymnasium, handball courts, bowling alleys, swimming pool, ballrooms, game rooms, offices and a hotel. Most of the recreational facilities are unused, needing repair and renovation. Several groups of concerned citizens and agency representatives have demonstrated a desire in acquiring and restoring the building.

Schools

The public schools are a special type of community facility. Area residents have their public education requirements fulfilled by six schools--four elementary and two junior highs. One of the elementary schools, Johnson, and one junior high, Hughes-Quinn, are located outside of the boundaries of the Central City but serve students in the area.

The overwhelming majority of Central City residents attending junior high school go to Rock Junior High and only those who live below Missouri Avenue ar

Figure 4 Community Facilities



CHURCH FACILITIES IN THE CENTRAL CITY CONSIST OF BOTH FINE BUILDINGS AND CONVERTED STORE FRONTS.

A FINE RECREATION SITE IN AN AREA MUCH IN NEED IS THE KNIGHTS OF COLUMBUS BUILDING AND ADJOINING LOT.



CHRISTIAN WELFARE HOSPITAL IS ONE OF TWO SERVING EAST ST. LOUIS. THE OTHER LIES JUST OUTSIDE THE CENTRAL CITY.

Figure 5 Community Facilities

ONLY 2.3 ACRES OF PARK-
LAND ARE IN THE CENTRAL
CITY - ESPECIALLY SMALL FOR
THE 15,000 POPULATION
OF THE AREA.



SOUTHERN ILLINOIS UNIVERSITY
HAS A FACILITY BETWEEN
9TH-10TH, OHIO-SUMMIT IN
A SEMI-PUBLIC LAND AREA.

LOCATED AT 9TH AND ILLINOIS,
THE LIBRARY IS SURROUNDED
BY HEAVY TRAFFIC, STORES,
AND OTHER CONFLICTING USES.



educated at Hughes-Quinn. The age, location, and room size of the Central schools are indicated as follows:

TABLE 17
CHARACTERISTICS OF CENTRAL CITY SCHOOLS, 1967

<u>School</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>No. of Rooms</u>	<u>Date Built</u>
Johnson	1500 Kansas	10	1900
Longfellow	1400 Pennsylvania	18	1900 addition
Monroe	1620 Illinois	18	1897 addition
Webster	910 St. Louis	18	1897 addition
Hughes-Quinn, Jr.	1100 Broadway	39	1908 addition
Rock Jr. High	10th & Summit	27	1895

Changes in student enrollment over the last five years are shown below:

TABLE 18
SCHOOL ENROLLMENT IN CENTRAL CITY SCHOOLS,
1962-1967

	<u>1962-63</u>	<u>1963-64</u>	<u>1964-65</u>	<u>1965-66</u>	<u>1966-67</u>
Johnson	657	379	376	376	329
Longfellow	514	554	627	862	921
Monroe	1077	1039	1040	1040	1030
Webster	661	678	608	608	640
Hughes-Quinn Jr. High	1651	1636	1595	1579	1477
Rock Jr. High	798	832	905	1038	1017

The total enrollments in all six schools has not changed a great deal in the past five years. Total enrollment has increased by 56 students. There has been a shift among schools, however. Longfellow grew 79.2% between 1962 and 1967 while the three other elementary schools lost some students. Rock Junior High had a growth rate of 27.4% while Hughes-Quinn had a decrease in their student body.

There has been a change in the racial composition of the Central City schools. This finding coincides with the change in the racial composition of the population noted earlier. The table below shows the percentage of non-white students since 1955. Central City's entire elementary and junior high school enrollment has become increasingly non-white since 1955. The change has been from 51.4% non-white to 94.1%. The greatest changes have occurred in Longfellow, Monroe, and Rock Junior High.

TABLE 19

PERCENT OF SCHOOL ENROLLMENT NON-WHITE,
1955-1967

<u>School</u>	<u>Percent Non-White</u>			
	<u>1954-55</u>	<u>1962-63</u>	<u>1965-66</u>	<u>1966-67</u>
Johnson	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Longfellow	0	19.5	34.8	86.0
Monroe	2.4	98.8	98.8	99.9
Webster	83.1	83.8	97.5	95.6
Hughes Quinn	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.1
Rock	17.9	43.9	90.4	85.3
All Schools	51.4	81.1	87.5	94.1

Figure 6
Public Schools

It is clear that the student body comes from a home environment which may be termed "disadvantaged." The high rate of unemployment and low incomes noted earlier in this report are reaffirmed by the high proportion of students who come from families receiving welfare assistance under the Aid to Dependent Children Program. These proportions are shown on the table below. In general, we can state that Central City schools are serving a student body which is increasingly non-white and "disadvantaged."

TABLE 20

PERCENTAGE OF STUDENTS FROM FAMILIES RECEIVING AID TO DEPENDENT CHILDREN PAYMENTS BY SCHOOL, 1965-66

<u>School</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Johnson	51%
Longfellow	54
Monroe	56
Webster	55
Hughes-Quinn	51
Rock	40

The Central City schools are quite overcrowded. Some schools operate on a platoon system, the students attending only half-day sessions. Extra rooms are rented in a church to accommodate the overflow from one school. No kindergarten is included in the curriculum. None of the elementary schools offer a hot lunch program, a central library, or a resident nurse. Physical education facilities are limited.

Figure 6 Public Schools



BUILT IN 1895, ROCK JR. HIGH
NOW SERVES GRADES 7-9 AND
HAS A TEACHER-PUPIL RATIO
OF APPROXIMATELY 1:20.

THROUGH PROCEEDS OF A 1965
BOND ISSUE, SOME OLD SCHOOLS
WILL BE DEMOLISHED AND
REPLACED BY NEW FACILITIES.



ESSENTIALLY, SCHOOL DISTRICT #18
WILL HAVE A NEW PLAN OF
ORGANIZATION WHICH WILL BE
K-4, 5-7, 8-10, AND 11-12.

Teacher shortages are critical throughout School District No. 189, but there is no appreciable difference in teacher-pupil ratio between Central City and other district schools as of January 30, 1967. Central City schools have a teacher-pupil ratio of 34:1 at the elementary level and 20:1 in the two junior highs as opposed to 32:1 and 22:1 for their counterparts throughout the remainder of District No. 189. The exact breakdown for each school and the grades served is as follows.

Overcrowded conditions led to passage of an \$8,500,000 school bond referendum in September, 1965. Proceeds will be used to construct nine elementary schools and one junior high school and to remodel some of the other existing schools. It is contemplated that four of the ten elementary schools will serve the Central City. These one-story schools will contain 20-24 rooms and will be similar to the school shown in the following sketch.

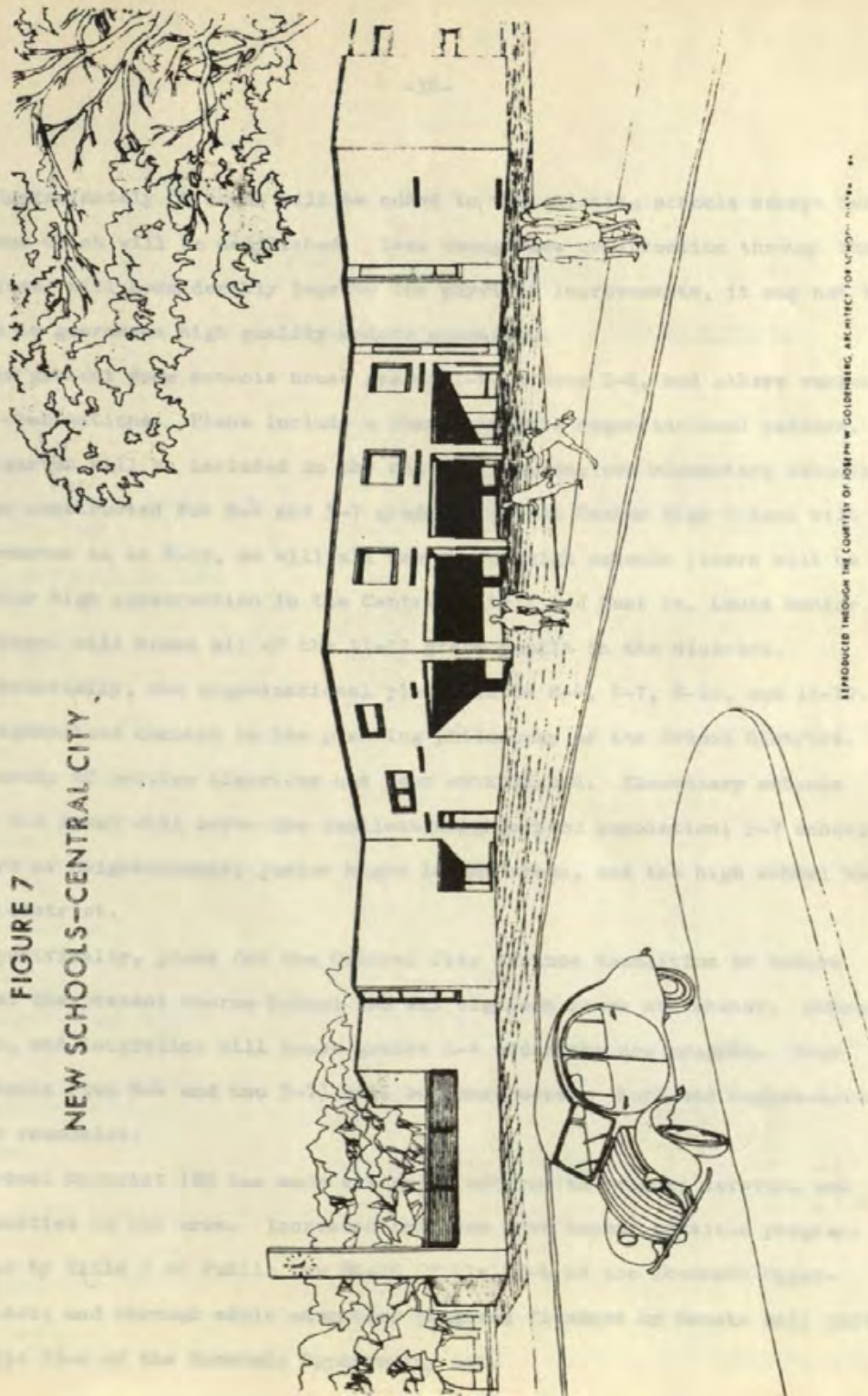
After an intensive study by school professionals and University of Illinois consultants, shortages of rooms were determined in each school district in the Central City. The following chart indicates the room shortages for each district and the general location for the proposed schools. Only one definite site has been established at 18th and Summit where a 5-7 grade school is now under construction.

TABLE 21

SCHOOL ROOM REQUIREMENTS

	<u>Rooms</u> <u>Required</u>	<u>Rooms</u> <u>Required</u>	<u>Total</u> <u>Required</u>	<u>General Location</u>	
	<u>K-4</u>	<u>5-7</u>		<u>K-4 School</u>	<u>5-7 School</u>
Johnson	11	7	18	15th & Kansas	16th & Cleveland
Longfellow	8	12	20	7th & Ohio	18th & Summit
Monroe	12	11	23	15th & Kansas	16th & Cleveland
Webster	13	7	20	7th & Ohio	18th & Summit

FIGURE 7
NEW SCHOOLS--CENTRAL CITY



Approximately 80 rooms will be added to the existing schools except for 30 rooms which will be demolished. Even though new construction through the bond issue will considerably improve the physical improvements, it may not be enough to guarantee high quality modern education.

At present some schools house grades 1-8, others 1-6, and others various grade combinations. Plans include a change in this organizational pattern. Kindergarten will be included in the regular program; new elementary schools will be constructed for K-4 and 5-7 grades; Lincoln Senior High School will be converted to an 8-10, as will all the junior high schools (there will be no junior high construction in the Central City); and East St. Louis Senior High School will house all of the 11-12 grade pupils in the district.

Essentially, the organizational plan will be K-4, 5-7, 8-10, and 11-12. The neighborhood concept is the planning philosophy of the School District. A hierarchy of service districts has been established. Elementary schools at the K-4 level will serve the smallest neighborhood population; 5-7 schools clusters of neighborhoods; junior highs larger areas, and the high school the entire district.

Specifically, plans for the Central City include demolition of twelve rooms at the present Monroe School and all eighteen rooms at Webster. Monroe Johnson, and Longfellow will house grades K-4 under the new program. Four new schools (two K-4 and two 5-7) will be constructed. Rock and Hughes-Quinn will be remodeled.

School District 189 has made extensive efforts to broaden services and opportunities in the area. Increased services have become possible programs financed by Title I of Public Law 89-10, Title II-b of the Economic Opportunity Act; and through adult education programs financed by Senate Bill 1228 and Title II-a of the Economic Opportunity Act.

TABLE 22

TEACHER-PUPIL RATIOS FOR
SCHOOL DISTRICT #189

	<u>Teacher-Pupil Ratio</u>	<u>Grades Served</u>
<u>Central City Schools</u>		
Johnson	34.30 to 1	1-2, 5-6
Longfellow	35.00 to 1	1-6
Monroe	35.35 to 1	1-8
Webster	31.72 to 1	1-8 and Spec. Ed.
Hughes Quinn Jr. High	20.53 to 1	7-9
Rock Jr. High	20.15 to 1	7-9 and Spec. Ed.
<u>Other District Schools</u>		
Alta Sita	29.93 to 1	1-6
Attucks	28.57 to 1	1-6
Bluff View	29.75 to 1	1-6
Bluffview Park	35.88 to 1	1-8
Brown	28.25 to 1	1-6
Cannady	35.50 to 1	1-6 and Spec. Ed.
Carver	27.00 to 1	4-8
Clark Jr. High	23.86 to 1	7-9
Dunbar	33.14 to 1	1-6
Easterly	24.16 to 1	1-6
Edgemont	31.30 to 1	1-6
Franklin	28.58 to 1	1-6 and Spec. Ed.
Garfield	26.50 to 1	1-3
Garrison	33.71 to 1	1-6
Golden Garden	28.11 to 1	1-8
Grahmann	29.70 to 1	7-8
Harding	33.78 to 1	1-6
Hawthorne	31.20 to 1	1-6
E.St.Louis High School	25.35 to 1	10-12
Jefferson	36.66 to 1	1-6 and Spec. Ed.
Lafayette	34.07 to 1	1-6 and Spec. Ed.
Lansdowne Jr. High	23.15 to 1	7-9
Lincoln High School	19.75 to 1	10-12
Lucas	28.66 to 1	1-6
Manners	30.85 to 1	1-6
Morrison	31.56 to 1	1-6
Park	41.52 to 1	1-6 and Spec. Ed.
Parkside	33.40 to 1	1-4
Robinson	33.00 to 1	1-6
Rose Lake	26.37 to 1	1-8 and Spec. Ed.
St. Clair	34.00 to 1	1-3
Slade	38.06 to 1	1-6
Washington	25.38 to 1	1-6
Wilson	30.75 to 1	1-6 and Spec. Ed.

The specific programs underway, in addition to the regular offerings, were described in the East St. Louis Model City Application as follows:⁶

- A. Adult Basic Literacy: A full-time day program or a night program is available. The present day enrollment is 318 and the evening enrollment is 311.

Senate Bill 1228 finances the program for Public Aid recipients and Title II-b of the Economic Opportunity Act pays for others.

- B. Project Re-entry: A night high school program is offered at Lincoln Senior High School, funded for persons 16-21 under Title I of P.I. 89-10, and for adults over 21, by funds from the State of Illinois Adult Education. Enrollment for 16-21 is 205 girls and 70 boys, and for 21 and over is 188 ladies and 38 men.
- C. Summer School: A seven-week, four hour per day, tuition-free, summer school was offered in every area school. This was financed through State funds. An afternoon art, physical fitness, and music program was carried on through Title I, P.I. 89-10 funds.
- D. Head Start: A program for pre-school children jointly funded by the Economic Opportunity Commission Act and Title I, P.I. 89-10 monies, was held for a seven-week period, five hours per day, in the summer of 1966. Each school listed served as a center. A total of 1005 children participated. A similar program was carried on in 1965 and is anticipated for 1967.
- E. Project Challenge: A program under Title I of P.I. 89-10 provides extensive visual and audio equipment and materials and trains teachers in using them. Also under the project a tutoring program has been initiated using Southern Illinois University students to work with individual children. Study centers have been set up in many School Centers to provide a place to study, and professional assistance during evening hours is available. A program of Family-Aide workers is designed to assist teachers and help in developing a more effective two-way communication system between the schools and the community.
- F. Project Conquest: Remedial reading instruction is offered for children throughout this area, operating three hours each Saturday morning. Forty-five groups are presently operating. In addition to this program, two well-equipped and well-staffed Reading Clinics have been established for diagnosis and treatment. This project is funded under Title I, P.I. 89-10. Five additional supervisors have been added to serve these schools.

⁶ City of East St. Louis, Illinois Application to the Department of Housing and Urban Development For a Grant to Plan a Comprehensive City Demonstration Program, 6 April, 1967.

- G. Project Speak: A program to establish better speech habits and to correct speech defects is staffed by twenty teachers, many of whom are speech therapists and they work in every one of these schools on a daily basis. It is financed from Title I, P.I. 89-10 funds.
- H. Project 3-V: A physical fitness program for children in grades 4-9 is carried out after school throughout the year except the months of December and January.

Also described in the Model City proposal⁷ are the adult remediation and upgrading programs offered through MDTA and the Experimental College conducted by Southern Illinois University. In the latter program 100 youths for whom college failure has been predicted are provided with help on an individual basis to assist them at the university. Individual curriculum, counselors, in-school jobs are all a part of the program.

The regular extension site of Southern Illinois University is also located in the Central City between 9th and 10th Streets on Ohio. Work-study funds are available to provide assistance to any person eligible for attending Traditional classes leading toward the BA or BS in most fields are offered.

Streets and Traffic

The pattern, condition, and traffic volume of neighborhood streets are another important aspect of the character and quality of a community. Central City streets occupy 37% of the 900 acres which make up the neighborhood. As a result, the existing and proposed street and road alignments are a major determinant for land use planning in the area. Basically, the Central City has a gridiron street pattern. There are a sizeable number of triangular and irregularly shaped blocks, however, resulting from the convergence of major streets such as State-Illinois and Ridge-Illinois.

⁷ Model City proposal, pp. 108-109.

The traffic in Central City is quite heavy. Much of this does not serve the local area or even East St. Louis. The nature of this traffic is described in a 1964 street needs study:⁸

"Based upon the data collected during the origin-destination survey, some 113,000 vehicles enter or leave the study area (East St. Louis) each day. Some 50,000 of these trips pass completely through the study area without stopping."

Major east-west thoroughfares (State, St. Clair) and the north-south counterparts (9th, 10th) function as a conveyor of traffic from and to St. Louis, the industrial complexes surrounding East St. Louis, and other distant metropolitan centers. Another study made by traffic consultants Crawford, Bunte, and Roden showing the extent of traffic, the 1985 projected traffic, and the capacity of major streets to handle this traffic is contained in the following table. The capacity of these major streets is a measure based on the existing street alignments and the projected highway changes in the future and includes the average daily traffic related to the physical condition of the street and the present and future traffic characteristics. In the column headed "Year in Which Capacity is Exceeded," the consultants made no attempt to go beyond the year 1985. Thus, when 1985 is inserted in this column it means that the capacity will not be exceeded by that date.

In addition to the major streets, this study also examines characteristics of collector, business access, industrial access, and local thoroughfares in East St. Louis. The analysis of these streets includes measures of capacity, quality and sufficiency. One of the quality categories was physical composition of streets. Central City has streets which vary from concrete to oil and chips.

⁸ A study of street and highway needs for the East St. Louis Area, Volume VIII of the Madison-St. Clair Counties Metropolitan Area Study by H.W. Lochner and Company, October, 1964, p. 8.

TABLE 23

ACTUAL AND PROJECTED TRAFFIC VOLUME, CAPACITY, LENGTH
OF MAJOR CENTRAL CITY STREETS, 1967

<u>Major Streets</u>	<u>Current Average Daily Traffic</u>	<u>1985 Average Daily Traffic</u>	<u>Net Capacity</u>	<u>Year in Which Capacity Exceeded</u>	<u>Length Miles</u>
9th from St. Clair to Summit	9,300	14,400	13,100	1981	.27
10th from St. Clair to Summit	14,200	19,200	10,600	1966	.27
10th from Summit to State	9,300	14,400	18,600	1985	.27
10th from State to St. Louis	13,300	20,700	10,900	1966	.13
10th from St. Louis to Missouri	10,900	17,300	10,900	1966	.13
10th from Missouri to Broadway	10,600	16,700	11,200	1970	.17
19th from St. Clair to State	1,900	1,900	9,200	1985	.33
St. Clair from Collinsville to 8th	16,900	26,400	17,500	1968	.08
St. Clair from 8th to 9th	21,400	31,200	14,400	1966	.09
St. Clair from 9th to 16th	20,300	29,500	8,000	1966	.50
St. Clair from 16th to 33rd	19,300	30,300	8,400	1966	1.19
State from 10th to Columbia	18,300	28,700	6,600	1966	.42
State from Columbia to 20th	25,300	39,700	9,300	1966	.33
Illinois from Collinsville to 9th	19,400	30,400	7,500	1966	.34
Illinois from 9th to 10th	22,500	35,400	10,600	1966	.06
Illinois from 10th to 18th	9,500	14,700	12,300	1977	.85

Figure -44-

Relationship to Highways

Oil and chip streets are numerous as demonstrated by the following examples:

15th	From Illinois to Walnut
19th	From Cleveland to St. Louis
Converse	From 14th to 20th
17th	From College to State
18th	From St. Clair to Summit
18th	From Summit to College
19th	From Kansas to Division
20th	From Kansas to Division
21st	From St. Clair to Ohio
Short	From St. Clair to Summit
Belleville	From State to Illinois
Summit	From 18th to 19th
Kansas	From 16th to 20th
Division	From 16th to 20th

In addition to the low quality of many Central City streets, there is widespread absence of curbs and sidewalks. Significant circulation of Central City's major streets include:

1. Much east-west traffic is carried through the City on State and St. Clair Avenues. St. Clair is U.S. Route 50 in East St. Louis.
2. Missouri Avenue is the extension of Highway 460 and brings traffic from the south through the Central Business District to St. Louis.
3. A one-way coupling of 9th and 10th streets enables cross-town traffic to run in a north-south direction. Traffic from Illinois Route 3 to the north and Route 50 is connected with MacArthur Bridge and Illinois Route 3 going south. These thoroughfares are used by heavy trucks from Monsanto, Granite City and Madison.
4. Another north-south one-way couple is 7th and 8th streets. Both 8th and 10th streets run from south to north and are designated Illinois Route 3.

⁹ Crawford, Bunte, Roden, Consulting Engineers, "Unpublished Data from Street Needs Study", April, 1967.

Figure 8 Relationship to Highways



THIS PHOTO SHOWS
INTERSTATE 70
BOTTOM RIGHT-
CORNER AND
CONVERGENCE OF
AND ILLINOIS 1
THE CENTER.
AND 10TH STREET
FROM BOTTOM TO



THIS PHOTO ILLUSTRATES
AREA CLEARED
INTERSTATE 64.
CLAIRE TO THE RIGHT
AND BAUGH TO THE
LEFT ARE PARALLEL
TO I-64 IN THE
CENTRAL CITY.
CONNECTS WITH
AT THE BOTTOM
THE PHOTO.

Construction will begin soon on Interstate 64 which will run parallel to St. Clair and Baugh through the Central City. Right-of-way has been purchased and demolition has been completed for the Central City area. The I-64 expressway will be depressed from 16th Street to I-70 on the west, with St. Clair and Baugh Avenues serving as one-way frontage roads. St. Clair traffic will move in an easterly direction and parking will be permitted on both sides of the road from 9th to 21st. Connections between St. Clair and I-64 will be at 16th Street and between Baugh and I-64 at 19th.

Highway officials expect the impact of I-64 will not decrease the cross-town traffic on 9th and 10th streets, especially since these streets will have improved connections with Broadway.¹⁰ These two streets will still be the only direct connection to MacArthur Bridge and are considered an important part of the major highway system. It is contemplated, however, that the character of the traffic on 9th and 10th streets might change with the completion of the Interstate system in 1970 when some heavy trucks will be rerouted from Route 50 to I-70 and further south.

A significant proposal in both the 1960 Master Plan and the Lochner Report of 1964 is the creation of a north-south inner belt along 15th and 17th Streets. This roadway was given a middle range priority by the Lochner firm¹¹ was described as follows:

Space limitations and acquisition cost makes it unfeasible to construct this north-south inner belt on a completely new right-of-way. To resolve this problem, a series of existing rights-of-way will be adapted for large sections of this recommended improvement. The location for this inner belt will commence at

¹⁰ Interview with Robert Kronst, Chief Engineer, District 8, Illinois Division of Highways, January, 1967.

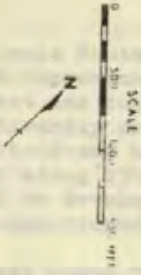
¹¹ Lochner Report, p. 36.



CENTRAL CITY AREA

East St. Louis, Illinois

EXISTING AND PROPOSED
CIRCULATION



Illinois Route 3 and extend easterly along Monsanto Avenue. This improvement would then turn north to align itself with 17th Street and continue northward to St. Louis Avenue. Proceeding northwardly once more, this improvement will continue on new right-of-way to a connection with 15th Street near St. Clair Avenue then along 15th Street to near 21st Street where a new right-of-way will be developed. It is recommended that the total length of the aforementioned improvement be constructed to a four lane major facility.

Street plans for the Central City have also been proposed in the FACE Plan which was adopted by the East St. Louis Council as an amendment to their Master Plan. Plans include widening 8th and 10th Streets and the terminating 5th, 7th, and 9th in the Central Business District. Illinois and Missouri Avenues would still continue to serve as east-west thoroughfares to the business area.

A very important facet of the quality of neighborhood streets is lighting. Poor lighting is a proven safety hazard for both drivers and pedestrians. All municipal street lighting in East St. Louis has been contracted from Union Electric Company which has the franchise to provide the area with electric distribution. Under the contract which runs for ten years, the City leases lighting equipment at a monthly rate for each light and purchases the electric energy from the utility. Under the contract Union Electric is responsible for maintenance. Thus, the only limitation for adequate lighting is the city's capacity to afford the monthly charges.

Within Central City, Union Electric is replacing all of the existing incandescent street lighting with modern mercury vapor lamps. Changes in technology now make it cheaper to provide a 20,000 lumen mercury vapor light than the old 10,000 lumen incandescent one. Within two to three years this job will be completed. There is, in addition, an overall street lighting plan which was prepared by Union Electric in 1963 for the City of East St. Louis. The criteria

for adequate lighting developed in the plan is based on the standards of the Illuminating Engineering Society (I.E.S.).

Placement of lights and the type of lights suggested are determined by the character of the area and by the type of streets that are to be lighted. For example, areas are defined as downtown, immediate, outlying or rural and streets are classified as expressway, major collector, local and minor. While the lighting standards proposed in Union Electric's plan are based upon both the nature of the area and the type of streets, the old lighting standards were based solely on traffic volume and pedestrian usage.

Until recently the lighting plan was not followed rigidly. Union Electric representatives trace this neglect to turnover of personnel both in the company and the local government. In some cases newer personnel were unaware of the existence of the plan. Representatives of the utility feel that East St. Louis is trying to modernize their lighting system--a system which was originally developed without the benefit of planning. At this point, it is financially impossible to scrap the entire existing system. Even after the changeover to mercury vapor lights is completed, the City will need two or three times as many lights to conform to the lighting plan.

According to reports from Union Electric, Central City will be adequately lighted by I.E.S. standards by the end of 1967. This will include the area of St. Clair Avenue on the north, Broadway Avenue on the south, Collinsville Avenue on the west, and 20th Street on the east. This report was confirmed in the following excerpts from a letter dated May 12, 1967 from W.J. Temple, Assistant Projects Administrator, Union Electric Company:¹²

¹² Letter from W.J. Temple, Assistant Projects Administrator, Union Electric Company, May 12, 1967, to Robert Mendelson.

Early in March, 1967, a conference was held in the office of George Washnis, Administrative Assistant to Mayor Fields, with regard to street lighting for the City of East St. Louis. Those present were t Rev. Lawrence Walker, Staff Assistant, Central City Organization, Rob Robinson, Public Works Director, City of East St. Louis, George Washnis and W.J. Temple of Union Electric Company. This meeting was instigated by the Rev. Lawrence Walker on the premise that the area he represented could not wait to bring the street lighting up to standard. Father Walker cited such things as the area's crime rate, auto accidents, vandalism and all those things which good lighting is supposed to minimize.

In short, we agreed to rearrange our present time schedule for the street light change-over from incandescent to mercury vapor and start work immediately on this area. It was then that Mr. Washnis gave us an order to do what was necessary to bring the street lighting in this area to Illuminating Engineering Society standards. This means along with the change-over to mercury vapor, additional lights will be added in accordance with the I.E.S. formula to meet this specified amount of light for a particular street

The street light order was given to the Engineering Department on March 3, 1967, to start work immediately in this area. The area is bounded by Collinsville Avenue on the west, 20th Street on the east, Broadway on the south, and St. Clair Avenue on the north. There are approximately 750 lights involved in this change-over and upgrading to I.E.S. standards. The downtown area along the business district is in good shape. State Street, Missouri Avenue, St. Louis, Illinois and Broadway Avenues from Collinsville Avenue to 10th Street are up to standard. The areas which will be most affected by upgrading will be the neighboring residential areas, like Gaty, Division, Kansas Belmont, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Summit, Veronica, etc., and all the north south streets from 10th to 20th Streets. Also, St. Clair Avenue will be included at this time. These latter areas just mentioned are very inadequately lighted.

As of this writing approximately one-eighth of the job is completed. However, because of vacations, etc., it will be probably the first of December before the entire area is completed.

Socio-Economic Facilities

One final area which has not been discussed in our description of Central City is what we have termed its socio-economic facilities. An important component of the quality of any neighborhood is the availability of various kinds of facilities that the residents either want or need. For this reason we have asked the people of Central City where they go to engage in a number

of different kinds of activities, how they get there, and how often they go. We have classified all of these activities into three categories: shopping for necessities, obtaining personal services, and engaging in social activities. Within each of these categories an attempt has been made to assess the sufficiency of community facilities using availability and access as criteria.

With regard to those facilities which provide consumer necessities, the types of stores were considered: food, drugs, and clothing. In general, the results of our survey would indicate that there are sufficient numbers of stores which are readily accessible to Central City residents. The table below in-

PERCENTAGE OF CENTRAL CITY RESIDENTS WHO SHOP FOR FOOD, DRUGS AND CLOTHING IN DIFFERENT LOCATIONS

<u>Location</u>	<u>Percentage of Residents</u>		
	Food	Drugs	Clothing
Central City	66.7%	55.8%	11.8%
Other East St. Louis	30.5	38.5	62.4
St. Louis	.8	4.1	22.3
Within Metropolitan Area (Excl. St. Louis & East St. Louis)	2.0	1.6	3.5
Other	0	0	0
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

that the majority of Central City residents can find food and drugs within the Central City area. By plotting the actual stores used by the residents on a map it was determined that those stores in the category "other East St. Louis" w

quite near the neighborhood. In the case of clothing, many people shop outside of the neighborhood but within East St. Louis. In most instances the clothing stores in the "other East St. Louis" category were located along Collinsville Avenue just beyond the Central City boundaries. A further indication of the accessibility of facilities is the means of transportation used to get there and the frequency with which people shop. The tables below provide this information with respect to food, drug, and clothing stores.

TABLE 25

PERCENTAGE OF CENTRAL CITY RESIDENTS USING VARIOUS MODES OF TRANSPORTATION TO SHOP FOR FOOD, DRUGS AND CLOTHING

<u>Mode of Transportation</u>	<u>Percentage of Residents</u>		
	<u>Food</u>	<u>Drugs</u>	<u>Clothing</u>
Walk	29.0%	33.9%	12.7%
Automobile	49.3	46.6	47.1
Bus	8.8	10.0	31.7
Other (Taxi)	12.9	9.5	8.5
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

A large proportion of the residents use their cars for all kinds of shopping but a significant number of people actually walk to food and drug stores. The frequency of use of the three kinds of stores would naturally vary with the kind of store. The point here is that the Central City residents seem to be able to go to these stores as often as they want.

Central City residents were asked about three kinds of personal services: barber shops, beauty shops, and medical care. In each case nearly all reside

TABLE 26

PERCENTAGE OF CENTRAL CITY RESIDENTS SHOPPING FOR FOOD, DRUGS AND CLOTHING WITH VARIOUS FREQUENCY

<u>Times Per Month Use</u>	<u>Percentage of Residents</u>		
	<u>Food</u>	<u>Drugs</u>	<u>Clothing</u>
8 or more	10.7%	1.6%	0%
5-7	8.0	2.7	.8
4	44.9	12.0	11.2
2-3	28.4	31.5	34.9
1	8.0	38.6	47.0
Less than 1	0	11.4	5.5
None	0	2.2	0
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

found barbers, beauticians, and doctors either in Central City or elsewhere in East St. Louis. In the case of the barber shops and beauty shops, most of the shops in the "other East St. Louis" category were located quite close to the Central City area. Some beauty shops, however, were located quite far away probably because of the highly specialized nature of this type of service. In the case of medical facilities, people received medical care in different ways. Most people went to doctors for their medical needs but some attended clinics or went to hospitals. In any case our mapping of the exact location of the medical facilities used shows that most Central City residents could find adequate facilities within or very close to the neighborhood. The breakdown of the mode of transportation used to get to the three service activities indicates that most people use their automobiles to obtain these

TABLE 27

PERCENTAGE OF CENTRAL CITY RESIDENTS WHO PATRONIZE BARBERS, BEAUTICIANS, AND DOCTORS IN DIFFERENT LOCATIONS

<u>Location</u>	<u>Percentage of Residents</u>		
	<u>Barber Shops</u>	<u>Beauty Shops</u>	<u>Medical</u>
Central City	50.0%	45.3%	
Other East St. Louis	43.0	42.5	
St. Louis	4.4	11.3	
Within Metropolitan Area (Excl. St. Louis & East St. Louis)	2.6	.9	
Other	0	0	
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100

TABLE 28

TYPE OF MEDICAL FACILITIES UTILIZED

<u>Type</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Doctor	86.7%
Clinic	8.6
Hospital	1.8
Other	1.1
None	1.8
Total	100.0%

services. A fairly significant proportion are able to find facilities within walking distance. With regard to medical facilities, people use a variety of modes of transportation. This is probably because medical care is the kind of service that the proportion not attending is diversified.

service whose location and timing is not terribly flexible. In any case it would appear that the availability and accessibility of these service facilities is very good.

TABLE 29

PERCENTAGES OF CENTRAL CITY RESIDENTS USING VARIOUS MODES OF TRANSPORTATION TO GO TO BARBER SHOPS, BEAUTY SHOPS AND MEDICAL FACILITIES

<u>Mode of Transportation</u>	<u>Percentage of Residents</u>		
	<u>Barber Shop</u>	<u>Beauty Shop</u>	<u>Medical Fac</u>
Walk	26.3%	30.5%	22.3%
Automobile	63.2	50.7	45.3
Bus	8.4	9.4	17.0
Other (Taxi)	2.1	9.4	15.4
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Our last category of socio-economic facilities is social activities. There are three different types of social activities which we have considered. The first is a type of recreation which needs special facilities of some sort. Included in this kind of activity are going to sports events, movies, taverns and parks. Our findings indicate that facilities for these kinds of activities are not readily available or accessible to Central City residents. The table below would indicate that significant proportions of residents don't engage in the recreational activities listed. This may be partly due to choice. From knowledge of what is available in the neighborhood, however, we would also find that a lack of facilities nearby is partially responsible. In the case of taverns, it was discovered that the wording of the question confused some respondents so that the proportion not attending taverns is overstated.

TABLE 30

PERCENTAGE OF CENTRAL CITY RESIDENTS USING RECREATIONAL FACILITIES IN
VARIOUS LOCATIONS AND USING VARIOUS MODES OF TRANSPORTATION

<u>Location</u>	<u>Percentage of Residents</u>			
	<u>Sports Events</u>	<u>Movies</u>	<u>Taverns</u>	<u>Parks</u>
Central City	6.9%	2.5%	8.2%	1.8%
Other East St. Louis	7.7	18.9	6.3	31.9
St. Louis	21.6	17.6	2.9	13.7
Within Metropolitan Area (Excl. St. Louis & East St. Louis)	.9	1.3	.5	4.9
Other	0	0	0	.8
Never Go	68.9	59.7	82.1	46.9
<u>Total</u>	<u>100.0%</u>	<u>100.0%</u>	<u>100.0%</u>	<u>100.0%</u>
<u>Mode of Transportation</u>	<u>Sports Events</u>	<u>Movies</u>	<u>Taverns</u>	<u>Parks</u>
Walk	3.8%	18.7%	23.8%	1.8%
Automobile	78.3	58.4	69.0	71.0
Bus	16.6	22.9	2.4	9.6
Other	1.3	0	4.8	17.6
<u>Total</u>	<u>100.0%</u>	<u>100.0%</u>	<u>100.0%</u>	<u>100.0%</u>

The transportation percentages are based on the number of people actually using the various recreational facilities available. It shows that a major proportion of people must rely on automobiles or buses to get to most of the existing facilities. It should also be noted that there is a distinct lack of organized recreational programs for children. The East St. Louis "Model Cities" application notes the absence of parks and other recreational facilities such as theatre.

and museums. The fact that there is no city-wide recreation program has also been noted.¹³

A second type of social activity considered in this study involves visiting. According to our survey 75.5% of the households say that they or rarely visit people. Undoubtedly a major reason for this lack of visit is the fact that so many of the Central City residents have moved to their present addresses recently. A further reason may be that the area is physically cut apart by major streets. We did find that the 24.5% of the population said that they engaged in visiting did so primarily within the Central City

TABLE 31

PERCENTAGE OF CENTRAL CITY RESIDENTS VISITING IN VARIOUS LOCATIONS

<u>Location of Visits</u>	<u>Percentage of Residents</u>
Central City	85.5%
Other East St. Louis	10.5
St. Louis	3.2
Within Metropolitan Area (Excl. St. Louis and East St. Louis)	.8
Other	0
Total	100.0%

A final type of social activity that has been analyzed here is religion. All but 12.5% of the population attend church with some degree of regularity. The location of the churches attended tends to be scattered all over the C

¹³City of East St. Louis, Illinois, Application to the Department of Housing and Urban Development For a Grant to Plan A Comprehensive City Demonstration Program, April 6, 1967, pp. 127-29.

TABLE 32

FREQUENCY OF CHURCH ATTENDANCE AMONG CENTRAL CITY RESIDENTS

<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percentage of Residents</u>
None	12.5%
Occasionally	33.3
Regularly	54.2
Total	100.0%

East St. Louis. This probably reflects the fact that the Central City residents still attend the same church which they were attending before making the move to Central City. The dispersion of churches attended reinforces the visiting patterns which we found. Apparently the Central City area is not a "social community" but rather is highly fragmented from a social point of view. The lack of recreational facilities and the physical separations within the area undoubtedly reinforce this fragmentation.

TABLE 33

PERCENTAGE OF CENTRAL CITY RESIDENTS ATTENDING CHURCHES IN VARIOUS LOCATIONS

<u>Location of Church</u>	<u>Percentage of Residents</u>
Central City	38.8%
Other East St. Louis	54.2
Metropolitan Area (Excl. East St. Louis)	5.0
Other	2.0
Total	100.0%

Summary

The preceding pages have described in detail those physical, social and economic characteristics of Central City which tend to determine the character and quality of the neighborhood. Generally our findings demonstrate that between 1960 and 1967 there has been an extensive turnover of population. Today Central City is basically a community composed of low-income Negroes. The neighborhood is largely residential but contains part of East St. Louis Central Business District and is interspersed with other non-residential uses. The housing in Central City is definitely deteriorating rapidly. Schools serving Central City children have become almost completely segregated. There is a considerable amount of overcrowding but not any more than in most other East St. Louis schools. Streets are plentiful in Central City due to large numbers of small residential blocks. A significant amount of traffic runs on major streets which cut through the neighborhood. Plans for better lighting of all Central City streets will be implemented soon. Facilities for shopping and personal services for Central City residents appear to be adequate. Recreational and social facilities, however, were found to be inadequate.

The description of Central City above has provided us with the background data to analyze the most significant problems facing the neighborhood. In addition we have asked Central City residents their opinions about the conditions in which they live. A discussion of Central City problems is the topic of Part II of this report.

In this part of the report, problems of the Central City are analyzed. Both residents of the area and staff planners of the Public Administration and Metropolitan Affairs Program of Southern Illinois University participated in the delineation of these problems. This analysis focuses on problems which can be approached through changes in the physical environment. Implicit in our study, however, is the fact that extensive social and economic forces are at work in Central City which affect the physical environment, hamper the social fabric of the community, and inhibit the ability of Central City residents and governmental officials in taking steps to upgrade Central City physically, socially and economically. For this reason further depth analysis described in the Model City Proposal is greatly needed in order to obtain a comprehensive assessment of Central City problems.

PART II

ANALYSIS OF NEIGHBORHOOD PROBLEMS

General information for the assessment of neighborhood problems was derived from the questionnaire, the blight analysis, a housing study, and their long-term involvement with the East St. Louis community. Information was obtained through discussions with the city government, the district, the highway department, the anti-poverty agency, and other officials who have been involved in the Central City. The specific resident views on neighborhood problems were extracted from three questions in the questionnaire.

The three questions directed at area residents were phrased differently, being forth various responses. The first question was:

The most important reason for this survey is to find out what you think are the major problems in this neighborhood and what things your neighborhood needs. What do you believe to be the worst problems that are here? Are there other problems that you think are important, right here in this neighborhood?

No attempt was made to have respondents rank problems in terms of importance. They were asked only to list problems. The data collected in the following

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The three questions directed at area residents were phrased differently to bring forth maximum response. The first question was:

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No attempt was made to have respondents rank problems in terms of importance. They were asked only to list problems. The data collected in the following c

Figure 9

Blighting Influences

indicates the problems cited. Since respondents could list more than one problem, percentages are based on the total number of problem responses rather than the number of respondents.

LOTS, STREETS AND ALLEYS SHOULD NOT BECOME RECEPTACLES FOR LITTER, DEBRIS OR ABANDONED AUTOS.

TABLE 34

NEIGHBORHOOD PROBLEMS

<u>Problem</u>	<u>Percentage of Responses</u>
Street Lighting	14.3
Bad housing and generally poor maintenance	12.3
Poor character of people (excludes crime, includes noise, etc.)	9.3
Street and alley refuse and dirt	9.0
Juvenile delinquency	7.8
Street and alley repairs	7.4
Traffic problems (speed, noise, parking)	7.2
Lack of parks and playgrounds	5.9
Lack of recreation	5.9
Need for garbage and refuse collection	4.2
Need for installation or repair of sewers	3.9
Lack of police protection	2.7
Crime	2.4
Smoke and air pollution	1.0
Lack of other public facilities	.4
Other	6.3
	<hr/> 100.0%

The high percentage of responses citing street lighting as a problem was undoubtedly due in part to an intensive campaign conducted by the Central City Organization to obtain better lighting in the area. Both the surveys and the campaign were conducted at approximately the same time.

Determination of the role the city should play in solving neighborhood problems was the purpose of the second question. Citizens were asked:

What things are there, here, that you think the city should do for the neighborhood? Are there any other improvements that you think the city should make here?

Again no ranking of improvements was made on the basis of urgency or importance. As, with the first question, any number of improvements could be

Figure 9 Blighting Influences

LOTS, STREETS AND ALLEYS
SHOULD NOT BECOME
RECEPTACLES FOR LITTER,
DEBRIS OR ABANDONED
AUTOS.



SOME PROPERTIES HAVE
BEEN ABANDONED AND
DEFAULTED TO THE COUNTY
DUE TO NON-PAYMENT OF TAXES

VACANT AND VANDALIZED
HOUSES SHOULD BE
DEMOLISHED OR REPAIRED
WITHIN A REASONABLE TIME.



listed for each answer. In this case, 346 responses were given compared to 334 in the previous question. In the table below each improvement classification is shown with percentages based on total responses (346).

TABLE 35

IMPROVEMENTS CITY SHOULD PROVIDE

<u>Improvement</u>	<u>Percentage of Responses</u>
Install street lighting	16.4
Clean streets and alleys	14.4
Repair streets and alleys	9.8
Increase police protection	8.4
Increase garbage and refuse collection	8.1
Remove condemned buildings	5.8
Insist on housing upkeep	4.6
Repair sidewalks	4.0
Repair street lighting	3.2
Control traffic better	2.9
Increase recreation facilities	2.6
Create new housing (including for the aged)	2.5
Increase parks and playgrounds	2.3
Install sidewalks	2.0
Change political structure in city	1.8
Other	6.2
	<u>100.0</u>

The third question queried residents about how serious they thought a particular condition was in their neighborhood. Responses by almost half of those questioned indicated no problems at all in the Central City. This may reflect either an unwillingness to look critically at the Central City or lack of knowledge of possible alternatives. Even where a large percentage of respondents felt a certain problem was very serious, an even greater number felt it was no problem at all.

Specifically citizens were asked:

Here is a list of problems that many neighborhoods have today. Tell me which of them are not problems in this neighborhood. Take the rest of them and rank them. Tell me which problems you think are very serious here. Which are somewhat serious?

Their answers were compiled and put into chart form.

TABLE 36

RATING OF NEIGHBORHOOD PROBLEMS

Condition	Percentage of Response		
	No Problem	Very Serious	Somewhat Serious
Condition of streets bad	59.9	26.7	13.4
Street lighting bad	51.0	29.5	19.5
Too much traffic	58.2	24.7	17.1
Not enough police protection	50.7	29.8	19.5
Not good enough housing	51.4	27.7	20.9
Not good enough shopping facilities	68.5	16.4	15.1
Not good enough parks	52.0	26.7	21.3
Schools not good enough	46.2	36.0	17.8
Too much noise	59.6	22.9	17.5
Too much air pollution	42.5	32.5	25.0

A rank order of problems based on the percentage of people listing a particular problem as being "very serious" is compiled below.

A number of problems not listed by the residents also are evident in Central City. Apathy, fear of speaking out, resistance to change or a lack of knowledge of alternatives could all inhibit resident perception of problems. For this

TABLE 37

RANKING OF VERY SERIOUS PROBLEMS

<u>Rank</u>	<u>Problem</u>
1	Schools not good enough
2	Too much air pollution
3	Not enough police protection
4	Street lighting bad
5	Not good enough housing
6	Condition of streets bad
7	Not good enough parks
8	Too much traffic
9	Too much noise
10	Not good enough shopping facilities

reason it is useful to examine Central City from the perspective of the professional planner who can objectively relate the neighborhood situation to the broadest scope of alternatives available.

Many things have happened in the Central City since the 1960 Census. In the last seven years the population has increased approximately 14% while the White population decreased 55%. Whites have been replaced by low-income Negroes who are mainly unskilled laborers or unemployed. Whereas the national average of the median income has increased since 1960 from \$5660 to \$6882, Central City incomes have decreased from \$3300 to \$2800. Unemployment rates have risen and are many times higher than the nation as a whole.

With large scale unemployment and low incomes, it would be desirable to have many constructive programs and well-equipped facilities for people with an abundance of free time. Such is not the case here! Many people don't do anything because of lack of money and facilities. Recreation opportunities are negligible in the Central City. Sporting events, movies, theatres, museums, or parks are simply not available and there is no city-wide recreation program

Figure 10
-67-
Incompatible Land Use

Over 78% of the area population has moved in since the latest Census. Low income, lack of community facilities, and a brief tenure of residency contribute to neighborhood instability.

Not only is the Central City unstable, but it lacks cohesion. Nearly three out of four households stated that they did no visiting at all. Churches are not able to promote cohesion. Although 90% of the residents are church-goers, only 40% of them attend churches in the Central City.

Other factors make it impossible to consider the Central City as a total community containing adequate physical and social institutions. It is in reality a series of scattered and fragmented communities much smaller than those considered adequate by neighborhood planning standards. Major streets fragmentize the Central City. Such thoroughfares as 9th, 10th, State, St. Clair, Missouri, and Illinois carry heavy traffic which does not serve the neighborhood or East St. Louis generally. There are too many streets and too many undersized blocks. As a result, almost 37% of the land area is roadways. Many of the major streets are ill-equipped to carry present or projected traffic. Local streets are not in good condition overall, and many have neither curbs nor sidewalks.

Incompatibility of land uses are prevalent in the Central City and inhibit neighborhood stability. Incompatibilities exist where strip commercial and heavy truck thoroughfares adjoin public housing; where auto sales and commercial areas are near a library; and where schools are flanked by major state thoroughfares. Non-conforming uses not in agreement with the zoning ordinance are abundant in the Central City. Some of these uses existed prior to the 1961 Ordinance and have not yet been phased out, while others are the result of rezonings subsequent to the passage of the ordinance.

Figure 10 Incompatible Land Use

NON-CONFORMING USES
IN A RESIDENTIAL AREA
EXISTED PRIOR TO THE
1961 ENACTMENT OF A
ZONING ORDINANCE.



A GAS STATION AND OTHER
INCOMPATIBLE USES FLANK
A CENTRAL CITY PUBLIC
HOUSING PROJECT.

TRUCKING, COMMERCIAL AND
RESIDENTIAL EXIST SIDE-
BY- SIDE IN CERTAIN PARTS
OF THE CENTRAL CITY.



Inadequate local resources prevent a high level of public improvement in East St. Louis; therefore, lighting is not good in the Central City. However, as of March 3, 1967, the City and Union Electric entered into an agreement to change the lights from incandescent to mercury vapor and to provide additional lights to bring the Central City up to the Illuminating Engineering Society Standards. This work should be completed by the first of the year.

In the last seven years the quality of the housing stock has diminished. The blight survey conducted by Hubert Williams indicates that both replacement, addition, and rehabilitation is necessary in the Central City. Since the 1960 Census, many middle income families have left the area and the number of housing units owned by absentee landlords or lower income families has increased. The problem of many low income families is not an absence of desire to maintain his property adequately, but the absence of the economic means and the social habits to do so. Not only is the lower income family without money but the means of low cost, long-term financing are unavailable.

School conditions are highly unsatisfactory as evidenced by the threat to cut-off of State aid for District #189. We do not have direct knowledge of the school board decision-making process; hence, we are not able to concur or challenge criticism that has been directed at School Board actions. We have had excellent professional relationships with many of the district administrators and have come to realize the depth of their problems. They have one of the lowest tax bases in the state and have inadequate resources to cope with Central City problems. These same administrators are aware of the more intensive needs in disadvantaged areas and as a result, four new schools will be placed in the Central City. The present schools are very old, and so

will be torn down and replaced. Teacher-pupil ratios are consistent throughout the district including the study area. A discussion of needed programs for Central City schools is available in the East St. Louis Model City proposal.

Air pollution is a problem anywhere in the St. Louis metropolitan area. It is really bad in the zone between Monsanto on the south and the industrial complexes on the north. Areas of East St. Louis such as the Central City and Denverside bear a very heavy brunt of this pollution.

In summation we view the following as some of the most significant Central City issues and problems:

1. The large turnover of population and the movement of many low income families into the Central City.
2. The lack of cohesion in the area and the inability to function as a social community.
3. The disruptive impact of major streets plus the overabundance and poor condition of local thoroughfares.
4. The incompatibility of land uses and the non-conforming uses.
5. Lack of recreation facilities.
6. Inadequate lighting.
7. A downward spiral in housing conditions.
8. Problems of education for a low-income population.
9. The large amount of air pollution.

In the preface of this report, we stated that the purpose of the Central City residents' discussion group was to provide a forum for the exchange of views with the local government of New York City concerning appropriate forms of civic action in the Central City area. In line with this purpose we do not feel it appropriate to propose a detailed course of action which would be adopted. Instead our recommendations simply raise the questions which, on the basis of our analysis of Central City, we feel should be answered. We hope to spell out some of the implications of a few of these questions to those who wish to be told how to solve all or some of the problems brought out in this report. But a list of "solutions" at this point would be our judgment, to premature.

PART III

PLANNING ALTERNATIVES AND IMPLICATIONS

The process of developing a plan for a neighborhood level was a highly intellectual act of... designation of ideal land use patterns and socio-economic programs. It should be a guide for day-to-day decisions by government officials. In order for the plan to fulfill this function, the planning process itself should be a first step, establish alternative policy positions and provide for the implementation of these alternatives as possible. The planning process should also include an analysis of the implications of each alternative and their implications for the future. It should be a process of continuous learning and knowledge of planning. The process should lead to an initial set of basic policy decisions by city officials. Once these broad policy commitments are made, we can then analyze officials and Central City residents in preparing specific courses of action.

Toward a Framework for Planning Policy

Broad policy objectives should take the form of a set of objectives

In the preface of this report, we stated that our purpose was to help Central City residents discuss their problems and then establish a dialogue with the local government of Part St. Louis concerning appropriate courses of civic action in the Central City area. In line with this purpose we do not feel it appropriate to recommend detailed courses of action which we think ought to be adopted. Instead our recommendations simply raise the questions which, on the basis of our analysis of Central City, we feel need to be answered. We hope to spell out some of the implications of a few of the possible answers to these questions. Recommendations of this type may be disappointing to those who wish to be told how to solve all of the problems brought out in this report. But a list of "solutions" at this point would, in our judgment, be premature.

The process of developing a plan for a neighborhood involves a highly interrelated set of policy decisions. The plan itself should not be a mere designation of ideal land use patterns and socio-economic programs. Instead it should be a guide for day-to-day decisions by government officials. In order for the plan to fulfill this function, the planning process itself must, as a first step, establish alternative policy positions and spell out as many of the implications of these alternatives as possible. The designation of alternatives and their implications is not an easy thing to do. On the basis of our data and knowledge of planning, we can provide a framework for discussion which should lead to an initial set of broad policy decisions by city officials. Once these broad policy commitments are clear, we can then assist officials and Central City residents in preparing specific courses of action.

Toward a Framework for Planning Policy

Broad policy objectives should take the form of a set of objectives

and priorities for development. Obviously, policy with respect to Central City can not be considered in isolation from the rest of the city. The local government must begin at the broadest level and determine their objectives for the city as a whole relative to the entire metropolitan area. Within the city, then, objectives for the development of individual neighborhoods must be formulated and priorities among these objectives established. Once these tasks are accomplished, specific action programs and site plans can then be determined and carried through.

This view of the planning process should not be taken as a cause for delay with regard to action programs in Central City. To the contrary, our findings would suggest that a determination of specific programs and a site plan in Central City must proceed as fast as possible because of the rapid changes that are taking place. In a sense, many of the problems faced by Central City could have been avoided if the City of East St. Louis had placed decisions concerning this area within the framework of an overall policy plan. What we suggest then is a framework for a discussion to provide policy guidelines for decisions regarding an action program in Central City.

Presumably a commitment has been made to maximize East St. Louis' social, economical, and physical potential relative to the rest of its metropolitan community. The Pace Plan and the objectives stated in the Model Cities Program are evidence of this commitment. Since the commitment has been made to upgrade East St. Louis, a series of questions must be answered concerning how this is to be accomplished. It is not enough to develop a model cities scheme and a land use plan and go about undertaking projects on an ad hoc basis. East St. Louis has limited administrative, political, and financial resources to devote to its developmental policy. Shall resources be devoted largely to the Riverfront, Denverside, the Central Business District, Central City or other areas

of the city? Should they be spread evenly among these areas? How should priorities among projects be established?

Our study can provide the city with a guide for making such determinations relative to Central City. We can spell out some of the implications of proposed alternatives directed at this portion of East St. Louis.

Alternative Planning Policy and Implications in Central City

The major alternatives which the local government has relative to Central City involves whether or not to maintain this area as a residential community. It is not clear at the present time what the city's objectives are with regard to Central City. Two alternative objectives seem apparent:

1. A status quo policy which would do little in Central City other than improving highways as suggested in the Face Plan and the Lochner Report and some improvement in housing condition and street lighting.
2. To follow policy aimed at restoring and maintaining Central City as a residential community.

Before a plan can be developed for Central City, a definite decision must be made concerning which alternative East St. Louis will adopt. To aid officials in making this decision, we can spell out some of the more important implications of choosing one alternative or the other based on our research in Central City and East St. Louis generally.

Implications of a Status Quo Policy

1. We have concluded that the heavy traffic carried by 9th and 10th Streets, State Street, Missouri, and Illinois Avenues has had a detrimental effect on the residential character of Central City. Such traffic has tended to fragmentize the area socially and prohibit the development of a cohesive social community. Secondly, the traffic has tended to lessen the

Through Traffic Disruption

- desirability of near-by housing and has thus become a factor in housing deterioration. Trucks and a high volume of automobile traffic has added considerably to the air pollution. If the Pace Plan proposal to widen 8th and 10th Streets and the Lochner inner-belt idea is put into effect, the volume of traffic going through Central City will be even greater in the future and hence the detrimental influence of the present traffic flows will be accelerated.
2. Zoning practices in East St. Louis have tended to enable commercial uses in residential areas to be maintained. In the absence of a review of these procedures, the existing land use incompatibilities will continue.
 3. The trend of housing deterioration in Central City is unusually swift. In the absence of a vigorous program combining redevelopment, rehabilitation, and various conservation measures such as code enforcement, this trend will continue at an increasingly accelerated rate.
 4. Social fragmentation is strengthened by a lack of recreational facilities and programs. If the status quo is maintained, further deterioration in the social fabric of the community including crime and alienation will undoubtedly occur.
 5. Central City is rapidly becoming the residence of those individuals with the lowest skills, the least income, the highest rate of unemployment, and the least education. In the absence of programs aimed at improving the economic level of people with these characteristics, this trend will continue.

6. In short, the time is not far off when the residential character of Central City will be completely destroyed. The status quo alternative will maintain this trend.

Implications of a Policy Aimed at Restoring and Maintaining Central City as Residential Community

1. This alternative implies both commitments to Central City and the development of a detailed plan to carry out these commitments. The other implications listed below spell out the nature of needed commitments and the elements of a detailed plan.
2. East St. Louis must review its developmental policy in all parts of the city and establish priorities among proposed projects in Central City, Denverside, and other areas of the city. A clear viewpoint on the relative importance of projects in all parts of the city must be established.
3. As noted above, the residential character of Central City is closely related to the amount and type of traffic which is allowed to pass through this area of East St. Louis. Thus, we feel that an important implication of the second alternative relative to policy in Central City is the need for East St. Louis to do everything possible to eliminate through traffic in Central City. This would involve negotiation with the Highway Department to route through traffic which presently utilizes 9th and 10th Streets around Central City. Such a commitment would also imply a rejection of both the Pace and Lochner proposals. Further, the elimination of truck traffic from

some of the major streets such as Missouri and/or Illinois would also be important. The total number of streets and the amount of land devoted to this use must be reduced.

4. Under this alternative the zoning ordinance should be reviewed with the idea of strengthening it to discourage incompatible land usage.
5. Extensive housing programs will be needed in Central City. The establishment of several urban renewal projects in the area will be a requirement. Different treatment of different sections of Central City is clearly needed, and these treatments are suggested on the map on the following page. Agreement must be reached on the general treatment of housing before the specific urban renewal programs to utilize can be outlined. Roughly, however, the sections marked "conservation" could be considered for a Federal code enforcement grant. Housing inspections in the area would be needed to verify the eligibility of the area. Boundaries of a code enforcement project can be shifted slightly in order to qualify this area for the code enforcement program. Areas marked "redevelopment" imply the need for such action under urban renewal, and a detailed scheme of relocation should precede any move toward redevelopment. Areas designated "rehabilitation" are in need of this treatment with federal assistance. In short, the rapid deterioration of Central City's housing stock means that much of the residential portions in this area are in need of some form of treatment falling within the federal urban renewal program. Because of the size of the area and the div

PROPOSED RESIDENTIAL
TREATMENT

-  SOLID
-  CONSERVATION
-  REHABILITATION
-  REDEVELOPMENT
-  REHABILITATION-REDEVELOPMENT
COMBINATION

CENTRAL CITY AREA

East St. Louis, Illinois

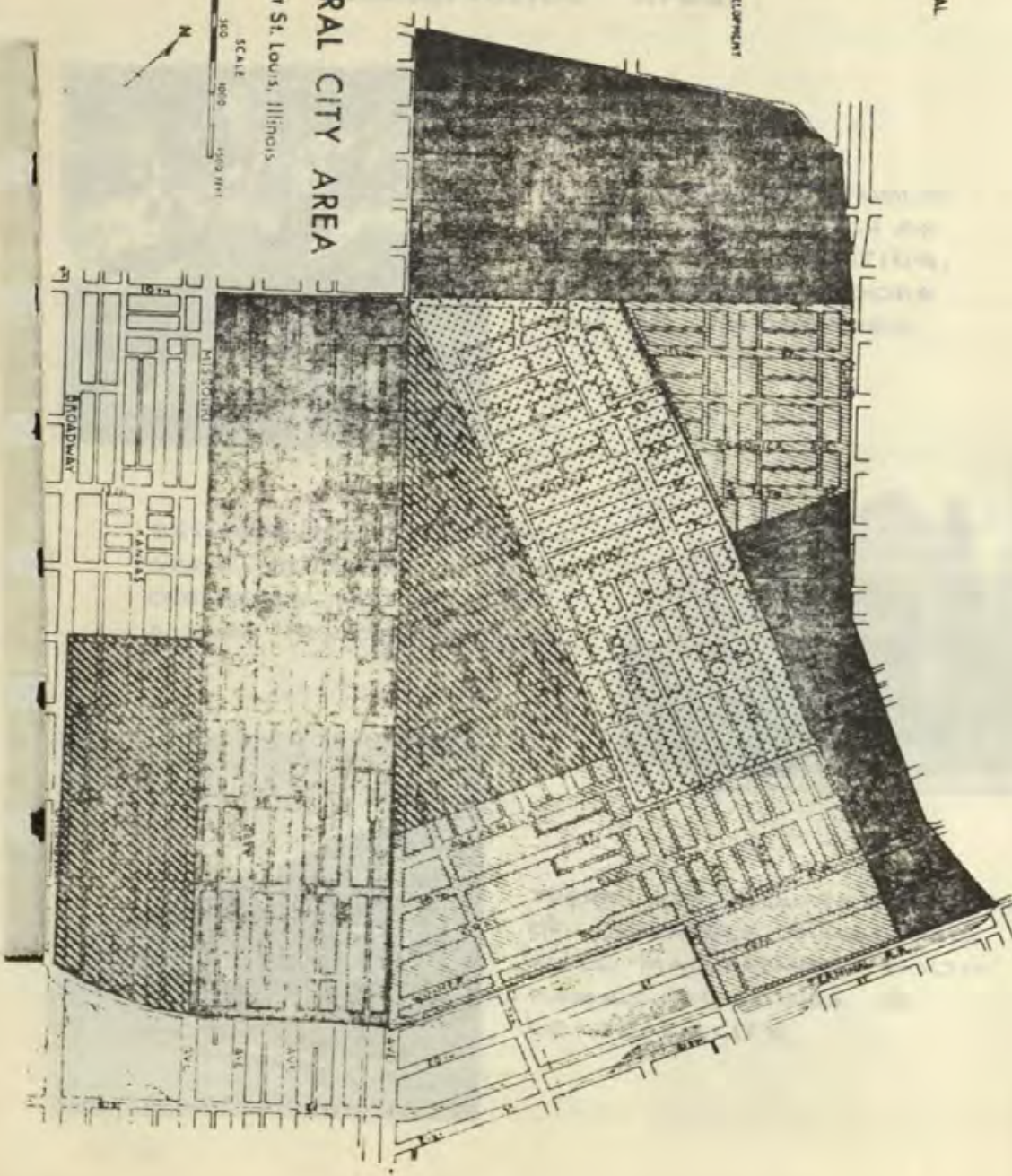
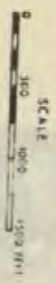


Figure 12

Conservation Areas



WITH ADEQUATE PUBLIC IMPROVEMENTS, SUCH AS STREETS AND LIGHTING, SOME NEIGHBORHOODS CAN BE CONSERVED.

BETWEEN 10TH - WASHINGTON, STATE - ST. CLAIRE ARE FINE OLD HOMES THAT REFLECT A MORE PROSPEROUS PAST.



THERE ARE ISOLATED EXAMPLES OF PRIVATELY OWNED AND WELL MAINTAINED MULTI-FAMILY BUILDINGS IN CENTRAL CITY.

of treatment needed, a number of separate urban renewal projects will be required. Thus, once agreement is reached on the general housing treatment, the following steps should be taken:

- (a) Establish the nature of the programs needed for each type of treatment.
 - (b) Undertake additional surveys which may be required to determine whether specific areas of Central City will be eligible for the programs desired.
 - (c) Establish specific project areas within Central City.
 - (d) Develop project priorities among all projects contemplated within East St. Louis as a whole. Need and the existence of possible urban renewal credits, as specified in the recent report by H. Bartholomew and Associates, could be used as a basis for a feasibility priority schedule.
 - (e) Prepare applications for those projects at the top of the priority list and establish a time table for future applications.
6. Our analysis indicates a need for recreational facilities in order to provide constructive activities for Central City's youth and to provide a focus for programs geared toward the establishment of a social community (or communities) within Central City. Specifically, plans will be needed for two kinds of facilities:
- (a) Parks for outdoor recreational activities must be developed.

The provision of parks can be tied in with the urban renewal projects discussed above. There is at the present time sufficient open land so that small neighborhood parks or tot lots can be developed on vacant lots. In addition, a more extensive community park to serve the entire Central City area will be needed. By relating the development of a park system to urban renewal, the priorities of various phases of park development within the overall plan for community development can be established.

- (b) Indoor recreational facilities for sports as well as meeting rooms for Central City groups are needed. A building which could be used for this purpose is already in existence. The Knights of Columbus Building is presently unused and contains extensive meeting room facilities, a kitchen capable of preparing large banquets, dining rooms, a snack bar, living quarters, bowling alleys, handball courts, a swimming pool, and a gymnasium. Consideration should be given to the purchase and rehabilitation of this facility. It is quite possible that a project of this sort could be tied into a rehabilitation project under Urban Renewal.

7. It is clear that the development of these physical community facilities alone would not be sufficient to meet the needs of providing youth activities and establishing a social community. Considerable thought must be given to the kinds of activities and socio-economic programs which could most effectively use these facilities. Programs for bot

outdoor and indoor recreational activities could be developed along the lines suggested in the Model Cities proposal. A unified program of recreation and culture involving organized athletics as well as a variety of cultural activities should be instituted. Education programs in art, music, dance, literature, and drama geared to different age groups could be included. The Model Cities approach of both bringing cultural activities to a community center and bringing people to cultural activities is a good idea. Furthermore, the use of representatives of the City, Park District, School District, Economic Opportunity Commission, Boys' Club, Central City Organization to staff and contribute to such a program would have the advantage of pooling community resources. Coordination of such an undertaking could be achieved through the proposed Model Cities Agency. If a facility like Knights of Columbus were utilized, sufficient space for all agencies and organizations involved in the program would also be available to maintain their offices. These organizations could also donate toward the maintenance of the building.

8. The above implications of this major policy alternative have emphasized the need to undertake a variety of measures aimed at solving many of the problems noted in Part II of this report. For the most part these measures have concentrated on physical alterations in Central City. We must stress, however, that physical improvements alone will not solve these problems. The need for a broad range of social and economic programs documented and described in the Model Cities

application is applicable to Central City. In fact, such programs must be instituted if East St. Louis is to attempt to restore and maintain Central City as a residential community.

Concluding Remarks

It is important to stress that the content of this neighborhood analysis is only a first step in the process of developing a neighborhood plan. We would strongly urge that having read this report the residents of Central City and officials of East St. Louis meet separately and with each other and come to a clear decision regarding the broad policy alternatives. If the latter alternative is chosen, then the City of East St. Louis should act immediately

1. Review all of their developmental commitments within East St. Louis and determine specifically how Central City fits into the general developmental picture.
2. Begin discussions with the Highway Department and city planners regarding an approach toward the eventual elimination of through traffic and lessening truck traffic within Central City.
3. Review the impact of existing zoning administration on Central City.
4. Engage in the first step noted above in the development of an Urban Renewal Program relating it to the establishment of recreational and cultural facilities.
5. Establish the Model Cities Agency and begin the planning and implementation of as many component programs as possible.

Once these steps have been taken, the authors of this analysis stand ready to assist the city in developing specific programs. But first the dialogue and the establishment of priorities must ensue. Central City is a declining

¹⁴The 1966 East St. Louis Budget points out rezonings subsequent to passage of the 1961 Ordinance and illegal non-conforming uses as of 1965, pp. XXXVII-XXXVIII.

neighborhood which can still be saved. It is clear that we would favor an East St. Louis commitment to this end. But the choice is up to East St. Louis officials and Central City residents. One clear fact does emerge from our analysis. If the city decides to attempt to pursue the alternative aiming to save the residential community, immediate action is required. The trends of decline are moving at this very moment at an alarming pace!

APPENDIX A

DICTIONARY

QUESTIONNAIRE

- First, let us get some information about all of the people who live here, with you, in this house (apartment). Let's begin with the head of the house. Who is that? How old is he (she)? What was he (she) doing last week? Working (W), Looking for work (L), Retired (R), or something else (O)? For those working ask: What does he (she) do on the job? Where does he (she) work? How does he (she) usually get to work? Walk (W), Go by bus (B), Go by car (C), or some other way (O)? How many years of school did he (she) finish? How about the other people who live here? How is he (she) related to the head of the house? How old is he (she)? Is he (she) working, looking for work, retired, or something else? (If anything changes answer questions) How many years of school has he (she) finished? (Note: If individual is 18 or younger ask: Is he (she) in school now?) What grade is he (she) in? What school does he (she) go to? Does anyone else live here, like a boarder or a tenant? (If yes: Repeat as above).
- How long have you been living here, in this house (apartment)?
- Where did you live before you moved here to this house (apartment)?
- Where were you born?
- Do you have any plans right now to move elsewhere?
 - Yes (then ask) Where do you plan to move? When are you planning to move there? Why did you decide to move away from here?
 - No
- Do you (does the head of the house) rent or own this house (apartment)?
- Does someone in your family here own a car? Is there more than one owned in your family?
- Are there any home repairs which you would say are needed here, but have been put off for a while? (Is there anything you would like to do or have someone else do to repair your house?) (If yes: What kind of repairs are needed?)
- Please tell us what stores you go to most often near your street, such as hardware, furniture, barber shop, beauty shop. Where is that? How do you get there? Walk, go by car, go by bus, or something else? (Note: If answer is not in neighborhood ask: About how often do you go to a store right around here for that? Where is that store?) (If tenants: Do the tenants use these same stores?)

APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE

10. Taking this family as a whole, where would you say you get most of your medical work done--by a regular doctor, at a clinic, or some other place?

Where is that (place/doctor's office)?

How do you usually get there? (Do you walk, go by car, by bus or (If tenants: Do the tenants get their medical care the same way?)

11. Are there people in this community that you visit often?

If Yes: We are interested in where you go and how you get there, can you give me the addresses of friends you visit? How often do you visit these people, often, occasionally, or seldom? Do you visit by walking, going in a car, or going by bus?

(If tenants: Do the tenants go visiting right around here or do they visit farther away?)

12. IF THERE ARE CHILDREN IN SCHOOL: Ask: Now, we'd like to know how children get to school. How many of them usually walk? How many ride a school bus? How many ride a city bus? Do any usually get there some other way?

13. I will tell you a list of some kinds of things you and this family do for fun. For each one, please tell me whether any of you do the things (sports events, movies, television, tavern, go to park area, other (specify)). Where do you do that? Do you do that regularly, occasionally, or only seldom? How do you get there?

(If tenants: Do the tenants do these things too?)

14. The most important reason for this survey is to find out what you think are the major problems in this neighborhood and what things your neighborhood needs. What do you believe to be the worst problems that exist here? Are there other problems that you think are important, right here in this neighborhood?

15. What things are there, here, that you think the city should do for this neighborhood? Are there any other improvements that you think the city should make here?

16. Here is a list of problems that many neighborhoods have today. Tell me which of them are not problems in this neighborhood. Take the rank of them and rank them. Tell me which problems you think are very serious here? Which are somewhat serious? (What about . . . is that very serious or somewhat serious?)

Condition of streets bad
Street lighting bad
Too much traffic
Not enough police protection
Not good enough housing

Not good enough shopping facilities
Not good enough parks
School not good enough
Too much noise
Too much air pollution

17. What would you say is the income for this whole family for a year? (Please include any income from rent, social security, welfare, and things like that as well as wages.) (Here is a card with some groups on it, you can pick the one you think is right and tell us in a letter.)

18. Do any of the people in this family attend church? Would you say they go regularly or occasionally?

Where is the church most people in this house attend?

19. How do the people get to church? Do they walk, go by car, ride a bus, or go some other way?

(If tenants: Do the tenants go to church there too, or somewhere else?)