To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a thesis written by Frank Bingham McGinley, III entitled "Cabbages and Kings: The Process of Gentrification in Cabbagetown." I have examined the final copy of this thesis for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts, with a major in Sociology.

Dr. Samuel E. Wallace, Major Professor

We have read this thesis
and recommend its acceptance:

Accepted for the Council:

Associate Vice Chancellor
and Dean of the Graduate School

Cabbages and Kings:
The Process of Gentrification in Cabbagetown

A Thesis
Presented for the
Master of Arts
Degree
The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Frank Bingham McGinley, III
May 1998

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my parents, Frank and Judy McGinley, for providing me with every educational opportunity and for standing by me unrelentingly. It is also dedicated to my extraordinary younger sister, Judy Ann, whom I always look up to, and to the memory of my older sister, Melissa who left us long ago but remains always with us.

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ABSTRACT

Gentrification is a process that begins when the first house or apartment in an inner city neighborhood is purchased or rented by homeowners from a higher socio-economic profile than other residents in the neighborhood. Usually, these homebuyers or inmovers regard the purchase as a long-term investment, spending much time, work, and money renovating the homes themselves. After the initial homebuyer or inmover buys into an area, others will likely follow. From a few homes to an entire street, gentrification may then spread to surrounding streets and to nearby neighborhoods, creating social problems and often conflict for lower-income residents who are forced out by rising costs.

This thesis examines some of the most common variables in the gentrification process as exposed by scholars and authors of similar studies and applies these established examples to Cabbagetown, a small working class neighborhood in Atlanta, Georgia. By doing this, I answer the questions: who are the inmovers and outmovers, and what do these groups stand to gain or lose from the process of gentrification? By examining these established criteria as variables in the context of Cabbagetown, I have shown a presence of gentrification in Cabbagetown, and have given a greater understanding of gentrification as a process.

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Chapter I
INTRODUCTION

Since the 1960's an enormous amount of research has been conducted on the topic of gentrification; such research does not appear to be waning (Clark, 1994, p. 1033). Topics range from comparisons of multiple cities on several continents to studies of a single urban neighborhood. The consequences of gentrification have also been documented. For example, the increased number of individuals and families left homeless in the 1980's has been largely attributed to the conversion of high-density, low rent dwellings into middle and high-income, low-occupancy dwellings (Lachmann, 1991, p. 124).

Gentrification has occurred in nearly every small town and city in the United States today as well as other developed countries outside the United States. As a result, gentrification is a household word. The press and popular culture have used the term regularly to describe many types of renovation projects in neighborhoods. Smith & Williams (1986) note the institutionalization of the concept and its absorption to the speed with which the urban landscape has changed as a consequence of gentrification (p. 1).

Although there has been a wealth of quantitative research projects on neighborhood gentrification, there is a lesser amount of qualitative research. Qualitative research, especially field research, allows a personal look at the variables involved such as the inmovers, the outmovers, the low-income college educated renters, and marginalized individuals that are so often the catalysts of change.

The purpose of this qualitative research project is to explore the phenomenon that has become known as gentrification. Specifically, the thesis will examine some of the most salient factors involved in the gentrification process as exposed by scholars and authors of similar studies and then it will apply these established examples to Cabbagetown, a small working class neighborhood in Atlanta, Georgia. By doing this, I answer the questions: who are the inmovers and outmovers, and what do they stand to gain or lose from the process of gentrification? By examining the established criteria as variables in the context of Cabbagetown, I will give a greater understanding of gentrification as a process.

In Chapter II, I present a review of the literature on gentrification, from classic theoretical papers which serve to establish a clear understanding of the terminology and theoretical framework involved to more recent research projects such as my own. From these research projects, I will obtain characteristics that I will use in examining my case study of Cabbagetown. I will use these established research questions to shape my data collection and structure my analysis. Chapter III will describe the methods and techniques by which I will gather and process data for my case study as well as a discussion of other research methodologies. In Chapter IV, I will present the data I gathered. In Chapter V, I will analyze the data and show how it will help answer the essential questions posed in the context of the research questions/variables outlined in Chapter II. Chapter VI summarizes the research project and discusses the implications and relevance of the project as well as provides suggestions for further research.

Chapter II
LITERATURE REVIEW

In this chapter, I will examine the literature on gentrification beginning with the terminology associated with the process and recurring theoretical themes on the subject. I will then progress into a review of variables on the subject including who are the inmovers or inmovers, who are the outmovers, where and how does gentrification tend to occur, and how is the process encouraged or hampered by federal programs and initiaves by grassroots groups and neighborhood organizations.

British sociologist Ruth Glass is credited with first using the term "gentrification" in 1946 to describe the process of incumbent upgrading of lower status dwellers to gentry in London in the late 1950's (London & Palen, 1984, p. 7). The term gentrification is frequently criticized for imprecision when applied to the United States (Hannigan, 1995, p. 173; London & Palen, 1984, p. 7). Yet other terms for the process have been criticized for being inaccurate, such as "revitalization," which implies that, before middle class inmovers arrived to improve the neighborhood, the area lacked vitality (London & Palen, 1984).

Gentrification can also be subdivided into two more specific definitions. Hannigan (1995) quotes Bourne referring to two sub-categories of the phenomenon. First, a *restrictive* definition refers to the invasion and succession of a neighborhood occupied by members of one social rank and class followed by another of higher rank and class. The second more *inclusive* definition describes, in addition, the renovation of warehouses and other spaces not previously residential.

The perception and significance of gentrification is a debated topic in the literature as well. It is agreed that gentrification is a social process as much as a physical process (Smith & LeFaivre, 1984, p. 44). But the causes and perceptions of this phenomenon vary by theoretical perspective. Often, variations among disciplines exist (London & Palen, 1984, p. 6). Urban ecologists often contend that gentrification is "but a single bright light in the ongoing process of inner city abandonment and decay" (Hannigan, 1995, p. 178). London, Lee & Lipton (1986) describe gentrification as the widespread emergence of middle and upper class enclaves in formerly deteriorated, urban neighborhoods (p. 369). Beauregard (1986) states that gentrification is the location of economically and politically weak households in certain types of neighborhoods at a particular historic time combined with among other factors the inner city location of the potential gentry (p. 51).

Williams and Smith (1986) contend that the idea of gentrification as a renaissance revival shows a sharply partisan view of contemporary urban change, a view that, "negates the real history of urban development and change"—which Williams and Smith contend is far more complex (p. 204). Each of the definitions underscores the transformation caused by the phenomenon, replacing one group of people with another. Still other researchers view the phenomenon as value laden (Zuken, 1987). They contend that a new middle class segment of society is rejecting suburbia for a consumption-oriented lifestyle in the city center (p. 173). Inmovers make a deliberate choice to live in the inner city neighborhoods based on their understanding and appreciation of the mixture of high and low culture that defines inner cities.

The term "filtering" is another concept that is omnipresent in gentrification literature. In his book, Urban Residential Matters, R. J. Johnston defines filtering as a process whereby, "higher-income groups periodically demand new housing and their former homes are bought by lower-income groups for whom they represent an improvement in living standards. Thus homes slowly filter down the social scale and individuals filter up the housing scale" (1971, p. 87). Structures originally built for higher-income resident are placed on the market and become attainable dwellings for those of lesser means.

Gentrification is also spurned by investment. The filtering process decreases the value of the property, giving it strong investment potential (Nelson, 1988, p. 15). When property is inexpensive relative to other parts of the city, it becomes a potentially gentrifiable area (Beauregard, 1986, p. 47). Change agents, such as developers and landlords, often take an active role in encouraging filtering by allowing property to deteriorate sufficiently thereby encouraging long-term, low-income renters to move out. Then the property can be gutted, converted, and sold for profit (Williams, 1988, p. 118). Gentrification then reverses the process of filtering. As higher-income individuals purchase homes with multiple households, and convert them to single household dwellings, the value of the property rises. This process acts as an incentive for development of adjacent or nearby properties, which are converted similarly.

When examining the process of gentrification from a social perspective, researchers first look at the primary groups involved--the inmovers or those who move into an area and start the process of gentrification, ie. the inmovers. I will begin with

characteristics of inmovers and outmovers and then follow with discussion of each.

Inmovers

Frequently mentioned in the literature is the notion that gentrification is not a back-to-the-city movement. Inmovers are not returning to the city from the suburbs. Gentrification is an intra-metropolitan movement. It is movement that occurs in the urban core. Not everyone is attracted to the idea of restoring inner city housing. Rather, the highly identifiable urbanites—would-be inmovers—are staying in the city (Palen & London, 1984, p. 259). Central city inmovers are the homebuyers who move from one urban neighborhood to another. They make a conscious decision to remain in the city rather than to move to the suburbs (Legates & Hartman, 1986, p. 180; Gale, 1976, Pp. 77, 80; London & Palen, 1984, p. 6). Therefore, it is established that movement primarily occurs from one area of the city to another.

Inmovers have distinguishing demographic characteristics. They are described as young couples with lower-income white collar jobs (Palen & London 1984, p. 264), others with middle to upper income and still others with well above average income (Legates & Hartman, 1986, p. 182). Inmover households are small, consisting of single individuals or of a couple. They tend to be employed in a professional or managerial capacity. Some are employed as clerical workers, in lower status white-collar sales and other occupational groups. Unemployed individuals, or others not in the work force, are rare among inmovers (Legates & Hartman, 1986, p. 183). Guterbock (1980) asserts that inmovers are cultural heirs to the alternative lifestyles that were pioneered by white middle-class youth of the 1960's (p. 432). They are the risk-takers that encourage

gentrification.

The demographic strata of inmovers is often used to show how these changes have affected gentrification, such as single working mothers, solitary or single individuals, unmarried couples, married couples waiting to have children or opting to remain childless. These are factors of a changing demographic structure that have had an effect on the gentrification of neighborhoods in cities (Beauregard, 1986, Pp. 3, 43; Smith, 1986, p. 30). For single mothers, inner city living allows them to maintain tight schedules with shopping, schools, and daycare centers all within close range. The economy of scale of inner city living makes such hectic lives possible. Suburban life with its strip malls and long commutes leaves serious time deficits (Beauregard 1986, p. 43).

Older central-city housing is especially attractive to inmovers willing to invest time and "sweat equity" in rehabilitation. These combined factors make the purchase of an old house in a potentially gentrifiable neighborhood a good investment for young childless couples willing to restore the structure largely on their own in their spare time.

The history of inmovers often becomes the subject of near myth. Inmovers have often been called "urban pioneers" (Smith, 1986, p. 16). Smith uses the term to describe inmovers during the renovation movement stages of the late 1960's and early 1970's. Like pioneers of a young America, initial inmovers risk a great deal financially (and often risk personal safety) by moving into a decaying neighborhood. The gentrification of one house will not gentrify the whole neighborhood (Smith & LeFaivre, 1984, p. 51), so an element of risk is involved, although there is safety in numbers. Once visible signs of

gentrification appear, such as fresh paint and landscaping, the neighborhood may well become a popular investment for others. Or it may never gentrify, in which case the initial inmover loses everything. But these homes are a good investment for the inmover, particularly if they will be doing much of the work on the house themselves, living close to their job, and enjoying an urban lifestyle without concern for schools (Beauregard, 1986, p. 37). For these reasons, the advantages outweigh the risk in the eyes of many initial inmovers.

Inmover's values and their consumption style are elements common in the literature as factors of gentrification. Acquiring commodities for public display is important to inmovers. "Seeing and being seen" are key and evidenced by outdoor cafes, art galleries, and antique shops (Beauregard 1986, p. 43). Beauregard further observes that although their consumption habits are not dissimilar to those of professional middle class individuals not living in the city, their intersection with decisions on biological reproduction makes them crucial to the process of gentrification (Beauregard 1986, p. 44). Inmovers make a conscious decision not to have children as their suburban counterparts make the decision to reproduce or have more than one child.

Modern values held by inmovers are commonly explored factors of gentrification. For inmovers, there is a longing to live among individuals of varied ethnicity. There is a desire to recapture the romance of the past in older homes and structures (Beauregard, 1986, p. 45). Artists, musicians, dancers, designers, architects, actors, writers, gays and lesbians, and other "marginalized groups" who seek a more tolerant social environment may not fall into the socioeconomic parameters of the new middle class (Hannigan, 1995;

Marcuse 1986); but their presence in an area may cause gentrification as they represent a progressive, urban lifestyle. They make up the complex pattern that gives the inner city a colorful attractiveness to young homebuyers and makes the inner city a fun and exciting place to live and work.

Interaction among marginalized individuals has an influence on gentrification. Marginalized individuals often form networks with one another and may then spread the word about a particular area that may be ripe for gentrification. Once a few established pioneer inmovers are committed to investing in the low-income area, the investment risk is lowered and more conservative homebuyers and investors will consider the area.

Inmovers are also seeking a lifestyle setting that is unique, not homogenous. Variation is a key word when observing what is desirable to inmovers about inner city living: variation in homes, variation in ethnicity of neighbors, variation in amenities and stores. Suburban life is seen as the converse: homogenous homes and yards, homogenous strip malls with franchise restaurants and stores, and a homogenous race of neighbors. Inmovers place value on restoring the historical dwellings and place preference on living in old rather than new structures as a statement of affluence and taste (Beauregard, 1986; London, Lee, & Lipton, 1986, p. 378). The completely renovated dwelling serves as a manifestation of this taste and affluence.

The literature paints a clear portrait of inmovers: risk-takers that occupy a vastly different demographic profile from suburbanites who seem to posses an entirely different set of values. Suburbanites generally desire homogeneity and safety. They are not risk-takers. Their values likewise seem to reflect their reproductive tendencies, although

unlike inmovers, suburbanites choose to have children. This can also be observed in amenities common in suburban areas, such as mega day care facilities and baby retail product supermarkets. Still another group involved in the process, outmovers are widely discussed in the literature.

Outmovers

Outmovers are the passive residents of the gentrifiable neighborhood. They are the individual renters and families who live in the densely populated, low-income areas of the inner city. They live in the city out of necessity rather than preference. They are often employed in low wage industry jobs and often must rely on public transportation. They are forced to move out of an area by rent increases associated with gentrifying areas or raised property taxes. Large numbers of children characterize outmover households. The households tend to be headed by females, poor, and dependent on government services. There is a gap between the amount they pay in taxes and what they receive (Legates & Hartman, 1986, p. 188).

Outmovers are often incapable of affording decent housing elsewhere. This makes it easy for them to be exploited by landlords or to be bought out by developers (Beauregard, 1986, p. 50). Outmovers are also described as unemployed and as the working poor commonly employed by the service industry (Beauregard, 1986, p. 42). They are most often white and in the age groups of 1-18 and 30-39 (Legates & Hartman, 1986, Pp. 185, 189).

Outmovers tend to resettle nearby or in neighborhoods near the one from which they moved (Legates & Hartman, 1986, 190). Their costs invariably rise and sometimes

do so dramatically (p. 191). The same study also found that outmover satisfaction is inversely correlated with income. The lower the income, the less likely the household is to feel satisfied with the new dwelling (Pp. 192-193). This dissatisfaction could be related to a variety of factors including less convenient location to employment, a more densely populated area, or an area with higher crime potential.

As a group, outmovers are highly mobile. This makes displacement a difficult characteristic to evaluate or trace. For example, evicted tenants or other transient renters would be counted as displaced (Palen & London, 1984, p. 261). Another study found that minorities are disproportionately affected (Smith & LeFaivre, 1984, p. 57). I will now address where the process of gentrification occurs by examining the characteristics of the gentrifiable neighborhood.

Gentrifiable Areas

Areas that are gentrifiable possess specific characteristics revealed in research on neighborhoods since the movement to rebuild inner city neighborhoods began in the early 1960's. High-density housing, rent increases, and easy access to the central business district characterize areas that are likely targets for gentrification. The more renters a neighborhood has, the lower its value and the better the potential investment should the area gentrify. Additionally, the areas would tend to have high density tenant occupancy. It is this population density is crucial for making an area gentrifiable.

In addition to particular areas of a city that are more likely to become target for gentrification, structures within and surrounding such areas will often take on new functions. The term, "grayfield sites," refers to mixed use or alternative use areas such as

the transformation of old industrial areas such as factories and warehouses and wharves where slum dwellers once worked (Neil Smith, 1986, p. 25, Beauregard, 1986, p. 49). Grayfield sites, which include warehouses or open loft floors above commercial spaces were not residential prior to gentrification (p. 173). Grayfield sites are unique transformations that reflect the demand for inner city housing. They also indicate the modern values of inmovers, choosing unusual spaces for living quarters thereby expanding the traditional concept of the home. Converted to residential property, these sites can spur additional gentrification in the surrounding area or in nearby low-income neighborhoods.

Contextual Characteristics

Contextual characteristics reveal what makes the city environment conducive to gentrification. These characteristics include interest rate and real estate fluctuations.

The rise and fall of interest rates has an undeniable impact on filtering (Personal Communication, 1997). Interest rate fluctuation has a bearing on the real estate market, whether on old homes bought and renovated in the city or on new homes built in the periphery. I have examined the Federal Reserve Bank's fixed interest rates for first mortgage during the first week in the month of June for five-year cycles. Interest rates peaked in the mid 1980's and have fallen off sharply in recent years.

Fixed Rates of First Mortgage, 1971-1996

June 1971	7.53
June 1976	8.85
June 1981	16.70
June 1986	10.68
June 1991	9.60
June 1996	8.05

Source: 1971-1991 Federal Statistics Almanac; 1996 Atlanta Journal Constitution.

The effect interest rates have on gentrification is the subject of some debate. Generally, as interest rates drop, housing investments recover (Nelson, 1988, p. 5). London and Palen state that high interest rates during the 1980's did much to slow all types of housing transactions (1984, p. 13).

Peter Williams (1986) disagrees with Nelson and London and Palen, claiming that gentrification is much less sensitive to changes in interest rates. He continues to assert that although we see that the volume of construction declines considerably during economic crisis, within this decline we see a considerable transfer of capital from suburban new starts to central and inner city rehabilitation efforts (p. 213).

Since gentrification is labor intensive and many inmovers do much of the work themselves, construction and contract labor is kept to a minimum. Providing the homebuyers have the spare time, renovating older homes in periods of higher interest

rates is an affordable and wise option for home investment.

As a possible result of interest rate fluctuations, variations in the real estate market bring about changes that can cause gentrification through devalued home prices. The real estate market can negatively effect industry in the same way. In his article, "Comparing Costs: City vs. the Suburbs," Michael Hinds (1987) quotes a housing consultant to the planning association that, "when commuting becomes intolerable, the employee relocates his job or the employer relocates the company. The shortage of accessible, affordable housing is one of the greatest breaks on how much economic development can occur in the region" (p. 4).

The opposite is also true. An expected boom caused by the announcement of a new industry moving into an area will have a positive effect on the real estate market. As industry executives move into the area, home prices and property values will increase dramatically as the area becomes a seller's market (Personal Communication, 1997).

There are also changes in the real estate market caused by differences in costs of buying a home in the suburbs compared to buying a home in the city. Before the 1970's, it was commonly believed that owning a home in the suburbs and commuting was the more economical option for professionals. But as costs of commuting rose, so did the cost of purchasing a home as well as other costs of living in the suburbs. Often, it became clear to middle-income homebuyers that it was no longer a more economical alternative to live in the suburbs. Professionals who would have considered living in the suburbs for economic reasons opted to buy homes in the city.

Change agents--real estate speculators and developers who create the ideal

climate for gentrification--drive the real estate market. Spurred by fluctuations in interest rates, by the real-estate market in the city and neighborhood, and by enhanced tax incentives to commercial developers for historic preservation (Nelson, 1988, p.15) the real estate market can have an enormous impact on the gentrification of a neighborhood.

Just as real estate and interest rate fluctuations effect gentrification, the geographic setting for the neighborhood transformation is also highly predictable and crucial to the process. Gentrification occurs in cities that are older and that possess an industrial economic base. Additionally, gentrification tends to be more common in working class neighborhoods in cities in the Northeast and North Central regions than in the South and West (Nelson, 1988, p. 13) (London & Palen, 1984, 8; Smith & LaFaivre, 1984, 45; Hannigan, 1995, Pp. 174-5).

The centralization of white-collar activities (Smith 1986, Pp. 27, 29) is another factor that effects gentrification. The central business district has become an elite service center for business activities, such as banks and corporations. Abundant accounting and law firms form the support network for big business in the city center. For this reason, gentrifiable areas tend to be located within a few miles of the central business district. This location is key to selling the area to young potential inmovers, many of whom work in the central business district and want to live nearby.

Smith (1986) speaks of the importance of spatial security in corporate headquarters located in city centers. The presence of white-collar activity in the core of the city may explain why restructuring of the urban core takes on a corporate/professional character (p. 29).

London, Lee & Lipton's study found that cities with central business districts dominated by white collar employment and with long distances to the suburbs had strong high-status inner cores (1977, p. 370). Property values generally tend to be low and housing undervalued, particularly in comparison with nearby gentrified neighborhoods. It is the undervalued nature of this housing that may well spark gentrification (Palen & London, 1984, p. 264).

Gentrifiable areas are generally characterized by amenities such as offering skyline views, access to city parks, and are said to have historical significance (Beauregard, 1986, Pp. 36, 37). Often mixed-used structures and apartment buildings are converted to luxury status as part of the process (Beauregard, 1986, p. 46).

The following is a review of outside forces at work spurring gentrification including federal programs, neighborhood organizations and grassroots initiaves and resistance campaigns.

Federal Programs

Since the 1950's, the Federal Government has created several programs intended to restore, rebuild, and preserve the historic integrity and personality of inner cities (thereby reviving the tax base) which have consequently encouraged gentrification in these areas. Beginning with slum clearance and urban renewal campaigns of the 1950's and early 1960's, dubbed "bulldozer campaigns" by some (Riley, 1995, p. 1), these programs were devised to bring lasting solutions to the physical, social, and economic problems of the inner city (Roske, 1983; Bristol, 1991).

Following these so called "bulldozer campaigns," in the late 1960's, there was a

paradigm shift toward preservation of existing housing stock. With this shift came the restoration /preservation movement which boomed in the 1970's. There was a renewed interest in Historical Landmarks and suddenly numerous neighborhoods and individual structures were submitted to be considered for placement on the National Register of Historic Places. Among other advantages, placement on the register provided limited protection from destructive development. Federal government inducements to home buyers through tax incentives for interest payments on mortgages helped popularize the restoration movement, resulting in more gentrification (Beauregard, 1986, p. 52; Palen & London, 1984, p. 263).

The first major Federal program aimed at improving inner city areas in recent years is the Empowerment Zone and Enterprise Community Program. As provisions of the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1993, this program was designed to promote urban economic growth and regeneration through the creation of ten empowerment zones and 100 enterprise communities.

At present, there are no findings on the success of this new legislation. The Empowerment Zone Program offers $250 million in tax incentives and low interest loans to inner city redevelopment projects. Ideally, the outcome would be to reduce and eliminate blighted areas by stimulating inner city economies by reintroducing commercial development.

Just as a movement spawned by federal programs may have a tremendous impact on gentrification, movements initiated by citizens within inner city neighborhoods also impact the process. Such neighborhood organizations or grassroots activity is usually

aimed at either preserving the historic integrity of the neighborhood or protecting it from unwanted development. In their study, "The determinants of gentrification in the United States: a city-level analysis," London, Lee and Lipton state, "[preservation groups in particular] may be interpreted as reflecting the local value placed upon preservation and related renovation activities. A strong community commitment to such efforts should be conducive to gentrification (1986, p. 378).

Lee and Merhenhagen's study, "Is revitalization detectable? Evidence from five Nashville neighborhoods," explores conditions favorable to gentrification including among what they refer to as, "telltale symptoms," i.e., the presence of active neighborhood organizations. They explain, "Much of the impetus for preservation activity in each of the areas [of their study] can be traced to an effective neighborhood organization." They go on to say, "typically, such organizations were established by the first wave of renovator households" (1984, p. 516).

However, in some working class neighborhoods, preventing gentrification from eliminating affordable housing and driving up property taxes becomes the primary goal of the group. These groups fight inmovers and would-be members of preservation /restoration groups previously mentioned. Robinson's "Gentrification and grassroots resistance in San Francisco's Tenderloin" (1995), highlights this type of resistance activity characterized by working class residents banding together in a "proactive, neighborhood-sensitive regime" to combat development schemes in order to maintain affordable housing in the inner city" (p. 483).

Summary

This research project will explore those variables as accepted indicators of gentrification evident in the currently ongoing gentrification of Cabbagetown in Atlanta. Because outmovers can thusly be seen as the silent victims of gentrification, in my fieldwork, I will examine the characteristics of outmovers as reviewed previously in the literature in relation to Cabbagetown specifically. I will also identify and examine the inmovers, whose presence often signals gentrification.

This project will answer the questions, where does gentrification tend to occur and could factors such as interest rate fluctuation and real estate prices encourage and influence gentrification in Cabbagetown? I will look at the extent to which Cabbagetown, in Atlanta, Georgia, would be designated a gentrifiable area according to the characteristics established in the literature and examine the process of gentrification at work there in order to assess the gentrification into strata or stages.

To evaluate gentrification, I will examine the specific home sale prices for Cabbagetown as indicators of gentrification in Cabbagetown and to possibly assess how far along in the process Cabbagetown has progressed. In my fieldwork, I will examine the industrial working class history of Cabbagetown, the proximity of Cabbagetown to the central business district, and urban amenities available to residents of such neighborhoods as mentioned above.

Additionally, I will examine the presence and effects of federal programs on the process of gentrification in Cabbagetown, where renovation plans for the Fulton Cotton Mills hinged upon Empowerment Zone funding to provide capital required to make the

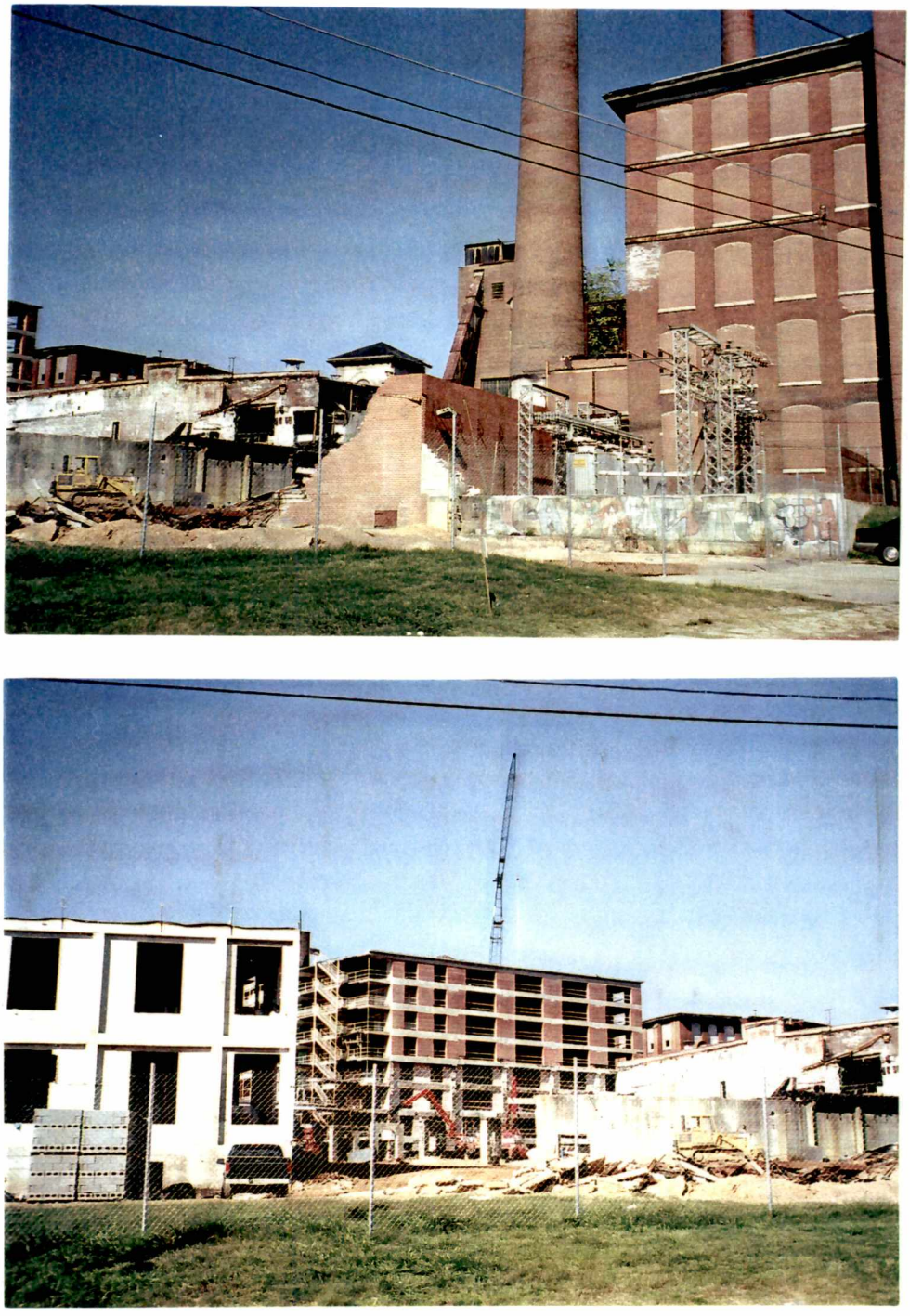


Figure 2.1. Fulton Bag and Cotton Mill under renovation, October, 1997.

venture marketable to potential investors (Figure 2.1). A discussion of the mill renovation project follows in the Chapter III. Lastly, I will examine the impact of neighborhood organization and grassroots activity within areas deemed gentrifiable or areas undergoing gentrification.

Chapter III
RESEARCH DESIGN

I became interested in Cabbagetown in 1994 through several friends and acquaintances who lived in the worker's cottages there. I was fascinated with street after street of old homes in various stages of renovation and decay. I immediately realized that there was beauty in the quiet simplicity of its narrow streets. The enormous derelict Fulton Bag and Cotton Mills casts shadows on brightly painted, modest houses and the tiny yards which are mixtures of junk sculpture and wildflower jungles: sunflowers and zinnias planted in old rusty pails, lush mint thriving around the small porches. In the background, the Peachtree Center, Georgia Pacific Tower, NationsBank Tower, and other postmodern megaliths of midtown and downtown Atlanta serve as an omnipresent reminder that this is down-home inner city living at its best.

In Cabbagetown, there is also an immediately recognizable sense of community. People gather on front porches carry on conversations with their neighbors across the street while children ride bikes and play ball in the street, yelling, "car!" when a rare motorist invades the tranquility. There is an old, social fabric present which seems eminently threatened, hence, I was inspired and moved to examine the process of gentrification in Cabbagetown.

For my thesis, I decided to rely largely on qualitative research. This was to allow for a more comprehensive yet intimate view of "underlying meanings, patterns of relationships" (Babbie, 1992, p. G6) present in Cabbagetown. Although I did gather quantitative data in the form of census data and other data on property appraisals, I

discovered that much of this information was largely inconclusive and I found gaps for periods between data gathering.

Qualitative research left open the potential for bias error that could be virtually eliminated by relying on numerical data. But I took every precaution to reduce any potential bias from my data gathering. Qualitative research also allowed me to experience the changes the neighborhood was undergoing through the eyes of the residents.

For my research design, I chose to use historical research, field research, and informal conversations with residents. The following is a brief overview of each of the research techniques and a description of how I executed each for my study of Cabbagetown.

Historical Research

Historical research has several advantages. First, it allows the researcher to learn more background information about the area being researched. It gives more insight to the conflicts and movements that have occurred over the years that might give clues to current or ongoing movements. Additionally, it introduces the researcher to prominent and key figures that have had an influence on the area.

The disadvantages of historical research include pitfalls associated with relying on another researcher's data—primarily being unable to determine the quality of research conducted in the past. Such data can be incomplete, damaged, or biased, leading the researcher in the wrong direction.

Taking both advantages and disadvantages into consideration, I began researching

the history of Cabbagetown and learning about gentrification in an autodidactic manner. My research took me to the Georgia Historical Society Library that contained a collection of documents and writings from Cabbagetown's original mill workers. At the City of Atlanta Office of Metropolitan Planning and Zoning, I collected as well as maps and neighborhood information, census tract data for Cabbagetown for 1970, 1980, and 1990, the last tract available to date. I then presented the information to Dr. Wallace, Professor of Urban Ecology in the Sociology Department at the University of Tennessee, where I had done my coursework, and gained his approval and invaluable assistance to undertake this research project.

Dr. Wallace suggested that, for the purposes of this study, I begin by developing a more specific project definition of gentrification. Hence, for the purposes of this thesis, I will define gentrification as the invasion of densely populated low and lower middle-income areas by upper middle-income homebuyers and developers. The process often occurs in what were once higher-income neighborhoods. However, in the case of Cabbagetown, housing units were built for workers at the Fulton Bag and Cotton Mill. Also for my study, I use a more inclusive definition to include grayfield sites such as the renovated mill itself and converted storefront apartments.

Field Research

Babbie states that "[o]ne of the key strengths of field research is the comprehensiveness of perspective it gives the researcher" (Babbie 1992, p. 285). For my field research, following in Chapter IV, I chose to gather information as a complete observer rather than assuming the role of participant observer. Babbie goes on to define

the complete observer as studying a social process while being completely independent of it. The disadvantages over a field research plan with more personal involvement, such as the participant observer, is that the researcher is less likely to develop full appreciation of what is being studied (Babbie 1992, Pp. 289-290).

But the advantage of complete observer research is that the researcher is less likely to effect what is being studied (Babbie 1992, p. 289) and the researcher's constant attention is focused on the subject, more like a scientist presiding over a controlled experiment. Hence, I assumed the role of a passive, complete observer.

Field research involves making direct observations and taking copious descriptive notes. For my observations, I also carried a tape recorder, which picked up important details that would otherwise go unnoticed, such as the sound of saws and hammering. These sounds represent the presence of renovation. I transcribed all information the evening after I had recorded it and later compiled all notes onto a computer disc to reduce the possibility of mistakes.

I spent four days in Cabbagetown, October 21-25 of 1997. I observed the daily patterns of residents, noting when they left and returned from work, performing different tasks from hanging out their wash to relaxing on their porches to pouring out of church on a Wednesday evening. I noted the types and conditions of the residents' homes, what churches and commercial property existed in the neighborhood, and what parks and grayfield sites existed. After describing the nature of gentrification on individual streets, I could make common generalizations about the level of gentrification in each area.

Before I began my observations, I decided to divide Cabbagetown into separate

zones or areas to examine effectively the status of the process of gentrification. I initially divided the neighborhood into five separate areas according to the extent of their gentrification—total to complete absence thereof. After preliminary examination, two types of areas were not found in Cabbagetown: totally gentrified areas and areas with no gentrification. This left three types of actual gentrified areas:

- Predominately (more than two-thirds) Gentrified (PG)
- Mixed (one to two-thirds) Gentrified (MG)
- Initially (less than one-third) Gentrified (IG)

These three types of areas are identifiable to anyone who makes more than just a casual trip through Cabbagetown (Appendix 1). Although many residents I asked had never considered the divisions within the neighborhood, they noticed certain areas contain more "new people," or certain streets were more crowded with cars.

While conducting my historical research, I had learned that CRAFT and Habitat for Humanity (described in Chapter IV) had built many replica homes in Cabbagetown for low-income residents. At the time of the first wave of gentrification, inmovers were primarily interested in purchasing older homes. That is no longer the case as the trendy location has taken precedence over the historical integrity of the structure. Replica homes are also in demand. Hence, in my fieldwork, I decided it was pertinent to note whether a home was an original or a replica. This was determined by examining the foundation. A cinderblock foundation usually indicated a replica. Homes with old brick foundations, and especially with a layer of painted cement over the brick, indicated an older home. Another obvious sign of the age of the structures was how many layers of

paint were on the house. Older homes in Cabbagetown tended to have crocodile skin-like build-up from old layers of paint that were not scraped completely.

As a passive observer, I was able to gather a wealth of detailed information and make countless observations regarding the process of gentrification in Cabbagetown.

Conversations with Residents

Another source of information was conversations with residents. To provide a better understanding of the residents' views of gentrification in their neighborhood and to strengthen my research design, I chose to conduct informal conversations.

There are several ways that an interview can be conducted, although I define and regard my inquiries as informal, unstructured conversations rather than a survey or structured questionnaire. Unstructured interviews are conducted by the researcher establishing a general direction for the conversation and pursuing topics that are pertinent to the research (Babbie, 1992, p. 293). Surveys often take the form of mail or telephone surveys, which can be expensive, require several researchers, and can pose difficulties gathering adequate response rates. However, the information gleaned from such research techniques can be precise and highly accurate. For my research, I had already chosen to conduct qualitative research, which does not lend itself well to numerical coding. In addition, I surmised the informal nature of the qualitative inquires would produce sincere and accurate responses from residents regarding their true feelings about the neighborhood and changes they had experienced.

For the inquires, I spoke with several residents from each of the areas to gain information about their situations and why they had chosen to live in Cabbagetown. I

spoke with residents that I encountered in the most casual and random ways. With the exception of two women roommates in the mixed gentrified area, whom I telephoned in advance, I pre-arranged none of the conversations. In most cases, I simply met people sitting on their porches or walking their dogs. No one seemed suspicious of my presence or interest in the neighborhood, and most residents were happy to talk with me if they had the time. I believe that this casual approach allowed the residents to speak freely about their neighborhood.

I set no quotas for the number of respondents from each area, but rather spoke to residents from an area until I had 4 or more response sheets, and then moved on to the next area. When I was finished, I had spoken with 6 residents from the initially gentrified area, 5 residents from the mixed gentrified area, and 5 residents from the predominately gentrified area.

From census tract data I gathered initially, I learned that Cabbagetown is a predominately white neighborhood historically since the mill was started. Hence, the lack of racial diversity in my respondent group reflects the neighborhood itself and is due to no research bias.

Before I began to converse with a resident, I identified myself as a graduate student conducting research on Cabbagetown, and confirmed that the individual actually resided in the neighborhood to avoid people who might be visiting. The one exception was Henry. Although he moved away in the late 1970's, Henry descended from mill workers, grew up in Cabbagetown, and visits the neighborhood regularly.

I casually directed the conversation to insure that key issues were covered, while

avoiding the need to follow a formal questionnaire. I usually needed to say little more than "Have you noticed any changes in Cabbagetown since you moved here?" to begin the conversation and issues would be covered naturally. A copy of the key topics of conversation that I used during the inquires is included in Appendix 4. Most conversations averaged 15 minutes in length minus interruptions. At the end of our conversation, I thanked the residents sincerely and entertained questions regarding the nature of my research.

Summary

My research is important to the study of urban problems in that it captures the process of gentrification in middle stages and allows a glimpse of a neighborhood in transformation. I predict that gentrification will continue in Cabbagetown. It had already spread throughout nearby neighborhoods such as Grant Park and Inman Park, and the Fulton Cotton Mill Renovation project seemed to have only hastened the process. I will reveal the gentrification process through my historical research, field research on the 3 defined areas of Cabbagetown, and through the data and insights gained from conversations with Cabbagetown residents.

The neighborhood on the other side of the Mill from Cabbagetown, Old Fourth Ward, is already showing early signs of gentrification. Since I began my research on Cabbagetown, several trendy boutiques and upscale outdoor cafes with spectacular skyline views had opened. Noise of construction in the Old Fourth Ward area blended with that in the adjacent Fulton Bag and Cotton Mill complex, emitting the sounds of change.

Chapter IV
CASE STUDY: CABBAGETOWN

This chapter contains my case study of conditions favorable to gentrification in Cabbagetown. I describe the physical location of Cabbagetown beginning with the historical research on the neighborhood, and provide an overview of the types of homes in the neighborhood. I also examine relevant neighborhood organizations, which through the years have made it their mission to maintain a cohesive, historical yet affordable neighborhood for its residents. Following the neighborhood organization portion is a synopsis detailing the progress of the mill renovation project. Census data and home sales prices conclude the historical research section.

In the subsequent section I present my field research. I outline my observations of Cabbagetown as designated by the three areas described in the previous Research Design chapter--predominately gentrified, mixed gentrified, and initially gentrified. Cabbagetown house styles are discussed later in this chapter

I conclude the chapter with my personal inquires, again placing each conversation in the context of its assigned area.

The Process of Gentrification in Cabbagetown Today

History

In 1881, German immigrant Jacob Elsas, a young, pioneering entrepreneur acquired the site that became the Fulton Cotton Spinning Company in what was then suburban Atlanta (Coles, 1985, p. 1; Bynum, 1984, p. 5). He chose Atlanta because of cheap land prices and because of the rail presence which facilitated transportation of manufactured goods (Robinson, 1991).

Elsas derived his work force from Hall County in the mountains of northern Georgia. Enticed by the thought of earning constant annual pay, the transplanted workers were trained to run the mill. They were provided with decent housing, childcare, and health and dental care (Robinson, 1991).

Meanwhile, Atlanta entered into a phase of rapid growth. Five years later and less than a few miles away in Jacobs Pharmacy, in Virginia Highland, Dr. John S. Pemberton began carbonating and selling a dark syrup at the soda fountain. A few years later it would become the world's first soft drink, Coca-Cola. Two years later Atlanta's first streetcar line opened in Inman Park, a neighborhood adjacent to Cabbagetown. Renowned landscape architect Frederic Law Olmsted submitted a site plan for a scenic parkway, green spaces, and oversized lots for distinguished homes in Druid Hills, a neighborhood near Cabbagetown (Bureau of Planning, 1982, p. 5).

In 1889, Elsas' Spinning Company was renamed the Fulton Bag and Cotton Mills. His now quite successful company had over 500 employees, and the neighborhood expanded to accommodate the workforce (Robinson, 1991).

A fire in Cabbagetown in 1904 destroyed many of the original duplex style homes, but they were replaced the following year and more single family dwellings or worker's cottages were constructed (Bureau of Planning, 1982, p. 5).

During World War II and the Korean Wars, with a workforce of over 2,600 workers, the mill was used to manufacture cotton tarpaulins. From conversations with older Cabbagetown residents, I learned that so many of the Cabbagetown men who were sent away to war did not return (personal communication, October 22, 1997). After the Korean War, operations became increasingly limited. By 1974, most operations ceased and much of the mill's housing was sold to absentee landlords (Robinson, 1991).

In 1976, Cabbagetown was placed on the National Register of Historic Places, but this did little to change the downward spiraling trend of internal decay. The final operating components of the mill ceased in 1977, and Cabbagetown became overwrought with criminal activity (personal communication, October 23, 1997). Within a few years, only a small portion the original mill workers remained in Cabbagetown—mostly elderly individuals (Robinson, 1991).

Two plausible explanations suggest how the name "Cabbagetown" was coined. One explains that a truck loaded with cabbages overturned onto the main streets of the mill town. Mill workers volunteered to lift the truck back off its side in exchange for the cabbages (Schmich, 1990; Robinson, 1991). Another tells that since women worked in the mill, meals were prepared that would cook unattended. Cabbage was popular for this reason and the result: a pervasive cabbage odor surrounding the mill (Segal, 1993).

Cabbagetown is located one mile from the center of downtown and midtown

Atlanta. It lies within Fulton County, but borders Dekalb County on the south side. The adjoining neighborhoods are Reynoldstown and Inman Park. Reynoldstown, to the east, consists of predominately low-income, African-American inhabitants. Inman Park, to the north, consisting of predominately middle-income white inhabitants. Cabbagetown is on the north side of the MARTA Rail System and Dekalb Avenue, which runs parallel. On the east side, the historic Oakland Cemetery and Boulevard Avenue border Cabbagetown.

In 1976, Cabbagetown was placed on the National Register of Historic Places and, in 1978, it became one of six Atlanta Landmark Districts. As a result, all changes to the exteriors of neighborhood structures must comply with Urban Design Commission's historic guidelines and Atlanta City Codes (Appendix 5) (Robinson, 1991; personal communication, October 22, 1997). Before any decisions are made regarding a house, it is evaluated individually as to whether it should be torn down and a replica rebuilt, or whether the structure can be retained and renovated. This process is aided by input from Atlanta's Planning and Urban Design Commission (Robinson, 1991).

True to inner city form, Cabbagetown's houses are densely spaced worker's houses often painted with whimsical color schemes. In Atlanta neighborhoods, these structures are distinctive to Cabbagetown. There are three basic architectural styles identifiable in Cabbagetown houses: the *shotgun house*, the *worker's cottage,* and *mill houses*.

A *shotgun house* is a single story, narrow structure with one aligned row of rooms, as if a shotgun blast could pass through the entire length of the house. The Oliver Baptist Church on Berrean Street also reflects this simple style (Robinson, 1991) (Figure

4.7).

The *worker's cottage* is slightly larger and the floor plans are more varied than the shotgun houses. The worker's cottage often contains more woodwork embellishment representative of the Victorian period in the form of additional moldings around doors and windows and in railings and corners of the porches. Additional living space exists below the sloped roofs on the second story.

Mill houses are two-story duplexes. Simple in design, these homes on Carroll and Reinhardt Streets have upper and lower galley porches, which extend across the front of the long, horizontal structure. The mill houses in Cabbagetown are said to have been the first settlements in Cabbagetown and were pre-built, and brought into Cabbagetown by train from the Northeast (J. Brookshire, personal communication, October 22, 1997).

In addition to the houses, Cabbagetown consists of the derelict Fulton Cotton Mill industrial complex, which dominates the westernmost view from Cabbagetown. It contains eleven buildings, which cover 700,000 square feet, and is located on 12.5 acres (Parker, 1994) (Figure 4.1).

In the late 1980's, increasing rent costs and rising property taxes on owner-occupied properties began to force long-term Cabbagetown residents to move away. To remedy this problem, the Cabbagetown Revitalization and Future Trust, Incorporated, or CRAFT, was created in 1988. Comprised largely of neighborhood residents, CRAFT's purpose was to build and rehabilitate housing in the neighborhood and to allow the low-income residents to purchase affordable housing (Teepen, 1989). The group also set a secondary goal of bringing economic development to the area (Robinson, 1991). In

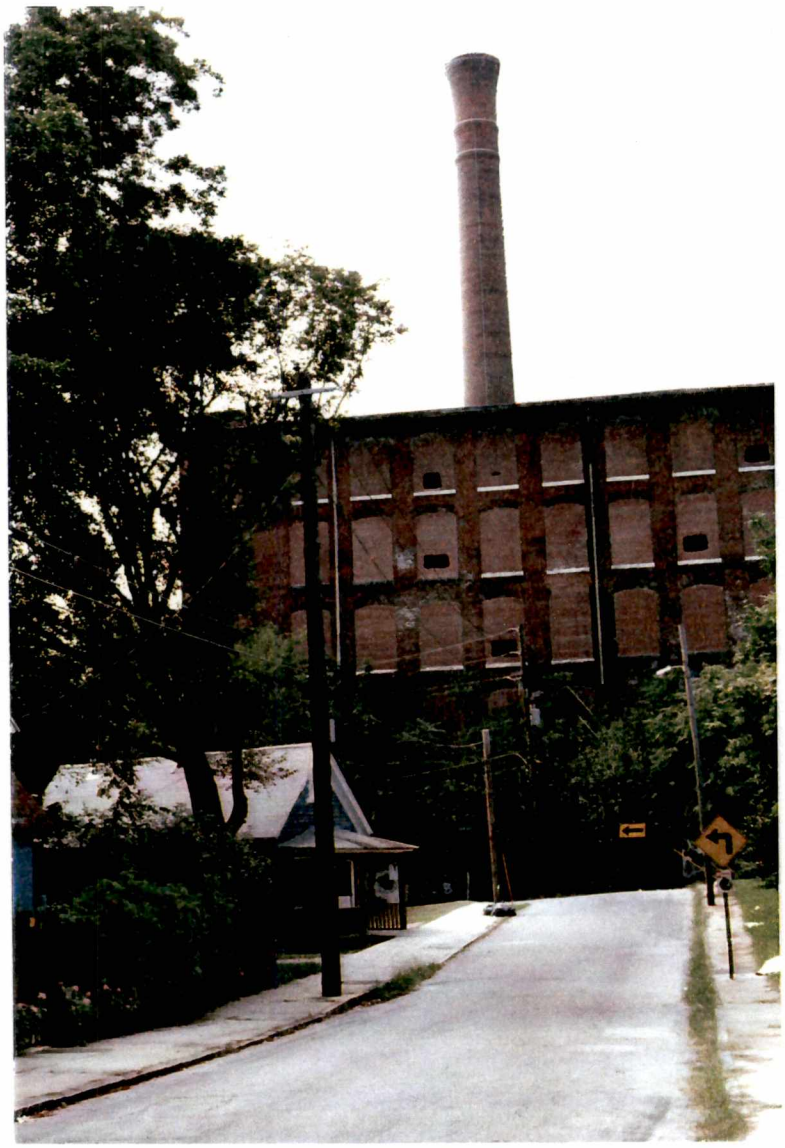


Figure 4.1. Fulton Bag and Cotton Mill before renovation, summer, 1995.

particular, CRAFT aspired to renovate the derelict mill into loft apartments and shops. This shows a level of gentrification tolerance by neighborhood members of CRAFT as a means of decreasing tolerance of crime and what CRAFT executive director Peggy Williams called, "rounding out demographics" (Schmich, 1990).

Providing affordable housing for Cabbagetown residents begins when the group purchases a vacant lot or house that is for sale or one that is neglected by too-often absentee owners. CRAFT then acquires the property with funds raised by various means of non-profit fundraising such as foundation grants. Then, after much work, often dependent on volunteer labor and help from local banks and the city, CRAFT sells the property at cost to low to middle-income homebuyers. Homebuyers must meet income guidelines, i.e. no more than $38, 750.00 for a family of four (Cauley, 1996).

Because the area is a land trust, Peggy Williams said that CRAFT uses the land as a down payment, "so [essentially] there is no down payment (Cauley, 1996,)." In addition, homes are usually appraised for more than their true worth to keep the payments affordable. Then CRAFT takes back a second mortgage for the difference (Hitchcock, 1991).

In addition to CRAFT, Habitat for Humanity built 20 homes in Cabbagetown in the early 1980's. In cases of vacant lots, the group buys land and then builds replica homes in compliance with all codes (Appendix 5) (Teepen, 1989, Thonnia, 1989). The corporate lenders, which have made many of these home acquisitions available, include Aetna Life Insurance, Fannie Mae, and Fulton Federal Savings and Loan (Thonnia, 1989). The Atlanta Mortgage Consortium allows rates that are usually .5% below market

rate (Cauley, 1991).

Recently, fewer homes have been available for purchase because of inflated home selling prices. Peggy Williams explained, "You just can't get $40-$50,000.00 homes anymore...you may find a $30,000.00 home but then you spend another $30,000.00 making it livable (P. Williams, personal communication, October 24, 1997).

The Mill Readaptive Committee is another Cabbagetown neighborhood organization that was formed out of the specific interest of developing the mill. This group, which in addition to Cabbagetown residents, was comprised of residents of other neighborhoods within sight of or proximity to the mill. The group maintained interest in the development of the mill in addition to serving as a watchdog group to insure that development plans would be in the best interest of Cabbagetown.

The Cabbagetown Neighborhood Improvement Association, the newest neighborhood organization was formed in 1996. The group meets once a month. Residents air complaints and discuss solutions to problems that affect the neighborhood. The group is involved in a variety of activities including neighborhood watch, grant writing to raising funds for community improvement projects, and planning events designed to raise awareness of Cabbagetown's rich heritage. The group publishes a newsletter seasonally.

The renovation of the empty Fulton Bag and Cotton Mill has been the subject of much speculation and rumor since the 1980's. In 1996, Winter Properties, an Atlanta real estate and development firm, purchased the old Fulton Cotton Mill from CSX Corporation, which owned the mill in addition to the rail, yard facility next to

Cabbagetown. CSX had allowed the building to deteriorate without any stabilization efforts (personal communication, October 23, 1997). Winter Properties received a $1 million loan from the Atlanta Empowerment Zone. Empowerment Zone approval was a prerequisite for another $9.2 million from the Department of Housing and Urban Development (Saunders, 1996). The $15.5 million renovation project, the largest urban redevelopment project in Atlanta history, included plans for 160,000 square feet of commercial space, 10,000 square feet of retail space, in addition to 332 luxury loft apartments, artist's studios, and a health club. In addition, the project secured a five year property tax reduction from the city of Atlanta, and Mayor Bill Campbell awarded Winter Properties an Enterprise Zone Tax Break of $667,350.00 to develop the mill complex (Fears, 1996).

Under the new name, Aderhold Properties, the firm promised to designate a portion of loft apartments for low-income housing, winning the support of many low-income Cabbagetown residents. But in an article from the Atlanta Journal Constitution, Journalist Greg Jaffe explains a controversy that arose from this seemingly goodwill gesture. Jaffe reports that some Cabbagetown residents expressed concern that the spaces might be taken by low-income, college-educated artists—a situation which occurred in a renovated telephone factory downtown (Jaffe, 1997). Apartments would be available as soon as spring of 1998. A two-bedroom apartment would rent for $1,400.00 a month (Saunders, 1997).

Census Tract Data

The years just before the Fulton Bag and Cotton Mill ceased operations, from

1970-1980, the population of Cabbagetown was 2,351. The next census tract, covering 1980-1990 reports the total population at 766. This dramatic decrease in population is partially explained by the closing of the mill. It can be speculated, however, that this was also a period when the area first became popular for middle class home buyers seeking a convenient location and low priced homes, encouraging the formation of CRAFT.

Educational attainment. In the 1970-80 Census, of those 25 years old and over, 61% had a grade school education or less, and 10.9% were high school graduates, including 4.8% who had completed one or more years of college. About 2% of the Cabbagetown population 25 years old and over had completed 4 years or more of college. Of persons 25 years old and over, 5.8% were high school graduates while 1.3% had completed 4 years or more of college.

The 1980-1990 Census reports of that same group, 25 years and over, consisting of 547 persons, 157 had a less than high school education. High school graduates numbered 88, including 38 who had completed 4 years of college and attained a Bachelor's Degree.

Females in labor force. In the 1970-80 Census, of those females 16 years and over, 25.2% of working-age females were in the labor force.

The 1980-1990 Census reports of working-age females, 31% were in the labor force, an increase of 5.8% over the ten-year period.

Income. The median income in 1979 of households in Cabbagetown was $6,831. Households with incomes less than $7,500 were 52.7% of all households in the neighborhood, while households with incomes of $25, 000 or more constituted 4.2% of

the households. The remaining 43.2% of the households had incomes between $7, 500 and $25, 000. There were a total of 483 persons below the poverty level in 1979 in Cabbagetown, or 39.5% of all persons for whom poverty status was determined.

The median income in 1989 of households in Cabbagetown was $14,348. Fifty-nine households reported incomes less than $14,999, while 157 households reported incomes exceeding $15,000. There were a total of 265 persons below the poverty level in 1989 in Cabbagetown, or 32.9% of all persons for whom poverty status was determined. This represents a 6.6% decrease in the overall neighborhood population living below the poverty level.

Owner occupied vs. rental. Owners occupied the 1970-1980 Census shows that of the 425 year-round occupied housing units in Cabbagetown, 29.4% owner occupied and renters occupied 70.6% renter occupied. There were 72 vacant housing units in this neighborhood with a rental vacancy rate of 8.0% and a homeowner vacancy rate of 5.3%.

The 1980-1990 Census reports a total of 297 housing units with 134 specified owner-occupied housing units and 163 as specified renter-occupied units.

Homes in Cabbagetown sell for what many residents consider "surprising" amounts. In most cases, when I spoke with a homeowner, I asked how much they paid for their homes and how much they estimate their homes are worth now. Below I have listed several addresses, the area, the size and recent selling prices for homes in Cabbagetown.

Address	Size	Sale Price
The IG area		
670 Kirkwood	2 bed/2 bath	$110,000.00
133 Estoria	2 bed/1 bath	66,000.00
211 Estoria	2 bed/1 bath	58,800.00
724 Mollie	2 bed/1 bath	66,000.00
The MG area		
667 Gaskill	Duplex	60,000.00
219 Powell	3 bed/1 bath	73,000.00
143 Berean	2 bed/2 bath	67,500.00
The PG area		
200-B Reinhardt	2 bed/1 bath	130,000.00

Source: Cabbagetown Neighbor, fall 1997, Page 5.

Field Research

Initially Gentrified

From the north side, you enter Cabbagetown through the Krog Street Tunnel. This dimly lit tunnel was built in 1912 and runs under the CSX rail yard. The tunnel is about a block long. Sunlight from either end illuminates the support pillars inside and walled sidewalks run along the shadowy interior. Pedestrians and motorists emerge from the tunnel directly onto Wylie Street. The area classified as Initially Gentrified (IG) includes

all homes and structures immediately facing Wylie Street, including that which extends into Reynoldstown to the east and curves sharply south to become Tennelle Street to the west. Streets in the IG area that run south include Pearl, Estoria, and Short Streets, and those bisecting streets: Wylie, Kirkwood, Mollie, and Gaskill. This is the only area in Cabbagetown in which a racial mix of residents may be casually observed.

On the southeast corner of Estoria and Wylie is a two unit commercial structure. One unit was undergoing renovation and the other unit appeared vacant. Initial impressions of Cabbagetown through this area are that it is a low-income area. Excepting the work on the commercial unit, there were few immediately noticeable signs of gentrification in this area of Cabbagetown.

The IG area is bordered to the north by the CSX rail yard wall. The wall is decorated with tiles made by the late Cabbagetown artist Esther Lefever (Figure 4.2). The Esther Lefever Park[1] is on the corner of Wylie and Tennelle. It consists of a small lot enclosed by a chain link fence and has new playground equipment, most of which was installed and donated by the Cabbagetown Neighborhood Improvement Association. The park is also a handy place for residents nearby to walk their dogs. Graffiti was sprayed on the wall across the street from the park.

There are several churches in the IG area including Emanuel Holy Temple and the River of Life Full Gospel Church, Inc., the latter of which seems to occupy a former house. Both face Wylie Street. Both structures are old but in fair condition. There are a few completely renovated homes in the IG area, but most looked to have been maintained

[1] The park is named for "transplanted" Cabbagetown artist Esther Lefever who died of breast



Figure 4.2. CSX Corporation rail yard wall decorated with tiles made by the late Cabbagetown artist Esther Lefever. Tiles depict scenes from Appalachian life.

continuously. These constantly maintained but non-gentrified homes are in fair to good repair and painted, but plain and undecorated. These homes usually had chain link fences around them and in many cases the fences were covered with morning glory vines. I noted that older residents occupied two such homes.

About one-third of the homes in the IG area appeared to be low-income rental property, evidenced by letters "A" and "B" beside the doors of homes that had been divided. Several other homes had been allowed to deteriorate and showed no sign of maintenance, let alone renovation. The porches and yards surrounding such homes were filled with old indoor couches, car motors, and the fiberglass shells of old speedboats. Bottles sat on porch railings and several homes looked to have been deprived of paint for so long that the wood had begun to show through. Layers of splashed mud stained the houses yellow-orange near the foundation. There were several vacant lots that had grown up with weeds and littered with debris.

Some cars were parked along the sides of the street in the IG area, but they were not crowded there. Most of the homes had a short driveway and, in front of the homes in poorer condition, I noticed cars parked on the grass and sidewalk at times. I observed that several cars were parked on the street both day and night, and I observed only a few individuals leaving their homes in the early morning for work. I also noted several elderly individuals carrying garbage out and letting pets into the yard throughout the day.

Where Wylie Street turns and becomes Tennelle Street in this area, there are several shotgun houses in poor condition. There are no neighborhood marker signs on

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cancer in 1992. She was an artist and advocate of low-income housing and served on city council.

any of the homes, no "For Rent" signs, and only one "For Sale" sign.

The initial gentrification area has more vacant lots than the other two, and includes three or more derelict shells of homes that appear to be abandoned or burned out (Figure 4.3). Short Street has nearly as many vacant lots as homes. All vacant lots are grown up with weeds and kudzu vines. The area also includes an abandoned community center. The grounds sparkled with broken liquor bottles. The walls were sprayed with graffiti. There are other industrial looking warehouse spaces that also appeared to be empty and unused and were covered in the ubiquitous kudzu vine.

The south end of the area was also notorious for prostitution and the sale of drugs. I witnessed what appeared to be prostitution being solicited on two separate occasions during the workday. Some of the residents I spoke with referred to the area as the one most likely to encounter crime and drug trafficking.

I noted that many of the homes in the south end of the IG area had bars on the windows and the residents had dogs. The presence of dogs is not so remarkable. But the *types* of dogs and their behavior are worth mentioning. As I walked down the sidewalk, Doberman and Pit Bull dogs barked threateningly behind chain linked fences or from front porches. At least one-fifth of the homes in the area had hand painted and store-bought warning signs in front: "Bad Dog," "Beware of Dog," and "No Drugs!"

Yet, amid these visual symbols of low-income life in the inner city, the area did contain several renovated homes that rival the "nearly new" homes on Carroll Street in the PG area. One such home included a small antique and garden décor shop in front on the ground floor. The other homes in similar condition were on the same block (Figure



Figure 4.3. Abandoned shotgun house in the IG area.

4.4). They included fresh and artistic landscaping including new trees and shrubs, expensive wooden privacy fences, and decks and new driveways. I counted three "For Sale" signs in the area and one "Sold" sign on an abandoned, boarded-up house.

There were at least two apartment complexes built in the 1950's or 60's which had been badly neglected (Figure 4.5) in the IG area. I never saw anyone coming or going from any of these apartment complexes.



Figure 4.4. Renovated homes in the IG area.



Figure 4.5. Badly neglected apartment complex in the IG area.

Mixed Gentrified

The Mixed Gentrified (MG) area is the center or core of Cabbagetown. Streets in this area include Tye Street, Powell Street, Berrean Avenue, which run north/south, and portions of Kirkwood and Gaskill, which run east/west. Brightly painted houses and carefully planned landscaping were common. The condition of homes ranged from excellent to ones whose condition was waning, such as those described as predominating in the IG area (Figure 4.6). This was especially true on the south end of the area near Memorial Drive. The sounds of saws and hammers driving nails could be heard sporadically as renovation activity was ongoing.

Shotgun and worker's cottages predominated in the MG area with about one-third being replica homes. In addition, there were a few two story mill houses with galley porches running along the front and back. I counted over eight homes for sale. There was at least one church, Oliver Baptist Church on Berrean Avenue, which appeared to be built on the shotgun house plan (Figure 4.7)

Almost one-half of the homes had the Cabbagetown neighborhood markers on the front of the structure (Figure 4.6, top, right of door). An artist who lived in Cabbagetown made the markers. They seemed to be present on homes that were purchased 10 to 15 years ago during the first wave of gentrification. More recently purchased and renovated homes did not have markers.

Many of the homes in the MG area had been recently or fairly recently painted and some had new gutters and roofs. Only a few of the homes were in disrepair or had litter in front. Most porches were decorated with hanging plants and flowers and wicker



Figure 4.6. Mixed renovation conditions in the MG area.



Figure 4.7. Oliver Baptist Church in the MG area with mill in background.

or other outdoor furniture. Brass doorknockers and lanterns embellished stained glass doors. At least two homeowners seemed to have acquired additional lots next to the house, which had been incorporated with gardens, loggias, koy ponds, and fountains. Painted picket fences surrounded many of the tiny lots and treated fences enclose private areas behind the homes. Others had added decks to the sides and backs of the homes. Almost every house I passed had a dog (although less confrontational than those described above in the IG area) and most homes on the south side of the area, closer to Memorial, had bars on lower story windows.

In addition to the obviously renovated homes, there were seven or eight homes, especially at the south end of Berrean, Powell, and Tye, which were sufficiently maintained, but plain in appearance. Some of the homes also had brick patterned shingling on their sides. As in the Initial Gentrification area, I noted elderly and invalid individuals on the porches of several of these types of homes.

Street parking in this area was the most crowded in all of Cabbagetown. These streets are one-way but cars were parked in both directions on both sides of the street. In some places throughout the IG area, I noticed that residents came and went periodically throughout the workday. Cars ranged from new model Hondas, Toyota Four-Runners, and Fords Escorts to classic "fin-tailed" cars from the 1960's with liberal political bumper stickers and college parking decals in the windshield. A few of the houses had "pull in" driveways, many of which remained empty during the workday.

There were a few brick apartment complexes in the MG area. Most of these complexes appeared to have been built in the 1950's and 1960's and appeared rundown

or derelict. They stood out next to the bright colorful homes nearby.

Predominately Gentrified

The Predominately Gentrified (PG) area, which is closest to the mill, includes what was "downtown Cabbagetown." It includes Carroll Street, Reinhardt Street, and Savannah Street and Pickett Street. Most of the homes on Carroll and Reinhardt Streets are of the mill house style and were manufactured in the Northeast (which might explain their "salt-box" style) and brought down as "kits" on the rail for Elsas' workforce (J. Brookshire, personal communication, October 22, 1997). The homes and stores in this area were the first settlements in Cabbagetown. Homes on Savannah and Pickett Streets were more like those on Berrean Street in the Mixed Gentrified Area: shotguns and worker's cottages (Figure 4.8).

The homes on the south end of Carroll nearest Boulevard and homes on Reinhardt all had front porches and back decks. The parking area behind the homes was pea-graveled and the decks had potted trees and expensive metal lawn furniture with umbrellas over tables. Awnings covered some of the decks. The small spaces between the houses had been converted into courtyard gardens with fountains and elaborate landscaping.

The two homes nearest the mill, on north Carroll Street, were divided into apartments. Several college students occupied these apartments, evidenced by college parking stickers on windshields on cars in front and behind the structures and expensive mountain bikes and sports equipment on the porches. The building had an additional set of stairs for rear entry and a multiple mailbox center between the houses (Figure 4.9).



Figure 4.8. Shotguns and worker's cottages in the PG area.



Figure 4.9. Mill house apartments in the PG area.

The Salvation Army Center located next to the Boy's and Girl's Club Center and attached playground are on the Carroll Street block. Several stores and businesses follow to the south, including The KidsWay Foundation, Inc.[2], Little's Grill and Store, which had been operated by the same family since 1921, Fat Boy's Produce and Fruit Basket, several artists studio spaces, and vacant store space as well (Figure 4.10).

The homes on Reinhardt Street appeared to be in final stages of renovation. Most of them were for sale. They appeared to be divided into upper and lower duplex condos. Reinhardt borders the mill and all of the Reinhardt houses shared a common parking area in back with the homes that face Carroll Street. I refer to these Carroll Street homes as "nearly new" due to their high level of renovation (Figure 4.11). The PG area seemed deserted during the workday hours. For this reason, I had difficulty finding anyone at home to interview—especially around the "nearly new" homes on Carroll and Reinhardt Street.

Carroll Street is a busily traveled area of Cabbagetown. Cars often driven at high speeds veer off Boulevard onto Carroll, which winds into Tennelle and Wylie, providing a short cut to other inner city neighborhoods such as Little Five Points and Virginia Highlands through the Krog street tunnel. I spoke with several residents who expressed frustration at this potential hazard to pedestrians, but June from the IG area explained that the area was a "fire zone," which prevented the use of speed bumps—a likely solution.

[2] The KidsWay Foundation, Inc. is a non-profit creative center , which encourages entrepreneurial development of youth.



Figure 4.10. Stores with artist studio spaces and converted grayfield apartments at right in the PG area.



Figure 4.11. "Nearly new" mill houses in the PG area.

Conversations with Residents

Initially Gentrified

The first person I spoke with in the IG area was a 29 year-old white man named "Alan."[3] Alan had lived in Cabbagetown for about 4 years. He first moved into a converted store space, a grayfield site (Figure 4.10). He moved to Cabbagetown because he knew several friends in the neighborhood and there were apartments available. In addition, it was "the cheapest rent in town." Prior to that, he had lived in Little Five Points and before that, in East Atlanta off Moreland Avenue within a few miles of Cabbagetown. Alan grew up outside Atlanta but had lived in inner city neighborhoods all of his adult life. He had attended only one neighborhood meeting because he was always working.

Although he and his boyfriend were seriously looking to purchase a home in the neighborhood, he was afraid they had waited too long. With such high home prices, he did not think they could afford to buy anything.

Alan thought crime had gotten worse in the past few years. He considered where he lived "the edge of Cabbagetown." He did not feel safe walking around outside at night. He said it was safer five to eight years ago.

He was elated about the mill renovation project. "It is such an amazing structure, it would have been such a waste for them to have torn it down or just let it fall." He heard there would be a "sliding scale" for rent, therefore low-income

[3] To protect resident's privacy, I assigned pseudonyms with the exception of Joyce Brookshire in the PG area.

Individuals could afford to live there as well. He believed that Cabbagetown was in danger of "becoming like Disneyland." He continued, "Cabbagetown has *such* a look. If they do it right, it won't happen [become an urban amusement park]; if they attract a diverse crowd." Alan thought things would slowly develop and gentrify toward Grant Park. Then crime would decrease because people [inmovers] would "raise hell."

He said, "a few [Cabbagetown residents] don't want change, but those better educated realize they can sell their little homes for a good bit of money and then move and buy out in the suburbs and be able to live a much easier life. It will be scary for those people to leave, because they *never* leave, but it will be better for them in the long run. They will have better lives [in the suburbs]."

Then I brought up the subject of the neighborhood's publicized popularity. Alan said that he did not expect the cost of living to rise that dramatically. He said that because the homes are small and the yards are small, the neighborhood would never become like Virginia Highland [almost totally gentrified]. "It will remain an 'artsy' place."

Parking was not a problem for Alan, but he had noticed more crowded parking in some parts of Cabbagetown—especially on Savannah Street. He drove to work (in Virginia Highland), a trip totaling about 15 minutes. He paid $350.00 a month for rent. He had some college education and lives in a renovated building.

The thing Alan liked most about Cabbagetown was the pure aesthetics of the setting: the dichotomy of urban architecture. He explained, "Looking over the warped shanties to the modern skyline...it's just such a wonderful contrast."

The second resident I spoke with from the IG area was a 63 year-old white woman named "Sandy." Sandy had lived in Cabbagetown all of her life and operated a small store a few blocks from Memorial Drive. Like most long-term residents, she said that things went downhill for Cabbagetown after the mill closed in 1977. Although she moved away for a few years, she moved back because she missed the close-knit fabric of life in Cabbagetown and the way that neighbors "look after" one another.

She said that in the last few years the biggest change she had noticed had been the new people moving in. She said they did not bother her but that some of the older people were disturbed by their presence. Sandy had noticed some of the streets have become crowded with parked cars, but she had a driveway.

Sandy felt that crime was not a problem in Cabbagetown. She said that a few years ago there were some break-ins, but "they caught them and you don't hear of much since they were caught."

The home Sandy grew up in had become a vacant lot but fond vivid memories of growing up in Cabbagetown occupied a solid presence. She responded nostalgically, "neither of my parents worked in the mill but my aunt and several cousins worked there for a long time."

Sandy felt encouragement about the future of Cabbagetown and showed no resentment toward the development. Indeed, she was "amazed that they finally started it after talking about it for so long!" She had heard about the new retail complex and relished the prospect of a new restaurant in the area. She called the project "improvement" and did not expect things to get more expensive in the wake of the mill

renovation except for home sale prices.

Sandy owned her own home which she proudly admitted was 100 years old. She renovated it herself describing it as "a new house in an old foundation." She bought the home for $20,000.00 and invested another $25,000.00 on renovation. She was surprised and pleased that some homes in the neighborhood are bringing as much as $150,000.00.

Sandy felt safe and happy living alone and enjoyed living near friends and her store. "What do I like best about living in Cabbagetown? The people—it's like a small town."

There were a few recently renovated homes on and around Estoria Street near Gaskill Street. They were somewhat scattered. There were several other homes that look to have been renovated ten years ago or more. One of the "recently renovated" homes had been expanded into a storefront next door and had an extensive back yard lot with planned landscaping and the new modern and safe playground equipment. I found out later while conversing with "June" that the home belonged to an architect and his wife who did all the work themselves over the course of a year or two (background of Figure 4.12).

The next conversation I conducted in the IG area was with a white couple I had met walking with their young child late in the afternoon. The woman was carrying a bottle of champagne tied with a ribbon. "Jeff" and "Theresa" had lived in Cabbagetown for five years. Initially, they rented a home over on Berrean Avenue but had since bought a home in what they consider Reynoldstown, only a block over from Pearl Street (Appendix 3).



Figure 4.12. Site of collapsed, abandoned house in the IG area.

The biggest change they had noticed over the past four years had been "yuppies moving in and home prices skyrocketing." They both accredited the mill project with at least some of Cabbagetown's gentrification, but admitted that they thought renovating the mill would have a positive effect on the neighborhood.

They owned their home. It was 80 years old and they paid $25,000.00 for it. They did all the renovation work on the home themselves and it was last appraised for $56,000.00. They did say that although they were pleased with the value increase, they did not expect it to increase that much more in the near future. "Closer to the mill, homes are selling for a lot more, but we are kind of on the edge here. It takes a whole neighborhood to change." Theresa and Jeff, both 30, finished college in Florida and Tennessee respectively. They had a daughter, age four.

They had witnessed crime first-hand since they moved into the area. They pointed out several vacant lots that they said were formerly abandoned homes used as "crack [cocaine] houses." Gunshots were a common sound in the area. Jeff half-seriously explained that, "on the Fourth of July, we heard more gunshots than fireworks!" Still they considered crime to be, "part of city life," and added that they thought things had improved since some of the abandoned houses had been demolished.

Street parking was a problem when they rented on Berrean Street, but in their area parking was plentiful. They owned a car and Jeff drove to work, which took about ten minutes. They liked living in the area because they were fond of their neighbors. They recently helped a friend acquire her home nearby—and they were on their way to congratulate the new Cabbagetown resident when I spoke to them.

Friday morning, I met "Erica" whom I spoke to while she was walking back from the store with a bag of groceries. Erica was a young, slightly bashful, African-American woman who lived on Estoria Street in a small shotgun house. The house was in need of repairs and paint, but tidy in appearance.

Erica, 20, had lived in Cabbagetown for about a year and a half and shared the rented house with her mother. Before that they lived in a nearby neighborhood a little further out Moreland Avenue. Erica finished high school, and she giggled a "no" when I asked if she was married; she did not have children. She walked to work nearby.

Erica said she felt safe living in Cabbagetown and had not witnessed any criminal activity in the neighborhood. She walked wherever she went, and felt, "pretty much safe." Neither she nor her mother were members of the neighborhood organization. She said she had not noticed any changes in the neighborhood since she and her mother moved in. Erica did not know much about the mill, but said it, "sounds nice to me!" When asked what she liked about the neighborhood, she said, "it's quiet."

The last conversation I conducted in the area was with a white woman named "June" who was sitting on her front porch petting her cat when I walked by. June had lived in the neighborhood for six years. The biggest change she had seen in the last few years was that, "people stopped knocking on the door asking for money. But things still get stolen—mainly small things. You learn to lock things up or they disappear," she said sternly. She was out of the country for a year and the day before she returned her air conditioner was stolen. She said, "people watch you come and go." Despite this, she did not fear for her personal safety. But she admitted, "before I lived in Cabbagetown I was

terrified of the neighborhood." As we were talking a tall skinny man walked down the middle of Estoria Street, backward. "Like that," she said. "I don't know. Maybe you get acclimated."

She grew up in the suburbs of Louisville, Kentucky. She lived downtown while she attended college there. After she moved to Atlanta, she lived in Grant Park, Little Five Points, and Midtown before moving to Cabbagetown. She knew no one before she bought the house and moved into Cabbagetown. She was 24 then. She explained, "I moved because it was cheap and I was poor."

June was an active member of the Cabbagetown Neighborhood Improvement Association. She felt ambivalent about the mill project. Living on Estoria Street, she said she was somewhat isolated, so she did not think it would have much affect on her. But June expected that there would be more traffic in the neighborhood. She had heard some bad things about the mill—plans to surround it with a wall for example. "Some are calling it 'the Citadel!'" She wryly continued, "and won't that be bad for business?" June felt, however, that anything is better than "CSX letting the building fall down."

June glanced over my shoulder to a vacant lot with two chimneys and reverted back to the changes she had witnessed. "It is nice to see house after house—abandoned dumps—being bought up and renovated." She had watched the house next door sag and deteriorate and finally decided one night to go to the city and complain the next morning. "In the early morning hours I heard it fall," she said laughing (Figure 4.12).

An architect and his wife owned the house next to the lot where the house fell. His wife drove by while I was talking to June in a car with three children—all in child

safety restraint seats. She asked June about the "big day" and then drove on.

June then explained to me that in a week she was getting married. Her fiancée was finishing his Ph.D. She said they planed to stay in Cabbagetown after they marry, and she admitted that she makes enough to support them both. As for children, she anticipated at least one, but had not thought beyond that. "I know of some cooperative preschools intown and we feel like the house is big enough for a small family for now."

She sold her car before she went to Germany so parking had not been a problem. Before, she parked in her driveway. She added, "certain streets have always had more [parked] cars than others." June took the bus to work at the Environmental Protection Agency's (EPA) office downtown. She said the EPA issues her a MARTA card so she rode free of charge.

She told me that it was her understanding that many people who have found Cabbagetown unaffordable; the outmovers tend to resettle in "Taco-town"—a Hispanic neighborhood between Interstate 20 and Memorial which is still within walking distance of Cabbagetown. June said it was a more "dangerous" area. "That is where the crime moved." She laughed and said, "I'm the only non-Hispanic on the bus some days!"

June owned her home, an original worker's cottage, which was converted into a duplex at some earlier point. She paid $56,000.00 for the home. She was displeased with some of the work the renovator did—dampness had caused the kitchen cabinets to shift and expand—but she admitted, "one street over, a house the same size renovated by the same guy just sold for $110,000.00 and it has less back yard than mine." June was also proud of the large shady oak tree in her yard. Besides the great location, June said she

liked Cabbagetown because it was a "crazy area and a good mix of residents."

Mixed Gentrified

The first person I spoke to in the Mixed Gentrified (MG) area was a 27-year-old white man I will call "David." He was watching his large dog play in the Esther Lafever Park. David had lived in Cabbagetown for "a couple of years." Prior to that he lived in Midtown. He heard about Cabbagetown from friends who lived in the area and was attracted to the area because of the cheap rent; in addition, he said he wanted to live closer to his friends. His girlfriend was worried about crime in the area but overcame her fears after being reassured by friends that the dog would nearly guarantee their safety. He was not a member of any neighborhood organization. David found parking no more a problem than when he lived in Midtown (which is notorious for its parking problems). David and his girlfriend lived in an old worker's cottage—the whole house, a one bedroom, rented for $525. He said this was a "good deal" considering the rental market. David had a college degree. He was an artist and worked some nights in a Little Five Points restaurant. He estimated their combined household income between $25 and $35 thousand dollars.

When I brought up the issue of the mill project, David became visibly angry. He expressed opposition to the project and said that the mill would drive up rent and "allow gentrification to take over the neighborhood, just like in Virginia-Highland." He did mention, however, that he had heard mill developers would allocate space for low-income individuals.

David felt "pretty safe" living in Cabbagetown, "at least as much as when I lived

in Midtown." He said he heard of incidences of crime but had never witnessed anything personally. He said the areas of Gaskill Street (on the south end of the Mixed Gentrification area and the Initial Gentrification area) near Memorial Drive were the most dangerous and least gentrified areas of the Cabbagetown.

He seemed to have an overall pessimistic view of the future of Cabbagetown and seemed certain that it is only a matter of time until he and his girlfriend had to find more affordable housing elsewhere.

The second person I spoke with was an elderly white man smoking a cigarette on the front porch of a house on Tye Street. The house was in fair condition but in need of essential repairs such as roof work.

"Henry," 64, had grown up in Cabbagetown but moved away when the mill closed. He had worked in the mill for only six years, but his mother and father both worked in the mill for 39 and 40 years respectively. Now Henry came back a few times a year to visit his sister—the owner of the house.

Henry said things in Cabbagetown had changed tremendously-- "houses torn down, fixed up...." But mostly he notices that people he grew up with, "don't live here anymore." Like Henry, they had to move away to find work elsewhere. He said nostalgically, "when I was a boy this was the best place in the world to live—everybody knew everybody and everybody took care of everybody else." Henry said the rest of Atlanta looked down their noses at Cabbagetown folks—because they worked in the cotton mill, so Cabbagetown folks kept to themselves and took care of each other. If somebody insulted a Cabbagetown neighbor, "they had better be ready to fight!"

Henry said he had observed that a lot of the new people keep to themselves and he suggested that some are not as neighborly as people were in "the old days." He said his sister knew most of the people who live close to her but not newcomers living down the street. He felt that a sense of familiarity that the community cherished and prided itself upon was lost. Interestingly, this same sentiment was the aspect some newer residents found appealing about the neighborhood.

Henry said that except when the mill closed, the biggest thing that happened to Cabbagetown was WWII. Many boys went off to war and didn't come back. Henry said you could walk down Berrean Avenue or Savannah Street and see a star in every window, sometimes several.

When I brought up the subject of the mill renovation project, Henry gave his approval of it but then began talking about CSX—the company that first bought the mill and rail yard directly adjacent—promising to renovate the mill and put it to good use. He said nobody could sleep at night for a while for all the construction noise as they worked on their rail yard. Meanwhile, "they went bad on their promise and just let the mill fall apart."

Henry said he had always felt safe living in Cabbagetown as did his sister. He felt like crime was not really a big problem for the neighborhood—and mostly in the form of graffiti.

According to Henry, things started to change for Cabbagetown when they designated the area a Historic Landmark District about 15 or 20 years ago. That brought on the first wave of "new people" who moved in and bought up the houses. He added that

the Salvation Army and the Boy's and Girl's Clubs helped out a lot for people who were struggling.

His sister owned her house, which was an original, close to one hundred years old. The home in which Henry grew up was torn down long ago and a similar house built in its place. He said this was part of the historic requirements. He pointed out several trees around the house that were planted by employees of the mill. They now tower over his sister's house and shade the porches. Henry said when he came back for visits, he had noticed there were a lot more cars parked along the streets—something you did not see as much before unless "somebody had company."

Henry had lived in small towns since he left Atlanta to work in California in the mid 1970's. He was retired and lived in a small town in the Midwest, which reminded him of how Cabbagetown was when he was growing up. Before I went he reiterated, "you know, I love this place."

On Saturday morning, I saw "Jane" working in the yard in front of her house located on Berrean Street. The steep yard was carefully landscaped with plants that attract butterflies and indeed there were several amid the flowers despite the cold temperature. Jane was white, 40 years old, and had lived there for twelve years. She owned her home but was not sure how old it was. She knew people in the neighborhood before she moved. She bought her 1 bedroom, 1 bath home for $15,000.00. Recently, she had her house on the market for $50,000.00; she hoped she could get "even more for it now."

The biggest change she had seen in Cabbagetown has been a lot of new people

moving in and "more straight people." She added that there used to be more gay and lesbian people in the neighborhood. Also, Jane said that prices had gone up. She explained that just before I approached her, a woman drove by and inquired about homes for sale on the street. "It happens frequently," she said.

Crime had not been a problem for Jane with the exception of an occasional fern being stolen off of her porch. Like many residents, she felt her dog was a strong crime deterrent.

Jane was not a member of any neighborhood organization—her schedule did not allow it. She did go to the Cabbagetown Neighborhood meetings years ago, but she felt that right now the best she could do was be a good neighbor. Jane explained that the woman who lived across the street made the neighborhood signs and that she, "likes to support her neighbors."

Jane thought the mill renovation project was "good." She said she had seen it coming since she moved in. She had an architect draw up plans for her house and he was also drawing up plans for one of the mill renovation proposals.

"Parking can be a problem," she admitted. She had a driveway, but had noticed a lot more cars on the street in recent years and said that some residents had two.

Jane worked for the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, (CDC), and although there was a MARTA station near her job, she drove to work. It took her about 15 minutes.

Jane described herself as "committed," and although she and her partner did not have children, she said having them "might make us seek out a larger house." She had

always lived in Atlanta, in the inner city. She grew up in Druid Hills.

Jane said what she liked best about her neighborhood was her neighbors. "I wouldn't trade anything for my neighbor Bill across the street. He watches out for me." She added, "Cabbagetown is a great place to watch the world go by and you don't get that feeling elsewhere. The area is convenient and still inexpensive so that you can do a lot of other things."

"Katie" and "Ruth," both white and 26, were roommates and acquaintances of mine. Katie was a caterer who has a college degree and Ruth was finishing college and worked as a server in a popular restaurant in nearby Candler Park. When I spoke to them they were rolling silverware into napkins and baking for a party Katie was catering that evening.

They moved into their rental house in December of 1996. Their rent was $700.00 for the three bedroom, one bath house, which was not renovated but in fair to good condition. Their landlady, a flight attendant, who was not at home when I was gathering my information, had renovated and resold several houses in the neighborhood.

Before they moved they knew "about a half-dozen people in the neighborhood" and were enticed by the "really cheap rent." The central location and "kooky" atmosphere also attracted them, and their observation that people just, "do their own thing." Ruth said she did not want to live somewhere else, such as Virginia Highland, because, "it is too expensive, full of yuppies, and because traffic is bad over there."

Both women said they felt "fairly safe," living here. Ruth felt more so than Katie. Ruth's boyfriend was always a little wary when he came over at night but Ruth said that

she felt safe "walking around or whatever." Both girls admitted they had heard that you were more likely to be broken into or have your car stolen in Cabbagetown, but crimes to "your person" were less likely. When they first moved into their apartment, they were robbed. Neither of the women was at home at the time, but everything of value was stolen. A friend told them it was called the "Cabbagetown initiation."

Before Katie lived in Cabbagetown she lived in Grant Park and before that in the French Quarter in New Orleans. She grew up in Gwynette County in the suburbs north of Atlanta. Ruth moved to Atlanta from New York City. She lived in Soho. Ruth said that eventually she would want to live out in the suburbs, but for now the inner city "is convenient, cheap, and fun."

Neither of the women knew much about the mill project, but Ruth expressed her concern that it might make the area like Grant Park: "older yuppies moving in and all of the young people forced out." But they said they heard it was bringing a nice supermarket to the area between Grant Park and Cabbagetown. They both thought it would make crime worse for Cabbagetown and said they thought it would definitely make the area more expensive.

Both women agreed that parking had gotten worse since several homes on the block were bought and renovated. However, they had a driveway and parked in their back yard.

Predominately Gentrified

The first resident of the Predominately Gentrified (PG) area that I spoke with was a white woman "Regina," aged 32, who grew up in Cabbagetown. Her mother was a

homemaker and her father was a construction worker. Her aunt and several other relatives worked in the mill for over 30 years. She was proud of being a mill descendent and of her Appalachian ancestry. Regina lived in a three bedroom, one bath replica home built by Habitat for Humanity. She and her husband owned their home and she thought it was worth as much as others that sold for $50 to $75,000.00. Regina thought that Habitat homes were built better than CRAFT homes. Their house was located at the south end of Savannah Street, only a few blocks from Boulevard Drive, but still in the PG area.

When I asked her to tell me about the changes Cabbagetown had undergone, she began by telling about the closing of the mill. She said that event always sticks out in her mind even though she was only a child. When she was 21, things began to get "rough" in the area and her family moved away to the suburbs where her parents still lived. But not long afterward she got married and returned to Cabbagetown with her husband. She had a son who was nine.

She spoke of changes involving the "new people who stick to themselves and do not mix with the long-time residents." She told me of a planned potluck neighborhood gathering to "get folks together." Regina said Berrean and Savannah Streets had more newcomers than any other parts of the neighborhood: the "new people" and "those home prices" intimidate the long-time residents. "New people do not know about the *real* Cabbagetown," she said.

Regina believed bad schools were the reason people moved away from Cabbagetown. She added that bad schools might keep some people from living here even now. She drove her son 45 minutes each way to school so that he could get a better

education. She said the city schoolteachers spend half of the class time trying to discipline "trouble children."

When I asked her about crime, Regina explained that drugs were a problem in the neighborhood until about two years ago. "That was where the crime was coming from," she says. Since then, things were back to normal except for teenagers "acting up" occasionally. She said there might also be "feuds" between neighbors, but things were usually peaceful.

Her husband was an electrician and she was a homemaker. Her husband drove to work and they shared a driveway with the house next door, an old house that had been brightly painted and renovated. Regina lightheartedly explained that some of her neighbors got angry when someone parked in front of their house on the street, claiming those spots as their own private parking spaces.

Regina explained that Pearl Street is the Cabbagetown boundary. "From there over it's mostly blacks and they consider that Reynoldstown." She referred to the boundaries using the pronouns "us" and "them."

When I asked her opinion of the mill project, she seemed to avoid her own thoughts and instead quoted others; "The mill will be good for the neighborhood and that now it will not just fall down." She said that she had heard they were going to allow some low-income renters in the building so it would not be all "upper-class."

The second resident I conversed with from the area was "Ron," a white, 32-year-old musician who was married to an artist. The couple rented their apartment and the apartment next door, which his wife used as a studio. The rent for both apartments

totaled $700.00. Ron also rented an old storefront on Carroll Street, which he had utilized as a practice space and small recording studio. During the course of the conversation, Ron sincerely greeted nearly everyone who walked by, from elderly to street people, calling them by name.

Ron had lived in Cabbagetown for about two years. He moved here because he knew several friends who lived in the neighborhood and the cheap rent was an additional inducement. "The area has always been a mecca for artists," he explained. He had noticed things getting "fixed up" and more "urban dwellers" moving in, often making money by buying property, fixing it up, and reselling it.

Ron was excited about the mill renovation project. Although he was not insensitive to the situation, he admitted that he did not feel romantic about what Cabbagetown *was*. He said, "it is just a part of the reality that Atlanta is growing and changing and that development is vital to a vibrant urban center such as Atlanta." "The area has always been buffered," he said, "but finally that's changing." He stated that although the mill project certainly will not help keep rent prices down, he hoped the neighborhood would maintain its uniqueness. "Inevitably," he surmised, "those who don't work will not be able to afford to live here anymore."

Ron explained that Cabbagetown was on the fringe of the "Fourth Ward"—perhaps Atlanta's most difficult crime area, "but around Cabbagetown it's mostly petty theft." He admitted hearing about a recent murder in the neighborhood, but said it was over on the edge of Cabbagetown and Reynoldstown, and he had not witnessed any crime personally. "People know their neighbors and keep an eye out for each other."

Ron and his wife did not have children, but did not feel that children would warrant them moving out of the neighborhood. Their apartment is one of the galley front mill houses and although original, comfortable and sufficient, Ron added that it "is probably not up to code."

An Atlanta native, Ron grew up in Druid Hills. He had always lived in the city. Both he and his wife had college degrees. He attended Emory, "but after that," he added, "I sold my soul to rock and roll."

Amid a cold, torrential downpour, I talked to "Susan," who had stepped out to walk her four dogs. Susan, who was white, has lived in Cabbagetown for ten years and owns her small one bedroom shotgun, which is original. She shared it with her boyfriend, four dogs, and two cats. She was an artist and worked out of her home. It was brightly painted and had colorful hand-painted tiles in the windows. It was surrounded by a small white picket fence.

Susan had seen the changes come slowly. She thought the mill project was a "good thing" for the neighborhood. She stated, "I'm sure people argue that it's changing a lot of things in the neighborhood, but at the same time, things aren't going to remain the same forever anyway."

Susan said that there was crime in the neighborhood because there were drugs in the neighborhood—"where there are drugs, people steal." She added that it was not "sophisticated" crime. She said that things had not gotten safer since she has lived there, but rather, "it's probably about the same—people hanging around looking [for things to steal]."

She had noticed parking had gotten worse and added that a lot of people she knew that live in the area worked out of their homes. She bought her home for $50,000.00 a few years ago. Before that, she rented in the neighborhood. Susan was attracted to Cabbagetown because it was cheap and she knew other artists who lived there. She liked the neighborhood because of its location and that a lot of other creative people lived nearby.

"Mike," who was white, had lived in Cabbagetown for a year and a half. Before that he lived in Inman Park where he said, "there was always someone knocking on your door at 2:00 a.m. to ask if they could wash your car or rake your yard." He attended college in Rhode Island and had always lived in inner city areas.

He and his wife moved to Cabbagetown because of its convenient location and low rent for the quality of the apartment. They did not know anyone living in the neighborhood prior to that. They liked the high quality of the renovation job and the new appliances, including new central heat and air in the apartment. Mike said that he and his wife enjoyed the presence of musicians, artists and that, "there is a kind of family atmosphere...everyone has a dog and has a nice feeling toward their neighbors." They were not members of the Neighborhood Organization.

Before they moved, his wife was concerned about crime in the area, but they were reassured by the apartment's sophisticated alarm system. In addition, they owned a dog. Mike stated confidently, "criminals avoid houses with dogs." He said, "despite the Federal Housing Projects located on either side [of Cabbagetown], we feel safe here."

Mike had not noticed a lot of change in the neighborhood, but admitted that they

had not lived in Cabbagetown very long and that they did not drive around to other parts of the neighborhood. The mill was the biggest change he had noticed.

Mike thought the mill project was a great improvement and predicted that it would spur more renovation in the area. He speculated that since the apartments in the mill will be renting for $1500.00 a month, "the area won't be a low-income, problem housing area—it will keep in time with what's going on [in Atlanta]."

Mike and his wife both worked. He worked on Peachtree Street and drove to work. He said it took about 15 minutes to get to work each way. There was a parking area behind their house, so he had not experienced any parking problems. He was not aware of parking situations in other areas of the neighborhood as they do not venture out into the neighborhood.

They rented the upper and lower half of the two bedroom, one and one-half bath mill house for $795.00 a month. They were moving soon because they had just bought a home in Morningside for $200,000.00. He said they felt like it was a sound investment since property values in Morningside, a neighborhood near Midtown and Piedmont Park, would never decrease.

After speaking to Mike, I ventured into Little's Grocery, where I met a white woman named Joyce Brookshire, lifelong Cabbagetown resident, and folksinger and songwriter. She smiled when I said I was doing social research on the neighborhood and was delighted to talk with me about the neighborhood she loved.

With the exception of three years, she had always lived in Cabbagetown. Joyce rented an apartment, which she shared with an elderly woman. She had watched

gentrification cause house prices to "skyrocket" and rent increase from $150.00 to over $600.00 a month. She said it was, "getting so that people can no longer afford it."

She thought the mill project was good, but "wished the neighborhood had been given more input." She suspected that it would raise property values even more and people who could not afford to live in the neighborhood would be forced to move. She said these outmovers often resettled in an area off North Avenue, a few miles from Cabbagetown in Midtown nicknamed "Little Cabbagetown." Others moved further out to surrounding counties where, "they could get more house for their money and better schools."

As for crime, she said, "we have some...mostly drugs but it is concentrated—mostly around Memorial Drive—at the far end." Overall, she felt safe living in Cabbagetown.

Joyce confirmed that parking was a problem for the neighborhood. She had seen it worsen in the last 10 years. "More people are moving in with cars," she said. Joyce worked for "the Patch"[4] between 1973 and 1989. She added in a somber tone, Atlanta is not concerned with social problems anymore." Before Joyce left, she shared a song she had written on the subject:

> I'm an urban pioneer, and I don't care if you've been here a hundred years,
> I'll make you disappear...wait and see.
> I'm an urban pioneer, and I'm gonna push you poor folks right on outa here,
> I'm so sincere, you can trust me.

[4] The Patch was a non-profit community organization, which began as a child care center. It later expanded to provide other essential community services for Cabbagetown residents including financial counseling and helping them find jobs.

Oh I'm so grand...give me your hand...I'm an urban pioneer.
You've been here much too long my friend, it's time that you moved on,
There's a great big waiting world out there, I'm sure you'll get along.
You'll melt right into the melting pot, but you'll have your memories...
That's all you're taking with you, I want your property.
I'm an urban pioneer, and I don't care if you've been here a hundred years,
I'll make you disappear...wait and see.
Oh I'm so grand...give me your hand...I'm an urban pioneer!

Chapter V
ANALYSIS

In this chapter, I will analyze the process of gentrification in Cabbagetown as illustrated through the accepted characteristics of gentrifiable neighborhoods detailed in Chapter II. I argue that, with close examination of archival research, field research, and conversations with residents, I have shown a presence of gentrification as a process at work in Cabbagetown.

In order to explore the phenomenon that has become known as gentrification, I have examined some of the most salient factors involved in the gentrification process as exposed by scholars and authors of similar studies. I will apply these established examples to Cabbagetown, a small working class neighborhood in Atlanta, Georgia. By doing this, I answer the questions: Who are inmovers and outmovers? And what do these groups stand to gain or lose from the process of gentrification?

General Analysis

History

Cabbagetown immediately asserts itself as an area rich in history. Its addition to the National Register of Historical Places makes it more desirable to inmovers who place importance on living in older neighborhoods with architecturally distinctive homes. In Chapter II, the descriptions of the types of homes available in Cabbagetown paint an accurate picture of the variety of dwellings in the neighborhood.

Just as new suburban housing developments possess carefully considered names, the name of an inner city neighborhood can emit a historical dignity and distinction from

neighborhoods nearby.

The name "Cabbagetown" is itself curious and begs explanation. This unusual name for the neighborhood may well add an attractiveness to Cabbagetown for inmovers seeking the out-of-the-ordinary. It evokes an inner city heterogeneity that imovers seek, much as suburbanites seek homes in developments with names that evoke homogeneity and conjure images of country estates or hunting lodges (ie. Fox Hunt Ridge, Saddle Creek).

Location

Cabbagetown is located only a mile from the center of downtown and midtown Atlanta. Large stores, markets, boutiques, and specialty shops surround the area making shopping convenient and time efficient. The location is also key to residents who work, many as professionals, in downtown and midtown Atlanta. Some of the residents I spoke with reported taking advantage of available mass transportation. From the Initially Gentrified (IG) area, Alan drove to work in the nearby neighborhood Virginia Highland. June used public transportation and was employed at the Atlanta offices of the Environmental Protection Agency downtown. Jeff drove to work in about 10 minutes while Erica walked to work nearby. In the Mixed Gentrified (MG) area, Jane had a 15-minute drive to the Centers for Disease Control where she worked; she admitted that, although public transportation was available to that area, she chose not to use it. David, from the MG area, drove to work in nearby Little Five Points, as did Katie and Ruth to Candler Park.

Mike, from the Predominately Gentrified (PG) area, drove to work on Peachtree Street, a commute that took only 15 minutes. By looking at the driving times each

resident reported, it is clear that the location is central to where residents would work.

Neighborhood Organization

Cabbagetown has a history of several organizations that have been formed to combat or remedy a common problem or to retain the neighborhood's values. This is a characteristic that is not as consistent with findings from studies of other gentrifiable neighborhoods, some of which are covered in the Chapter II. The earlier organizations, CRAFT (and assistance from national non-profit organization Habitat for Humanity) was formed to help low-income residents purchase their homes in inner city neighborhoods when rent prices became too expensive. The groups did comply with standards set by the National Historic Commission (see Appendix 5), but the primary intent, rather than to preserve the historic integrity of the neighborhood, was to provide affordable housing for Cabbagetown residents.

The primary neighborhood group at the present, the Cabbagetown Neighborhood Improvement Association, seeks to maintain neighborhood integrity and values for all residents—an attempt to fuse the old and the new. The organization applauds new resident's renovation attempts and neighborhood efforts to keep litter and debris picked up. The group also raises funds and organizes volunteers to create and improve parks and publishes a newsletter to keep neighbors abreast of neighborhood news and information. While the group supports change, it is also advocating neighborliness and values of older Cabbagetown residents.

Residents formed the Mill Readaptive Committee seeking to make the Fulton Bag and Cotton Mills economically productive and to protect it from demolition. This group is more indicative of inmover's values, seeing the development of the mill as a move

toward economic prosperity for the community.

Grayfield Site

The local and federal government's role in taking control of the Fulton Bag and Cotton Mills renovation project illustrates the notion of government induced gentrification. By applying Empowerment Zone funding to the project, local and federal governments are creating an enormous grayfield site, which will include amenities for upper-middle income residents, such as art galleries, boutiques, restaurants, and a health club. With this kind of project near completion, gentrification could spread to all areas of Cabbagetown.

Real Estate Prices

A common topic of conversation in Cabbagetown is the fact that small homes and lots are selling for large sums of money. The implications of this seemingly good news could threaten the fabric or sense of community that so many residents love about Cabbagetown. Long-term residents like Joyce and Henry's sister may not be able to afford to live in the neighborhood if costs continue to rise. These residents represent the last of the mill people and a direct descendent of the first mill workers. Much of the character and interest in the neighborhood lies not in the colorful homes and wildflower beds that line the streets, but in the older residents and the stories and Appalachian traditions they carry with them.

Rising real estate prices will also create a shortage of available and affordable rental property as apartments and duplexes are bought and turned back into single-family dwellings. Residents such as David and Ron, who were sympathetic to the older residents, were all too aware of the problems associated with gentrification. And, as a

worse case scenario, residents who would be classified as newer long-term residents, such as June, Jane, and Susan, might be tempted to accept a profitable offer from inmovers.

Field Research and Personal Conversations

The IG area furthest away from the mill had experienced the least gentrification. There were only a few homes in that area that had been renovated, yet these homes represented a substantial investment in both money and time spent renovating the structures. Cars parked sporadically on the street indicate that the area has not yet become popular enough to warrant the conversion of single family dwellings into apartments and duplexes.

Inmovers in this area include Jeff and Theresa as well as June. These individuals were obviously taking a risk by investing in the IG area, and yet these inmovers seem to be indifferent to the fact that they have made a smart investment decision buying in the area least gentrified. The outcome is far from inevitable, but in the interim, these residents are content with their situations. Should the area not become fully gentrified, the IG residents might encounter difficulties reaping a good return on their investment, or even finding buyers for their home.

Alan represents the poor artist inmover—the type of individual that the Alderhold Corporation hopes to attract to the Fulton Bag and Cotton Mill apartments set aside for low-income residents (Jaffe, 1997). White, often gay, college educated artists such as Alan, despite their low-income, are a selling point for the neighborhood. Although poor, these young and articulate marginalized groups appeal to wealthier, middle income homebuyers through their sense of values; they often desire to live near marginalized

groups. Such inmovers want to be considered a part of the elite, artistic crowd that frequent the bistros and sidewalk cafes of nearby Virginia Highland; groups of individuals like Alan will allow the area to be populated by more inmovers until the area is gentrified. In brief, marginalized individuals are seen as socially acceptable and even desirable poor populations to potential inmovers.

Sandy and Erica represent the potential outmovers. Because gentrification is still an ongoing process in Cabbagetown, it can only be surmised that they will be forced to move out. As I stated previously, there is always the possibility that the neighborhood will not totally gentrify. Sandy is nearing retirement age, and depends on her store for income. The store seems to be a gathering place and is patronized by older residents, thus contingent on the continued presence of the original mill workers and other low-income residents. Erica is the typical outmover. She is a young, black woman living with her mother. The two have not lived in the area very long, are renters, and are probably accustomed to moving frequently.

In the MG area, gentrification was more consistent down both sides of the street. This area experienced the first wave of gentrification. There appeared to be parking problems in several places as cars lined the streets and were even parked on the sidewalk in places. Homes in this area were often highly renovated with a great deal of attention given to attractive landscaping.

Residents I spoke with seemed content living where they were and were not making plans to sell their homes anytime soon despite the rising sale prices. They placed more importance on their relationships with their neighbors and the convenience of living

in the area—a convenience they might not otherwise be able to afford in other inner city neighborhoods as gentrification has spread throughout many Atlanta neighborhoods, making home prices increase dramatically.

Jane is another college-educated inmover that has lived in the neighborhood for some time. Her home and yard reflect a better than average disposable income. As a lesbian, she is, like Alan, representative of the marginalized groups that many middle income homebuyers find desirable to live among.

David, Kate and Ruth are further examples of young, college-educated inmovers that, although renters, make the neighborhood more desirable for potential homebuyers.

Henry, as I had noted previously, no longer lived in Cabbagetown. His sister, who owns their childhood home, would be an outmover. Because of its prime location and large shady yard, I was surprised that this slightly neglected home had not already been purchased and renovated.

The PG area seemed close to total gentrification. The mill project in its midst served as both a constant visual reminder of the potential for the area to home investors. The attractive storefronts converted into artist's studios and galleries appeal to the inmovers values through their appreciation for art and the unusual.

Mike would represent the "advanced" inmover; having already moved into one inner city neighborhood, and having withstood the challenges and potential dangers of living in a gentrifying neighborhood, he and his wife are moving to yet another inner city neighborhood, albeit one substantially more upscale. His reasons for living in the neighborhood reflect those typical of inmover values—the close proximity to work in

downtown and midtown and the "artsy atmosphere." He accepted the tradeoffs—risk and crime for convenience. Susan and Ron represent further examples of artists making the area even more palatable for wary inmovers such as Mike.

Regina and Joyce are the potential outmovers of the PG area. They stand to lose everything if the neighborhood becomes completely gentrified—especially Joyce, who represents the last generation of mill worker's children. She stated that she would have no choice but to leave—forced out by a diminishing supply of affordable housing. Regina might make the decision to move based on the opinions she expressed of the unfriendly attitudes of the "new people." In addition, she has a son that she drives to a neighboring town to help him get a better education.

Summary

In this chapter, I have analyzed the process of gentrification in Cabbagetown as characterized by some of the most salient factors involved in the gentrification process. Scholars and authors of similar studies expose these factors. And, through close examination of the archival research, field research, and conversations with residents, I have shown a presence of gentrification as a process at work in Cabbagetown. Specifically, I have answered the questions: Who are inmovers and outmovers? And what do these groups stand to gain or lose from the process of gentrification?

Chapter VI concludes my study by summarizing the research project, providing a discussion of the implications and relevance of the project, and providing suggestions for further research.

Chapter VI
CONCLUSION

This chapter serves a dual purpose. First, it provides an overview of the thesis. Secondly, it allows me to further explore implications beyond the analysis in Chapter V.

Overview

This thesis examines some of the most common variables in the gentrification process as exposed by scholars and authors of similar studies and applies these established examples to Cabbagetown, a small working class neighborhood in Atlanta, Georgia. By doing this, I answer the questions: who are the inmovers and outmovers, and what do these groups stand to gain or lose from the process of gentrification? By examining these established criteria as variables in the context of Cabbagetown, I have shown a presence of gentrification in Cabbagetown, and have given a deeper understanding of gentrification as a process.

Chapter II presents a review of the literature on gentrification to establish a clear understanding of the terminology and theoretical framework involved in the study of this urban phenomenon. I used characteristics from these research projects to examine Cabbagetown in my case study and used established research questions to shape my data collection and to structure my analysis.

Chapter III describes the methods and techniques by which I gathered and processed data for my case study. It also includes a discussion of other research methodologies that I chose not to use. In Chapter IV, I present the data I gathered. In Chapter V, I analyze the data and show how it helps answer the essential questions posed

in the context of the research questions/variables outlined in Chapter II.

Implications

Gentrification is a process that begins when the first house or apartment in an inner city neighborhood is purchased or rented by homeowners from a higher socio-economic profile than other residents in the neighborhood. In most cases, these homebuyers or inmovers regard the purchase as a long-term investment. They will spend much time, work, and money renovating the homes themselves. After the initial inmover buys into an area, others will likely follow as they hear of the neighborhood through networks with initial inmovers. From a few homes to an entire street, gentrification may then spread to surrounding streets and to nearby neighborhoods. Inmovers are generally young, college educated, single individuals and childless married or partnered couples. They prefer to live in the city near their work and among a diverse group of residents.

Chain migration is another process at work in gentrifiable neighborhoods. Johnson (1971) explains this process in terms of immigrant groups. He states that the chain migration is the result of economic and social factors and "there is a concentration of origins among these immigrants, as well as destinations" (p. 48). Johnson goes on to explain that "chain migrations develop from the successes of a few pioneers who send back information and often financial assistance, concerning their new homes and the benefits of moving and living in the new area" (p. 48).

The result of chain migration is villages or settlements in inner-city neighborhoods. This process relates to gentrification as it is facilitated by both inmovers and outmovers. Outmovers, as mentioned previously, are a highly mobile group. News of a neighborhood with vacant housing and lower rent will spread through social

interaction to other low-income potential residents. Enclaves of low-income individuals coupled with the down filtering process of the existing housing stock will create a neighborhood with high investment potential for inmovers. Thus similarly, after initial "pioneer" inmovers have settled into the low-income neighborhood, word spreads among inmovers and chain migration gentrification results.

This process is exemplified in Cabbagetown by both inmovers and outmovers and revealed in my conversations with both groups of residents. Ron, Katie and Ruth, Alan, and David, all potential outmovers, reported learning of the neighborhood and its low rent from social contacts while Jeff and Theresa, inmovers, had shared news of the area with an acquaintance who had purchased a home nearby.

Simultaneous to the chain migration of inmovers, original residents, or outmovers, of the gentrifiable area are faced with pressures to move. Rent and property taxes are raised, which cause upgrading of tenants in the neighborhood. Lower-income outmovers then seek areas with more affordable rent. Generally, these areas are located nearby. Profiles of outmovers show that they tend to be unmarried black women with children. Elderly residents commonly become outmovers as well. Conflict often results from clashes between inmovers and outmovers.

For the first wave of inmovers, the choice to live in a neglected neighborhood is full of risks and negative consequences. Financially, inmovers may never see the area become popular. Some areas never experience more than mixed gentrification. Low-income inner city areas ripe for gentrification are often high crime areas. For this reason, early inmovers also risk a great deal in terms of their personal safety or in terms of their property.

The outcome of gentrification is far from inevitable. As was the case with Cabbagetown, changes may come slowly and it may be years before complete turnover is witnessed and the neighborhood is fully gentrified.

The choice to live in a diverse, inner city neighborhood appeals to a certain segment of the urban population. Typical inmovers are in unions without children. Many inmovers have lived most of their adult lives in the city and are not part of a "back-to-the-city" movement. They enjoy the city amenities available such as skyline views, ethnic restaurants, boutiques, museums, and parks.

From my research in Cabbagetown, I found that residents were divided over whether they would move out of a small inner city home in exchange for a larger home with a yard, and possibly better schools if they were to have children. The fact that inmovers tend to have no children remains crucial to understanding why residents choose inner city neighborhoods.

In addition, the ability to move is an option to higher-income homeowners and renters, but not to other lower-income homeowners in the neighborhood. Therefore, a differentiation should be established between outmovers who rent and outmovers who own in terms of their permanency in the neighborhood. Renters, as established previously, are a mobile group, whereas homeowners are bound to their property by their mortgages. The binding mortgage can become a problem, especially for elderly individuals or poorer homeowners who might be able to sell, but might not be eligible for another loan, or be unable to afford another home. Even if the situation were financially feasible, they might be forced to live further away from the city, where amenities would

require a car and more resources. But the rising cost of property taxes in a neighborhood undergoing gentrification makes moving seem like the only viable option. Thus, once gentrification has been established, home-owning outmovers are bound to a no-win situation.

The convenience of inner city living is another important element of gentrification. Inmovers want to live among artists and architects, musicians, people of different race and religion, and gays and lesbians. They want to live in close proximity to their jobs, allowing more free time to run errands, shop, walk their dogs, visit with friends, dine in outdoor cafes, and generally enjoy life in the city. They find suburban life undesirable with its long commutes, new homes, crowded strip-malls and parking lots, and homogenous residents. They take pride in their neighborhood and work collectively through neighborhood groups to actualize improvements in safety, neighborhood aesthetics, and quality of neighborhood life.

But these collective actions and groups are not communal notions. Inmovers are primarily concerned with improving the quality of life for themselves and other inmovers. They will tend to "watch out" for other inmovers and watch over their property more carefully and consciously than they would outmover's property. Jane from the MG area said she "watched out" for her neighbor Bill and he watched out for her. But to renters in the IG area, crime is more common and tolerated to an extent.

By choosing to live in the city, inmovers are also faced with compromises. Often owning a car is expensive and inconvenient. Parking is usually a premium in inner city areas and street parking, which is often unavailable, involves risk to the car. Urban

transportation, such as subways and busses, offer acceptable alternatives, and many city amenities are located within walking distances of neighborhoods, eliminating the need for automobiles.

Inmovers will tend to be intolerant of crime. Mike and his wife from the PG area, who expressed strong concerns about moving into the neighborhood, exemplify this notion. Only an alarm system and the fact that they owned a dog abated their reluctance to move into Cabbagetown. This fear of crime or intolerance of crime was not shared by renters such as Kate and Ruth, who saw the burglary of their apartment as an initiation rite. But this intolerance of crime comes with a price. Demands for increased police protection and other city services create further conflict between inmovers and outmovers. Older and low-income residents cannot afford to pay the costs of increased taxes for these services and may be satisfied with bars on their windows and dogs guarding the periphery as described in the IG area.

"Crime," as one resident said, "is part of city life." Gunshots are heard and robberies occur frequently, yet inmovers make the decision to live in areas notorious for crime and violent activity. In Cabbagetown, perhaps more effective than the neighborhood watch program for deterring crime was the attitude several residents expressed that they "looked out for each other."

Looking toward the future, inner cities will continue to attract young childless residents employed in the city, who seek a diverse area without long commutes. They stay in the city because of the excitement of city life, the challenge of renovating distinctive and historic homes, the amenities and cultural attractions, and perhaps the

romance of connecting with the past and establishing their own sense of community.

There is a need for further research on the process of gentrification by social scientists, urban ecologists and planners. Urban social problems create great chasms in the landscape of urban societies and exacerbate other problems such as race relations and housing for low-income residents. Studies on the effects of low-interest loans and creating affordable housing for low-income residents would be particularly useful. Other studies of neighborhood organizations and grassroots initiatives to stop gentrification would be likewise insightful to further understand urban social problems.

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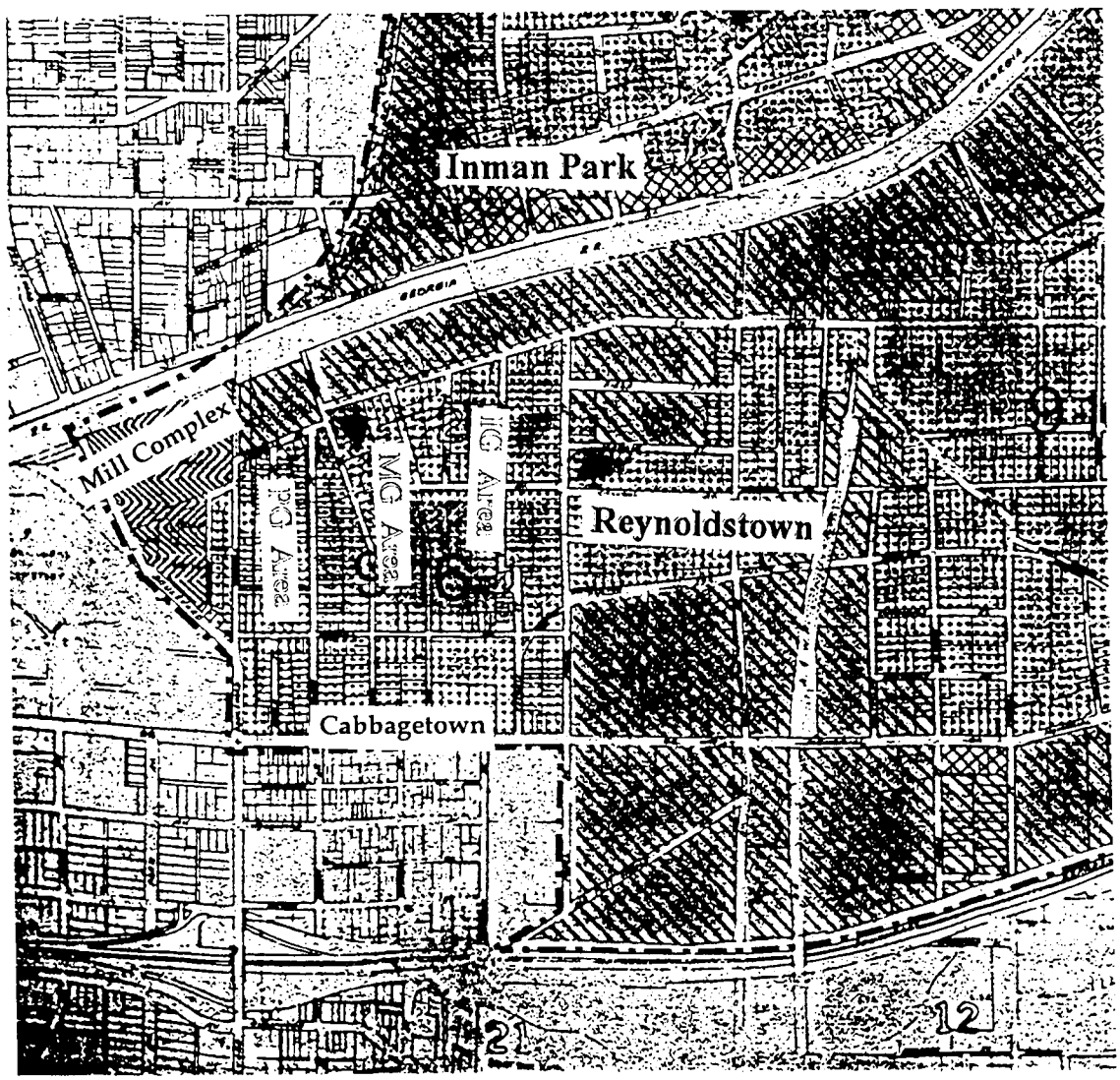
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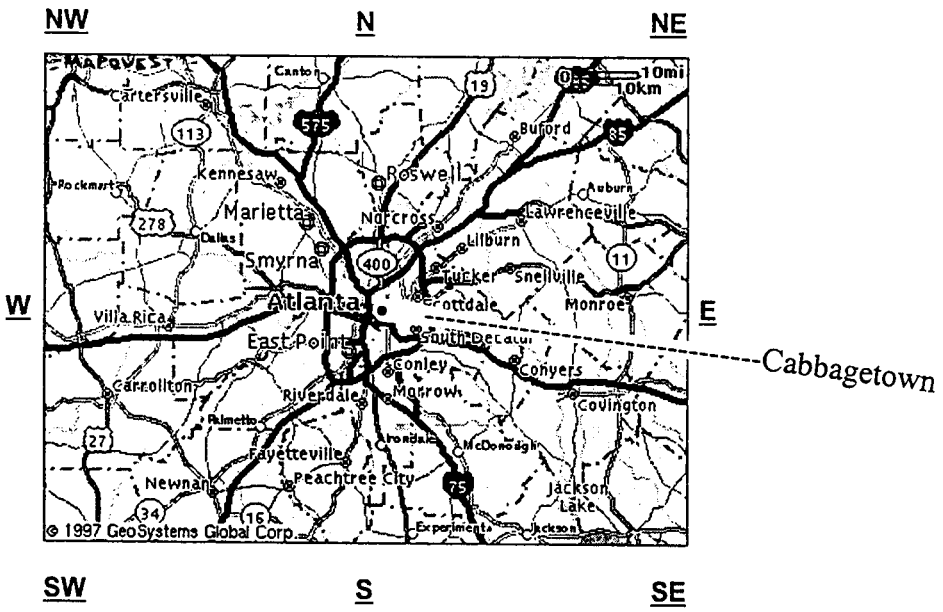
APPENDIXES

Appendix 1. Map of Cabbagetown Areas



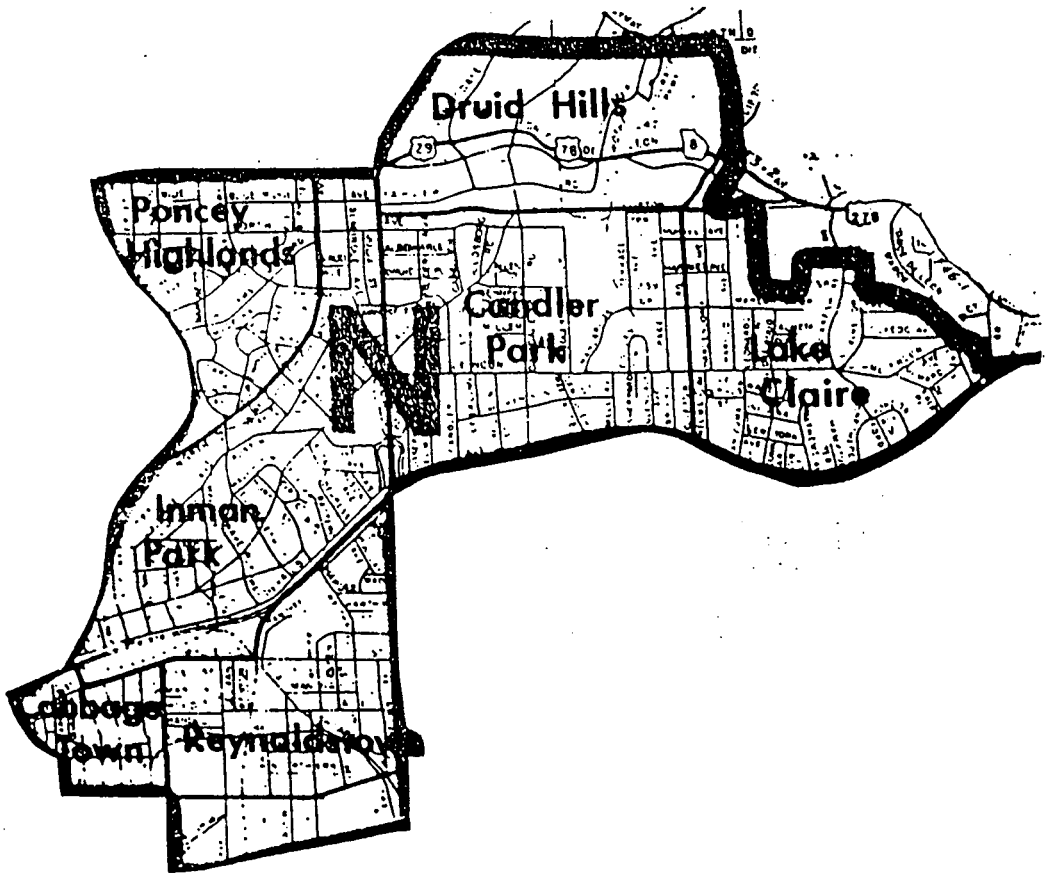
Appendix 1. Map of Cabbagetown Designated Areas: IG, MG, and PG.
Source: Department of Planning and Development, Bureau of Planning, City of Atlanta, 1996.

Appendix 2. Cabbagetown & Atlanta, Georgia



Appendix 2. Cabbagetown and Atlanta, Georgia.
Source: Lycos Road Maps. http://roadmaps.lycos.com:/90/cgi-bin/mqcustomconnect. Accessed April8, 1998.

Appendix 3: Map of Cabbagetown and Surrounding Neighborhoods



Appendix 3. Map of Cabbagetown and Surrounding Neighborhoods.
Source: Department of Planning and Development, Bureau of Planning, City of Atlanta. (1982). NPU Profiles.

Appendix 4: Conversation Form

Conversation Form

1. When did you move to Cabbagetown? What was it like then?
2. What do you like most about living in Cabbagetown?
3. Where did you live before you moved to Cabbagetown? If another city, did you live in the city or in an outlying neighborhood or suburb?
4. Why did you move to Cabbagetown? Did you know anyone that was already living in the area?
5. Are you a member of any neighborhood organizations? Which organization and how long.
6. Have you ever felt concern for your personal safety while living in Cabbagetown?
7. In your opinion, how has the neighborhood changed in the past 10/20 years? Do you think it has gotten safer or more dangerous?
8. What do you think of the mill renovation project? Do you think it will have a positive or negative effect on the neighborhood? Do you think it will improve the area by reducing crime and making the area more populated? Do you think it will make the area more expensive to live in?
9. Where do you work? How do you get to work? About how long does it take? Do you find parking a problem?
10. Do you have children? If yes, did that influence your decision to live in Cabbagetown?
11. Check-list:
    age
    male/female
    married? Single? Divorced?
    What is the approximate age and value of your house? How much is rent?
    Briefly describe the house and renovation status
    Household income?

Appendix 5: Atlanta City Codes for Cabbagetown

CHAPTER 20A

Cabbagetown Landmark District

Amendment Note: Chapter 20A, sections 16-20A.001—16-20.008, was added by section 1 of Ord. No. 1983-27, adopted 12/20/82, approved 12/21/82. Section 2 of Ord. No. 1989-52, adopted 6/19/89, approved 6/27/89, changed the word "Historic" in the title of this district to "Landmark."

Section 16-20A.001	Statement of intent.
Section 16-20A.002	Organization.
Section 16-20A.003	General regulations.
Section 16-20A.004	The Mill (subarea 1).
Section 16-20A.005	Mill housing (subarea 2).
Section 16-20A.006	Shotgun and cottage housing (subarea 3).
Section 16-20A.007	Neighborhood commercial/services (subarea 4).
Section 16-20A.008	Transitional commercial/industrial area (subarea 5).

Section 16-20A.001 Statement of intent.

[The intent of establishing the regulations for the Cabbagetown Landmark District is as follows:]

(1) To preserve the environmental and physical appearance of the area, including industrial, commercial and residential buildings, created from the late 19th century and early 20th century to present; including existing spatial relationships, between buildings and streets; and to ensure that any new development is compatible with present architectural and spatial characteristics that prevail.

(2) To preserve the unique historical relationship between industrial and residential uses, and to ensure that ensuing development reflects and maintains this unique relationship as it evolved in the late 19th century and early 20th century.

(3) To ensure that new construction observes the characteristics of each subarea of the district and maintains a continuing harmony with the historic character of the entire district; regulations shall be provided and a compatibility rule established. (Ord. No. 1983-27, Sec. 1, 12/21/82; Ord. No. 1989-52, Sec. 2, 6/27/89)

Section 16-20A.002 Organization.

The regulations are composed of two (2) parts. The first part includes those regulations which apply to the entire Cabbagetown Landmark District. The second part includes those specific reg-

ulations which are unique to each subarea. The Cabbagetown Landmark District is divided into five (5) subareas as follows:

(1) The Mill.
(2) Mill housing.
(3) Shotgun and cottage housing.
(4) Neighborhood commercial/services.
(5) Transitional commercial/industrial area. (Ord. No. 1983-27, Sec. 1, 12/21/82; Ord. No. 1989-52, Sec. 2, 6/27/89)

Section 16-20A.003 General regulations.

The following regulations shall apply to the entire Cabbagetown Landmark District, which includes all five (5) subareas. Any proposed development shall require a certificate of appropriateness from the urban design commission and shall conform to the following regulations.

(1) Regulations shall be established for all subareas.

a. Regulations shall be minimum standards which must be followed and shall be applied by the urban design commission (AUDC). The power to hear, grant or deny variances from these regulations shall rest with the AUDC. Upon a determination by AUDC that an application for renovation or new construction is at broad variance with the intent of these regulations and/or guidelines, the AUDC shall institute procedures for public notification and public hearing as are specified similarly for the board of zoning adjustment (section 16-26.001). Notification shall include any governmental or nonprofit institutions that have legitimate interest in the historic integrity of this Landmark District.

b. In some cases regulations shall be conditional upon design review by the AUDC. In general, regulations can be applied strictly without need for design review by the AUDC. However, such cases as are conditioned in the regulations by reference to "design review" shall require review by the AUDC.

(2) *The compatibility rule:* In general, the intent of the regulations and guidelines is to ensure that alterations to existing structures and new construction are compatible with the design, scale and general character of the entire district, of each subarea, and of the immediately adjacent environment of a particular block. To permit flexibility, many regulations are made subject to the compatibility rule, which states: "The element in question (roof form, architectural trim, etc.) must match that which predominates on that block or where quantifiable (i.e., buildings height, floor height, etc.), the average of all structures of like use in that block." Those elements to which the rule applies are noted in the regulations by a reference to "compatibility rule."

(3) *AUDC guidelines:* The Atlanta Urban Design Commission shall adopt and maintain guidelines that shall extend the intent of these regulations, further define elements of architectural style and applicability and shall further ensure the compatibility of future development in the Cabbagetown Landmark District.

(4) *Nonconforming uses:* All regulations contained herein are to be applied to permitted uses in each subarea only. Any alteration or addition to nonconforming uses, as well as nonresidential uses in subarea 3, is subject to design review by the AUDC.

(5) *Variance on economic hardship:* The regulations contained herein set a minimum standard of architectural compatibility with the rest of the district. However, in order to comply with other equally important objectives in the Cabbagetown Landmark District of economic development, neighborhood revitalization, and prevention of displacement of residents, every effort will be made to allow reasonable variance from the regulations on grounds of economic hardship to the property owner. The burden of proof that the regulations and guidelines pose such a hardship shall be on the property owner.

(6) *Secretary's guidelines:* In addition to specific standards listed herein, the General and Specific Standards for Historic Preservation Projects, as put forth by the U.S. Secretary of the Interior for all properties listed on the National Register, shall be a part of the regulations for the Cabbagetown Landmark District.

(7) *Multiple lots:* Several lots combined for the purpose of a single project in keeping with the permitted uses in this chapter shall be permitted so long as the project maintains the intent and spirit of the regulations for new construction in each subarea. Such intent and spirit shall be determined through design review by the AUDC.

(8) *Lot divisions:* The division of separate lots is subject to administrative approval provided for

in the subdivision regulations of the City of Atlanta (part 15 of this code of ordinances).

(9) *Off-street parking:*

a) Off-street parking shall not be permitted in the front yard of a lot used for residential purposes.

b) Off-street parking shall be permitted in the rear or side yard of a lot used for residential purposes.

c) Carports or garages shall be permitted if detached from and located to the rear of the main residential structure. If the structure is located on a corner lot, the front yard setback for that side street shall apply to the construction of a carport or garage.

d) Off-street parking shall not be permitted on vacant lots, except that one (1) adjacent lot owned by the resident occupant may be used to park up to two (2) owners' vehicles in operable condition provided such parking does not fall within the established front, side or rear yard setback.

e) Off-site parking, grouped or other, may be permitted through a certificate of appropriateness in section 16-20.005(4)(b).

(10) *Demolition or removal of existing buildings:*

a) All buildings in the district shall be subject to the provisions for demolition or removal of existing structures as defined in section 16-20.007 of the zoning ordinance.

b) It shall be allowable to move a structure to another site within the historic district if the new setting for the building is compatible with the surrounding uses and the historic building styles in that subarea. The site plan for a new location is subject to review by the AUDC.

(11) *Accessory structures:* The design of all accessory structures as defined by the zoning ordinance shall be subject to design review by the AUDC.

(12) Repealed. (Ord. No. 1994-40, Sec. 44, 8/18/94)

(13) *Alterations or additions to existing buildings* (for subareas 1, 3, 4, and 5 as defined on attached map; see specific regulations for subarea 2):

a) Height of any alteration or addition all not exceed existing or previous height of existing building, unless dictated by building code.

b) Regulation shall be the same as for new construction in same subarea.

c) Regulations pertaining to fencing and walls shall be provided in each specific subarea.

d) *Building facades:*

1. Siding repair or replacement shall match the original materials in scale and direction, wood clapboard, if original, is preferred; however, aluminum, masonite, vinyl or other horizontal siding is permitted if window trim, cornerboards and fascia/bargeboards are left in place or replaced with new material to match the original. Brick, stucco and concrete block are permitted only if they match original materials.

2. Replacement windows and exterior doors shall match the original opening.

3. Replacement window and door trim and other trim pieces shall match original width dimensions.

4. Windows shall be fixed glass, double-hung wood sash or the same as the original.

5. Exterior doors shall be panel or fixed glass or the same as the original.

e) *Roofs:*

1. Replacement roofs shall match original in pitch and shape as well as ridge, dormer, overhang and soffit construction.

2. Regulations for new roofing shall be the same as for new construction in same subarea.

3. Chimneys shall not be removed if at all possible. If extending the height of chimneys is required, then bricks and mortar color shall be matched to the original as closely as possible.

4. Soffits and dormers shall be repaired or replaced in the style of the original. Open soffits shall not be closed. Closed soffits shall be repaired with materials matching the original.

5. Flat-roofed buildings or buildings not visible from the street shall be allowed to use any roof covering that conforms to standard architectural specifications.

f) *Porches:*

1. Existing front porches shall be repaired rather than demolished, if possible.

2. Replacement of front porches shall be constructed with the same floor dimension, height, roof pitch and overhang as the original.

3. Replacement of rotted columns of existing porches shall closely resemble the original or shall be simple four-inch by four-inch posts. Decorative metal or plastic columns shall not be permitted.

4. Porches shall not be enclosed as a room, but may be enclosed with screen wire or glass if the main characteristics of the porch are maintained.

5. All plans for repair or replacement of front porches shall be subject to design review by the AUDC.

6. Existing decorative trim on existing porches shall remain even if parts are missing, except where permitted through design review by the AUDC.

7. Front porch steps shall be repaired or replaced to match the original. Steps may be of concrete block, wood or concrete. Metal steps are not permitted on front porches. (Ord. No. 1983-27, Sec. 1, 12/21/82; Ord. No. 1989-52, Sec. 2, 6/27/89)

Section 16-20A.004 The Mill (subarea 1).

In addition to the general regulations required in section 16-20A.003, the following regulations shall apply to any new development or the conversion of any existing structures to permitted uses within the Mill subarea.

The regulations are intended to preserve the environmental character and physical appearance of the Mill subarea and encourage reuse of the existing structures for light industrial use where feasible and to assure that any other use which may be permitted for preservation purposes is compatible with the historic character of the district as a whole.

(1) *Permitted principal uses and structures:* A building or premises shall be used only for the following principal purposes; and any new development, conversion of existing structure to uses permitted within the Mill subarea, or renovation or proposed change of the exterior facade of any existing Mill structure shall require the granting of a certificate of appropriateness by the urban design commission prior to the issuance of a building permit.

a) Banks, savings and loan associations and similar financial institutions.

b) Broadcasting towers, line-of-sight relay devices for telephonic, radio or television communication.

c) Business service establishments, including those providing duplicating, printing, maintenance, communications, addressing, mailing, bookkeeping or guard services.

d) Clubs, lodges, union halls and hiring halls.

e) Eating and drinking establishments, including drive-in's; catering establishments, delicatessens, bakeries.

f) Manufacturing, wholesaling, repairing, compounding, assembly, processing, preparation, packaging or treatment of articles, foods, components, products, clothing, machines and appliances and the like, where character of operations, emission, and by-products do not create adverse effects beyond the bounds of the property. Use of heavy drop hammers, punch presses or other machinery, or processing methods creating excessive noise or vibration is prohibited in this district.

g) Offices, clinics (including veterinary), laboratories, studios.

h) Professional and personal service establishments.

i) Recreational establishments.

j) Repair garages, paint and body shops, welding shops.

k) Repealed. (Ord. No. 1994-40, Sec. 45, 8/18/94)

l) Trade schools, colleges and universities.

m) Warehousing, storage facilities, distribution centers.

n) Single-family, two-family and multifamily residential uses. Residential use of Mill structures shall require a certificate of appropriateness, which shall be granted upon determination that such usage is compatible with the overall utilization of the Mill and maintains the integrity of the Mill as a support for the surrounding community.

(2) *Permitted accessory uses and structures:*

a) Devices for the generation of energy such as solar panels, wind generators and similar devices.

b) Dwelling or lodging units shall be permitted only for accessory uses and only for watchmen, caretakers or others requiring living quarters on the premises.

(3) *Development controls:* Due to the variety of specific architectural treatment and the flexibility regarding the potential use of the structures, there shall be no specific regulations regarding alterations to existing buildings or new construction on the site. In general, all alterations shall

follow the secretary of interior's guidelines for restoration and shall match the original as closely as possible. New construction shall be of red brick exterior in keeping with the scale and character of 19th century mill construction. The height of any new construction shall be limited to the highest point of the existing complex, excluding chimneys. (Ord. No. 1983-27, Sec. 1, 12/21/82)

Section 16-20A.005 Mill housing (subarea 2).

In addition to the general regulations required in section 16-20A.003, the following regulations shall apply to any new development. These regulations are intended to preserve the typical 19th century mill housing character of this subarea and to encourage the continued use of the existing structures for compatible multifamily use. The preservation and restoration of residential use in this subarea is considered of key importance due to its high visibility; therefore, it is intended that the regulations be more strictly adhered to than regulations within other subareas.

(1) *Permitted principal uses and structures:* A building or premises shall be used only for the following principal purposes, and any new development or renovation or proposed change of the exterior facade of any existing structures visible from the public street shall require the granting of a certificate of appropriateness by the urban design commission prior to the issuance of a building permit:

a) Single-family, two-family and multifamily dwellings of the mill housing quadraplex type now existing in the subarea or as shall be constructed in the future to be compatible with existing structures as is provided for in this subarea of the Cabbagetown Landmark District regulations.

b) Parks, playgrounds and community buildings owned and operated by a government agency.

(2) *Permitted accessory uses and structures:* Uses and structures are permitted which are customarily incidental and subordinate to permitted principal uses and structures. These include but are not limited to the following, subject to limitations and requirements set forth herein or elsewhere in this part:

a) Greenhouses, garden sheds, private garages and similar structures.

b) Devices for the generation of energy, such as solar panels, wind generators and similar devices.

c) Such structures shall be located to the rear of the principal structure and not within any required side or rear yard.

d) Home occupations.

(3) *Minimum lot requirements:* Compatibility rule applies to all elements in this subarea. All new construction is subject to design review by the AUDC.

(4) *Maximum height:* Height of any alteration or addition shall not exceed existing or previous height of existing building.

(5) *Parking requirements:* Grouped off-street parking shall be permitted upon approval of parking plan by the AUDC.

(6) *Landscaping criteria:* Existing sidewalk location, dimensions and materials shall be retained. All site and planting plans shall be subject to design review by the AUDC.

(7) *Fences and walls:* No fences or closure walls shall be permitted in this subarea.

(8) *Facades:*

a) Siding repair or replacement shall match the original materials. All existing trim shall be repaired or replaced if necessary with lumber matching original dimensions.

b) Replacement windows and exterior doors shall match the original opening.

c) Replacement window and door trim and other trim pieces shall match original width dimensions.

d) Windows shall be fixed glass, double-hung wood sash or the same as the original.

e) Exterior doors shall be the same as the original.

(9) *Roofs:*

a) New roofs shall match original in pitch and shape as well as ridge, dormer, overhang and soffit construction.

b) New roofing shall be asphalt shingles.

c) Chimneys shall not be removed if at all possible. If extending the height of chimneys is required, then bricks and mortar color must be matched to the original as closely as possible.

d) Soffits shall be repaired or replaced in the style of the original. Open soffits shall not be closed. Closed soffits must be repaired with materials matching the original.

(10) *Porches:*

a) Existing front porches shall be repaired rather than demolished.

b) New front porches shall be constructed with the same floor dimension, height, roof pitch and overhang as the original.

c) Replacement of rotted columns of existing porches shall closely resemble the original or shall be simple four-inch by four-inch posts.

d) Existing decorative trim on existing porches shall remain even if parts are missing, except where permitted through design review by the AUDC.

e) Front porch steps shall be repaired or replaced to match the original. Temporary steps may be of concrete blocks, wood or concrete. Metal steps are not permitted on front porches. (Ord. No. 1983-27, Sec. 1, 12/21/82; Ord. No. 1989-52, Sec. 2, 6/27/89)

Section 16-20A.006 Shotgun and cottage housing (subarea 3).

(1) *Shotgun housing:* Shotgun housing is a style typified by simple structures whose width is no more than that of one (1) room extending from the front to rear of the structure. The housing type is usually closely spaced and is found most often along Savannah and Berean Streets within this subarea.

In addition to the general regulations required in section 16-20A.003, the following regulations shall apply to any new development.

The following regulations are intended to preserve the turn-of-the-century housing character of this subarea and to encourage the continued use of the existing structures for single-family residential use compatible with the overall character of the district as a whole:

a) *Permitted principal uses and structures:*

1. Single-family dwellings of the shotgun housing type now existing in this subarea.

2. Parks, playgrounds and community buildings owned and operated by a government agency.

b) *Permitted accessory uses and structures:*

1. Greenhouses, garden sheds, private garages and similar structures.

2. Devices for the generation of energy, such as solar panels, wind generators and similar devices.

3. Such structures shall be located to the rear of the principal structure and not within any required side or rear yard.

4. Home occupations.

c) *Minimum lot requirements:* The compatibility rule shall apply to all front, rear and side yard setbacks with a variance of up to five (5) percent permitted, or setback must conform to the setback of previously existing building.

d) *Maximum height:* The compatibility rule shall apply with variance of up to 10 percent permitted.

e) *Fencing and walls:* Fencing in front of a structure is subject to design review by the AUDC. Front yard closure walls, such as in block, brick or wood, are not permitted.

f) *Building facades:*

1. All new buildings shall conform to general facade characteristics by having sidewalks, front yard, porch and front doors facing and parallel to street.

2. The general facade organization and proportions shall be subject to design review by the AUDC following state guidelines.

3. *Elements:*

a. Windows shall be predominantly vertical in proportion, and shall not be constructed in combination of more than two (2) units.

b. Exterior doors shall be wood panel or fixed glass panel in wood frame.

c. Siding shall exhibit a horizontal, clapboard, profile. Wood, masonite, aluminum and vinyl are acceptable materials. Painted concrete block or stucco are also acceptable foundation materials subject to design review by the AUDC.

d. The compatibility rule shall apply to corner boards, fascia boards, bottom boards, window and door trim and other like trim.

g) *Roofs:*

1. The compatibility rule shall apply to roof form.

2. The compatibility rule shall apply to roof pitch up to 20 percent but shall not be less than 6.12 in any case.

3. *Elements:*

a. Roofing materials shall include asphalt shingles, hot tar, mopped felt, slate and metal. Flat roofs or roofs not visible from the street may use any roof covering. Wood shingles or slates are not permitted except through design review by the AUDC. Cold-rolled roofing shall not be used except as a temporary cover upon approval by the AUDC.

b. Where chimneys are used, they shall be faced in brick, stucco or painted concrete block. Design of chimneys is subject to design review by the AUDC.

c. Dormers shall not be permitted.

h) *Porches:*

1. Front porches shall be required, and the compatibility rule shall apply. Design of front porches shall be subject to design review by the AUDC.

2. The compatibility rule shall apply to porch roof type and materials. Porches may be enclosed with screenwire or glass if the main characteristics of a front porch are maintained.

3. Porches shall contain balustrades, columns and other features consistent with porches in that block, although standard lumber is permitted (i.e., 4 by 4, 2 by 2 etc.). Design of porches is subject to design review by the AUDC.

4. Porches and decks shall be permitted on the side and rear of the house if not visible from the street.

i) *Foundations:*

1. The compatibility rule shall apply to the required height of first floor above street level.

2. Foundations shall be of masonry pier or continuous wall closed with solid or screen infill wall.

3. Slab on grade shall be permitted where it is appropriate to site and type of construction if general proportion of house facades are not compromised. Slab on grade design is subject to design review by the AUDC.

(2) *Cottage housing:* Cottage housing is a mixed housing style that includes duplexes, bungalows and other residential structures, modest in scale, that are characterized by common setbacks, repetitive porch, and facade features, and consistent building massing.

In addition to the general regulations required in section 16-20A.003, the following regulations shall apply to any new development. These regulations are intended to preserve the typical 19th century mixed residential character and to encourage the continued use of the existing structures for compatible residential use with the overall character of the district as a whole.

a) *Permitted principal uses and structures.* A building or premises shall be used only for the following principal purposes, and any new development or renovation or proposed change of the exterior facade of any existing structures visible from the public street shall require the granting of a certificate of appropriateness by the urban design commission prior to the issuance of a building permit:

1. Single-family detached dwellings.

2. Two-family dwellings.

3. Parks, playgrounds and community buildings when owned by a governmental agency.

b) *Permitted accessory uses and structures:*

1. Greenhouses, garden sheds, private garages and similar structures.

2. Home occupations.

3. Devices for the generation of energy such as solar panels, wind generators and similar structures.

4. Such structures shall be located to the rear of the principal structure and not within any required side or rear yard.

c) *Minimum lot requirements:* The compatibility rule shall apply with a variance of up to five (5) percent permitted or setbacks must conform to the setback of previously existing building.

d) *Maximum height:* The compatibility rule shall apply with variance up to 10 percent permitted.

e) *Fencing and walls:* Fencing in front of a structure is subject to design review by the AUDC. Front yard closure walls, such as in block, brick or wood, are not permitted.

f) *Building facades:*

1. All new buildings must conform to general facade characteristics by having sidewalk, front yard, porch and front doors facing and parallel to the street.

2. The general facade organization and proportions shall be subject to design review by the AUDC following stated guidelines.

3. *Elements:*

a. Windows shall be predominantly vertical in proportion, and must not be constructed in combination of more than two (2) units.

b. Exterior doors shall be wood panel or fixed glass panel in wood frame.

c. Siding shall exhibit a horizontal, clapboard profile. Wood, masonite, aluminum and vinyl are acceptable materials. Painted concrete block or stucco are also acceptable foundation materials subject to design review by the AUDC.

d. The compatibility rule shall apply to corner boards, fascia boards, bottom boards, window and door trim and other trim.

g) *Roof:*

1. The compatibility rule shall apply.

2. The compatibility rule shall apply with variance of up to 20 percent but must not be less than 6.12 in any case.

3. *Elements:*

a. Roofing materials shall include asphalt shingles, hot tar, mopped felt, slate and metal. Flat roofs or roofs not visible from the street may use any roof covering that conforms to standard architectural specification. Wood shingles or slates are not permitted except through design review by the AUDC. Cold-rolled roofing may not be used except as a temporary cover subject to approval by the AUDC.

b. Where chimneys are used, they shall be faced in brick, stucco or painted concrete block.

c. Dormers shall be permitted subject to design review by AUDC.

h) *Porches:*

1. Front porches are required, and the compatibility rule applies. Design of front porches is subject to design review by the AUDC.

2. The compatibility rule shall apply to all materials. Porches may be enclosed with screenwire or glass if the main characteristics of a front porch are maintained.

3. Porches shall contain balustrades, columns and other features consistent with porches in that block, although standard lumber is permitted (i.e., 4 by 4, 2 by 2, etc.). Design of porches is subject to design review by the AUDC.

4. Porches and decks shall be permitted on the side and rear of the house if not visible from the street.

i) *Foundations:*

1. The compatibility rule shall apply to the required height of first floor above street level.

2. Foundations shall be of masonry pier or continuous wall construction. Pier foundations shall be either open or closed with solid or screen infill wall.

3. Slab-on-grade shall be permitted where it is appropriate to site and type of construction if general proportion of house facades are not compromised. Slab-on-grade design is subject to design review by the AUDC. (Ord. No. 1983-27, Sec. 1, 12/21/82)

Section 16-20A.007 Neighborhood commercial/services (subarea 4).

In addition to the general regulations required in section 16-20A.003, the following regulations shall apply to any new development or the conversion of any existing structures to permitted uses within the neighborhood commercial/services subarea. These regulations are intended to preserve the neighborhood commercial/services subarea and to encourage the continued use of the existing structures for commercial and service use in support of the residential community within the Cabbagetown Landmark District. These regulations further intend to ensure that any conversion in usage, which may be permitted for preservation purposes in existing structures, is compatible with the overall character of the district as a whole.

(1) *Permitted principal uses and structures:* A building or premises shall be used only for the following principal purposes, and any new development, conversion of existing structures to uses permitted within the district, or renovation or proposed change of the exterior facade of any existing structures visible from the public street shall require the granting of a certificate of appropriateness by the urban design commission prior to the issuance of a building permit.

a) Barbershops, beauty shops and similar personal service establishments.

b) Tailoring, custom dressmaking, millinery and similar establishments limited to not more than 5000 square feet in area.

c) Repair establishments for home appliances, bicycles, lawn mowers, shoes, clocks and similar articles.

d) Specialty shops such as antique stores, gift shops, boutiques, art and craft stores, and apothecary shops, provided no such establishment shall occupy more than 2000 square feet of floor area.

e) Offices, studios, clinics (including veterinary) but not blood donor stations.

f) Laundry and dry cleaning, collection stations or plants; limited to no more than 5000 square feet floor area; laundry and dry cleaning establishments where equipment is operated by customers.

g) Retail establishments, including catering establishments, delicatessens and bakeries without wholesale operations.

h) Restaurants, in existing structures with no more than 2000 square feet of floor space devoted to such use and having no drive-in service.

i) Clubs and lodges.

j) Museums, galleries, libraries, theaters and similar related cultural facilities.

k) Child care centers, day care centers, prekindergarten, kindergartens, play and other special schools for young children.

l) Public or private schools having similar academic curriculum and special schools for exceptional children.

m) Business and commercial schools.

n) Churches, synagogues, temples and other religious worship facilities, having a minimum lot area of at least one (1) acre.

o) Single-family, two-family and multifamily structures.

p) Structures and uses required for operation of MARTA but not including uses involving storage, train yards, warehousing, switching, or maintenance shop as the primary purpose.

Except for off-street parking and necessary activities as are permitted by the urban design commission, all commercial sales and service activities shall be conducted within completely enclosed buildings, and there shall be no unenclosed displays of merchandise. No wholesaling or jobbing shall be conducted from within this subarea. No use or manner of operation shall be permitted which is obnoxious or offensive by reason of odor, smoke, noise, glare, fumes, gas, vibration, unusual danger of fire or explosion, emission of particulate matter or for other reasons incompatible with the character of this subarea and its relation to adjoining residential subareas.

(2) *Permitted accessory uses and structures:* Uses and structures which are customarily incidental and subordinate to permitted principal uses and structures to include devices for generation of energy such as solar panels, wind generators and similar devices. Except as otherwise herein provided, no merchandise shall be stored other than that to be sold at retail on the premises; and no storage for such merchandise shall occupy more than 25 percent of the total floor area on the premises. No off-premises storage of such merchandise shall be permitted in the district as either a principal or accessory use.

(3) *Special permits:* The following uses are permissible only by special permit of the kind indicated, subject to limitations and requirements set forth herein or elsewhere in this part:

a) *Special use permits:*

1. Oudoor amusement enterprises, exhibits, entertainments, meetings, displays or sales areas, or outdoor areas for religious ceremonies of 90 days' or more duration.

2. Pool rooms, billiard parlors, amusement arcades.

b) *Special administrative permits:*

1. Outdoor amusement enterprises, exhibits, entertainments, meetings, displays or sales areas, or outdoor areas for religious ceremonies of less than 90 days' duration.

c) *Special exceptions:*

1. Churches, temples, synagogues and other religious worship facilities where the lot is less than one (1) acre.

2. Structures and uses required for operation of a public utility except uses involving storage, train yards, warehousing, switching or maintenance shops as a primary purpose.

(4) *Development controls:*

a) *Minimum lot requirements:* The compatibility rule shall apply with a variance of up to five (5) percent permitted, or setbacks must conform to the setback of previously existing building as legally recorded.

b) *Maximum height requirements:* The compatibility rule shall apply with variance of up to 10 percent permitted.

c) *Off-street parking:* No off-street parking in this subarea shall be required. Where provided, design of parking facility shall be subject to design review by the AUDC.

d) *Fencing and walls:* Fencing in front of a structure shall be subject to design review by the AUDC.

(5) *Building facades:*

a) The general facade organization and proportions shall be subject to design review by the AUDC.

b) All changes in exterior windows, doors, siding and trim shall be subject to design review by the AUDC.

(6) *Roofs:*

a) Roof form and pitch shall be subject to design review by the AUDC.

b) Roofing materials shall include asphalt shingles, hot tar, mopped felt, slate and metal. Flat roofs or roofs not visible from the street may be constructed of any roofing that meets standard architectural specifications.

c) Where chimneys exist or are used, they shall be faced in brick, stucco or painted concrete block. Chimneys shall be subject to design review by the AUDC.

d) Dormers shall be subject to design review by the AUDC.

(7) *Porches:*

a) Front porches, if provided, shall be subject to design review by the AUDC.

b) Front porches shall contain balustrades, columns and other features consistent with porches in that block, although standard lumber is permitted (i.e., 4 by 4, 2 by 4, 2 by 2, etc.). (Ord. No. 1983-27, Sec. 1, 12/21/82; Ord. No. 1989-52, Sec. 2, 6/27/89)

(8) Repealed. (Ord. No. 1994-40, Sec. 46, 8/18/94)

Section 16-20A.008 Transitional commercial/industrial area (subarea 5).

In addition to the general regulations required in section 16-20A.003, the following regulations shall apply to any new development or the conversion of any existing structures to permitted uses within the area. These regulations are intended to mitigate any nocuous effects that the commercial intrusion subarea may have on adjoining residential uses within the remainder of the Cabbagetown Landmark District. These regulations further intend to maintain compatibility between the existing and future uses of the area and the overall character of the district as a whole.

(1) *Permitted uses:*

a) A building or premises within this subarea shall be used only for the following principal purposes; and any new development, conversion of existing structures to permitted uses, or renovation or proposed change of the exterior facade of any existing structure shall require granting of a certificate of appropriateness by the AUDC.

(b) A building or premises shall be used only for the prinicpal uses specified within Section 16-16.003 of this part, with the exception of paragraph (1) allowing adult business and paragraph (17) allowing signs, general advertising. (Ord. No. 1994-40, Sec. 47, 8/18/94)

No use or manner of operation shall be permitted which is obnoxious or offensive by reason of odor, smoke, noise, fumes, gas, vibration, unusual danger of fire or explosion, emission of particulate matter, or interference with radio or television reception.

(2) *Permitted accessory uses and structures:* Uses and structures are allowed which are incidental and subordinate to permitted principal uses, and structures to include devices for generation of energy such as solar panels, wind generators, and similar devices.

(3) *Special permits:*

a) *Special use permits:*

1. Poolrooms, billiard parlors, amusement arcades.

2. Terminals, freight, rail, bus or truck, when erected or operated by other than a governmental agency.

b) *Special administrative permits:*

1. Outdoor amusement enterprises, exhibits, entertainments, meetings, displays or sales areas, or outdoor areas for religious ceremonies of less than 90 days' duration.

c) *Special exceptions:*

1. Off-street parking within 500 feet of primary use.

(4) *Transitional requirements:*

a) *Transitional uses:* Where commercial or industrial uses in this subarea abut residential usage, 100 feet of the lot devoted to such commercial or industrial use shall not be used for any drive-in facility, mortuary or funeral home, sales lot for automobiles, or general advertising signs.

b) *Transitional yards:*

1. *Side yards:* Adjacent to residential use without an intervening street, 20 feet is required, that shall not be used for parking, paving or loading or servicing. For a side yard adjacent to a side street, half the required front shall be provided.

2. *Rear yard:* There shall be a rear yard of 20 feet when adjacent to a residential use district, that shall not be used for parking, paving or loading or servicing.

3. *Screening:* Where a lot in this subarea abuts a residential use on the rear lot line, without an intervening street, opaque fencing or screening not less than six (6) feet in height shall be provided and maintained in sightly condition (see section 16-28.008).

c) *Development controls:*

1. *Setbacks:* The compatibility rule shall apply for front yard setbacks, with a variance of up to five (5) percent permitted; no regulations for other setbacks.

2. *Building height:* The compatibility rule shall apply with a variance of up to 10 percent permitted.

3. *Off-street parking:* Off-street parking shall be required as provided for in section 16-16.009.

4. *Landscape:* All properties in this area shall have a landscape plan approved through design review by the AUDC, whether or not any construction exists or is planned. (Ord. No. 1983-27, Sec. 1, 12/21/82; Ord. No. 1989-52, Sec. 2, 6/27/89; Ord. No. 1994-40, Sec. 48, 8/18/94)

Amendment Note: Section 48 of Ord. No. 1994-40, adopted 8/15/94, approved 8/18/94, amended 16-20A.008(4)(a) by deleting the words "or general advertising signs."

VITA

Frank Bingham McGinley, III, was born in Memphis, Tennessee on March 5, 1969. He grew up in Savannah, Tennessee but attended secondary school at The Webb School in Bell Buckle, Tennessee, graduating in 1987. He earned his Bachelor of Arts degree from the University of Tennessee, Knoxville in 1991, with a major in English. After living and working for a year in Boulder, Colorado, he returned to the University of Tennessee and began work toward a Master of Arts degree in Sociology. He received his M.A. in May of 1998.