



REFILL

NORTH TULSA

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The University of Oklahoma
Graduate College

Refill: A Strategy for Repopulating North Tulsa

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in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
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By

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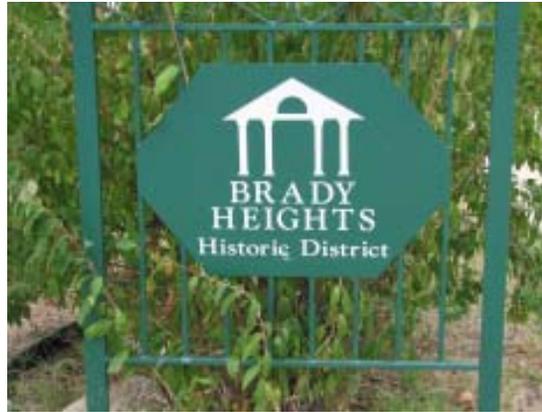
Corporation), Indianapolis Office



Downtown Tulsa-Heart of the Region

“Here we have no lasting city but we look forward to the city that is to come”-Hebrews 13:14

Executive Summary



Executive Summary



Project Area

The area is bounded on the north by 36th St. North, the south by I-244, west by the Tisdale Parkway/ Osage Expressway and east by U.S. 75.

The Challenge

Despite efforts that stretch back for over 40 years to revitalize the area, the decline of North Tulsa has continued. The challenge of this project is to refill vacant lots or dilapidated structures that cover it.

Primary Purpose

Develop strategies and policies that could result in **population growth** in North Tulsa, as defined by 36th St. North, the Tisdale Parkway/Osage Expressway, I-244 and U.S. 75.

What is “Refill”?

Development of vacant land that once may have been occupied by a structure or replacement of no longer habitable or usable structures. In other words, refilling the use of the land or structures.

Desired Outcomes

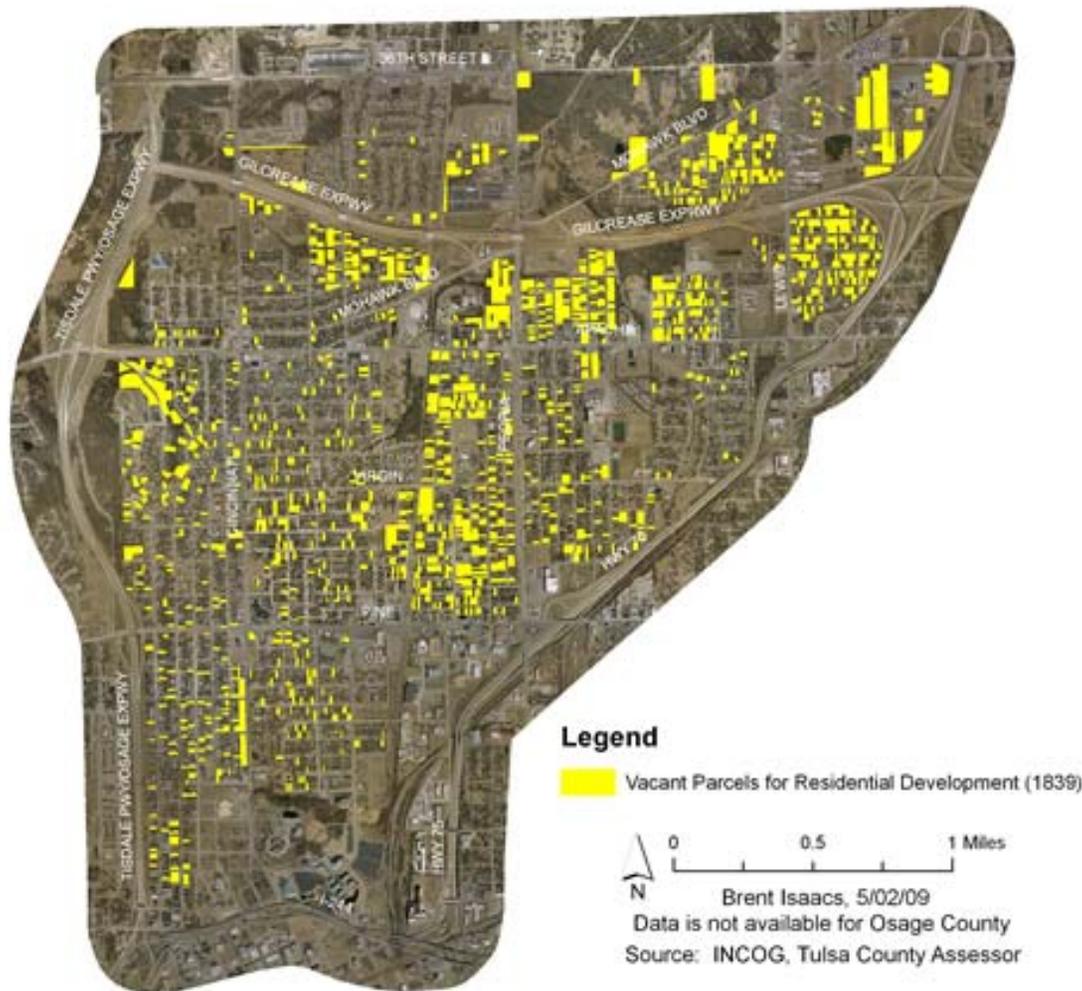
- Additional residents in North Tulsa.
- More businesses for services.
- Additional sales tax revenues.
- Better utilization of infrastructure.

Executive Summary

Method of Research

The method chosen for identifying parcels that might be redeveloped was to use Tulsa County Assessor's data that was in a GIS compatible format. The information in their database is from periodic assessments that appraisers conduct on property for tax purposes.

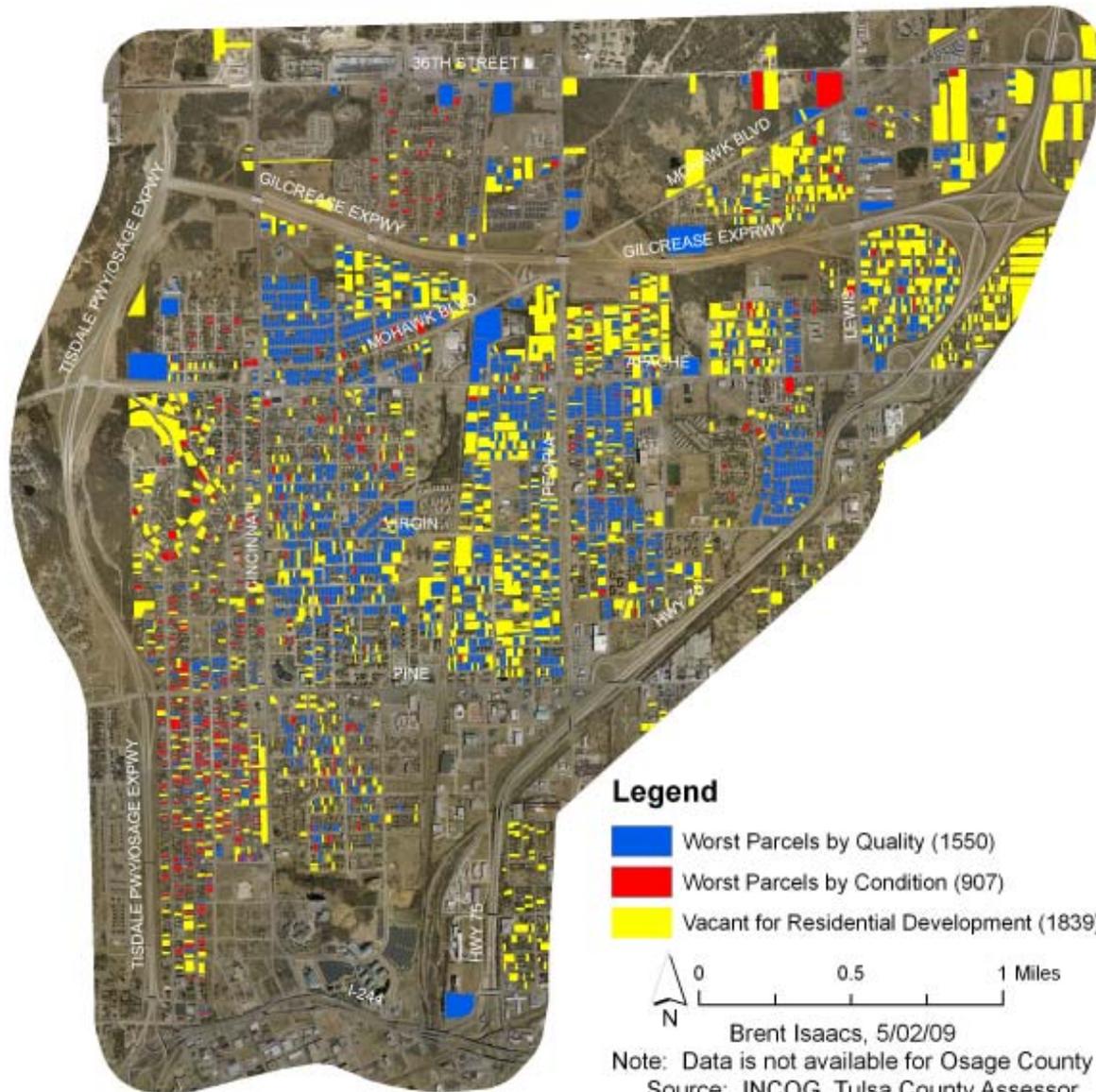
For the purposes of providing an estimate, a parameter of 12,000 square feet was used to limit sites chosen that could be residential parcels. According to the Tulsa County Assessor's data there are many parcels meeting this criteria scattered all across the project area. These are located in areas that are residentially zoned and available to be developed as housing. Over 1800 parcels meet this criteria. Two areas of vacant parcels in particular stand out: the area between Peoria Avenue and the Midland Trail and the area between Apache and Gilcrease Expressway.



Executive Summary

Method of Research (con't)

Three major possible criteria can be used to determine the suitability of a parcel for refill: poor quality, poor condition and vacant residentially zoned lots. The Assessor uses industry standard information to determine quality and condition of property. Quality is based on the craftsmanship, structure and materials used. Condition is based on the physical condition of the property relative to its age and construction. In this area, no real overlapping pattern emerges. What is clear is that the worst parcels by quality are concentrated north of Pine while the worst parcels by condition are west of Cincinnati.



Executive Summary

Method of Research (con't)

When all the different criteria reviewed through previous maps are put together: vacant sites, the worst parcels by condition and quality, residential zoning, and staying out of the floodplain; it becomes quite apparent that at first glance the refill sites are north of Pine. The 390 sites are largely to the east of Dirty Butter Creek and west of the Cherokee Expressway, almost running diagonal across the project area from the southwest to the northeast.

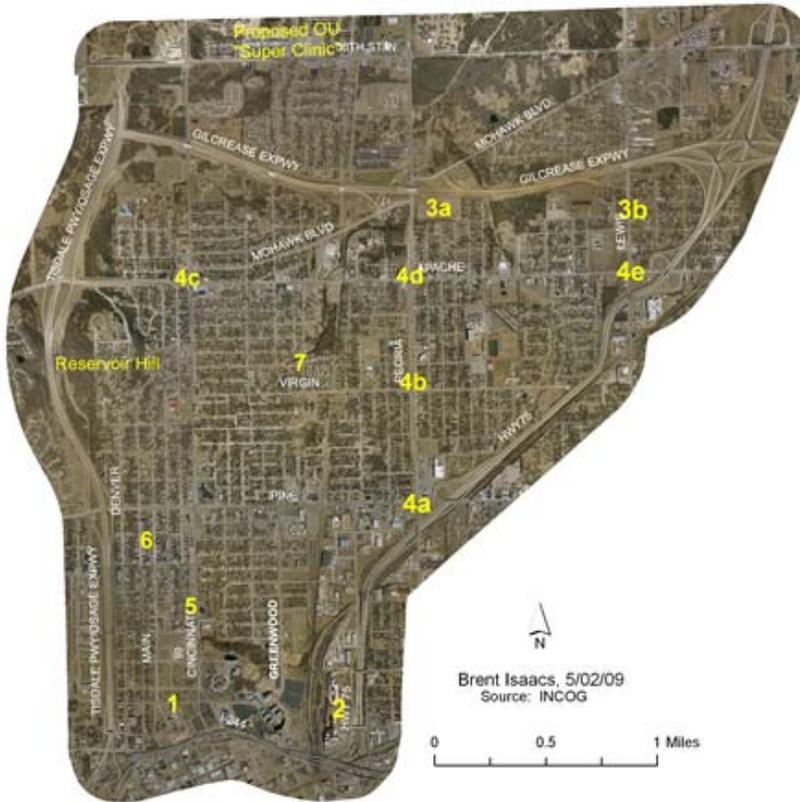
Of course, this method is just one way of determining such sites and they remain scattered across the area.



Refill Criteria

While analysis using assessors data has led to some interesting findings about the parcels in the project area, it alone should not be the determinant of what areas appear to be the most appropriate for refill. Below is the recommended criteria in picking sites to focus on first:

1. The site must be of significant enough size to permit the construction of several units of housing and or commercial development.
2. The site must be viewed as having marketing potential due to its location.
3. The site must be along a primary or secondary arterial street so as to be easily visible to passing traffic.



Potential Refill Options (indicated on adjacent map)

1. *Five Points/Standpipe Hill*-This is a cleared out area that is reserved for OSU-Tulsa. Opportunities exist here taking advantage of downtown views and access with residential development.
2. *Evans-Fintube*-This is an old industrial site with pollution issues, a brownfield. Given the size and location of the site adjacent to highways and downtown, its refilling makes sense.
- 3a. *Peoria and the Gilcrease Expressway*-This is a large site that has been made much more attractive with the completion of the Gilcrease west to the Tisdale Parkway/Osage Expressway. It is a crossroads for North Tulsa also because expressway access and the intersection with Mohawk Blvd.

Executive Summary

Potential Refill Sites (continued, indicated on map on previous page)

- 3b.** *Sites along the Gilcrease*-Several sites along the Gilcrease either have been cleared, never been developed or have dilapidated housing. Expressway access make them attractive.
- 4.** *Intersection sites*-a. *Pine and Peoria*, b. *Virgin and Peoria*, c. *Apache and Cincinnati*, d. *Apache and Peoria*, e. *Apache and Lewis*-Opportunities exist for neighborhood scale, walkable development at each intersection.
- 5.** *West Side of Cincinnati*- This site south of Pine that would be ideal for neighborhood oriented walkable development.
- 6.** *Rehabilitation/Repair focus area*-Housing quality is stronger in the area west of Cincinnati.
- 7.** *Reconstruction/Rebuild focus area*-Housing conditions are poor west of Cincinnati and north of Pine, particularly in the square mile bounded by Pine, Apache, Cincinnati and Peoria.

Potential Strategies to Promote Refill

- 1.** *Community Development Corporations*-non-profit organizations that have a mission to improve their community focusing on implementing projects which are neighborhood driven.
- 2.** *Flexible Code Enforcement*-creating new codes that could be used to more effectively force minimum standards economically and the licensing of landlords or certificates of occupancy to ensure minimum standards are maintained.
- 3.** *Business Development*-attempting to use national models for distressed areas to grow and attract needed business and services.
- 4.** *Development Fees*-are charged to developers based on the the size of the development and the amount of new infrastructure required for it when completed.
- 5.** *Tax Incentives*-ideas such as urban homesteading that reduce taxes for a time for people to purchase or build homes in a specific area.

Executive Summary

Suggested Actions

1. *Assemble a task force* to study whether it makes more sense to create a new community development organization or an ongoing council of existing organizations to focus on repopulating and revitalizing North Tulsa.
2. *Conduct a needed detailed market analysis* that considers the demand that could be created for population growth in the area if adequate commercial services were provided and/or other tax incentives to attract new residential development.
3. *Develop specific neighborhood strategies* based on the principles of PlaniTulsa as applied to existing neighborhood conditions.
4. *Create an implementation plan* in conjunction with these strategies with development community support.
5. *Launch an aggressive housing rehabilitation program* with lot clearance as an option of last resort.
6. *Create a program to clean up dirty property titles* that impede development.
7. *The City should consider the licensing of landlords or issuing certificates of occupancy* with the funds to be dedicated to code enforcement.
8. *Create special tax incentives to promote living in North Tulsa* with urban homesteading just being one example.
9. *The City should enact some type of system that requires developers to pay the cost of infrastructure for new developments* outside older developed areas of the city. Ideally, this should be done on a regional basis.

Additional Information

The information contained in this executive summary is a very brief summary of the research and recommendations in the broader report. It is highly recommended that the reader review the longer document to get a much better context of Refilling North Tulsa.

Defining the Project



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A Short History and Introduction to North Tulsa

North Tulsa is an area with great potential for the future that is virtually unrecognized at this time. Due to many reasons, among them long-standing disinvestment, crime, blight and racial segregation, the area has been historically overlooked, especially during Tulsa's post-World War II development. But North Tulsa was not always viewed this way. In the first half of the city's history, the area had more vibrancy than it does today. While a tragedy and hate crime of horrendous proportions occurred in its Greenwood district (the 1921 Race Riot), the area rebuilt and life moved on. For the future of the area, and Tulsa as a whole, it is past time to begin to rebuild the North Tulsa of today, despite what seem to be insurmountable challenges. Consequently, there is a tremendous need to develop new economic and political strategies to rebuild it.



*Tate Brady Mansion
on N. Denver*

During Tulsa's early history the city's primary growth direction was north. Indeed, one of Tulsa's earliest civic leaders, Tate Brady, built his mansion which still stands today in Brady Heights. There was virtually no development north of Pine Street. The area was highly segregated with the African-American community living primarily in neighborhoods between Greenwood and Cheyenne Avenues (Goble, 1997). Areas to the west of the Greenwood district were primarily white, with a mixture of socio-economic classes. Many worked for the railroads, in oilfields and heavy industry. But there were also bankers, lawyers and oilmen that worked downtown.

It appears that segregation created two neighborhood commercial areas that dominated the area. One was Greenwood, also known as Black Wall Street, for the incredible opportunities and market that it had for enterprising blacks. The other was along North Main, continuing up to an area known today as Five Points. Only parts of these districts remain. A one block portion of Greenwood has had facades of old structures preserved with new buildings behind. The rest of Greenwood has been demolished and replaced with OSU-Tulsa, Langston University, a new residential sub-division, parks and dry pond flood detention areas. North Main today is the primary north-south connection through Brady Village but all remains of commercial development stop on the southern edge of I-244. The Five Points Area has been obliterated, with no buildings remaining as the land is held in trust for expansion of OSU-Tulsa to the west.



Greenwood today near Archer

A Short History and Introduction to North Tulsa

Despite the terrible race riot that destroyed Black Wall Street in 1921, the area rebuilt slowly over time and life went on, largely continuing to grow as before until the 1960s. From the 1920s, the area expanded further north toward Apache St. Areas around Reservoir Hill and the hill itself were developed largely before the Great Depression. New post-World War II suburban style housing was built between Apache and 36th St. North for returning veterans and to accommodate pent up demand. This resulted in the development of a new suburban shopping alternative for whites, Northland, along 36th St. North. North Tulsa was continuing to experience new growth and development just like the rest of the city, even though with the construction of the Skelly Bypass (I-44) in the 1950s Tulsa had begun a dramatic surge in growth south.

However, with the civil rights movement; the removal of enforcement of restrictive residential covenants (designed to keep out African-Americans), *Brown vs. the Board of Education*, passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Fair Housing Act of 1968; things began to change dramatically. First of all, Greenwood Avenue, which had prospered because it had a built in market due to

segregation, began to decline as African-Americans could shop and dine freely downtown, at Northland and throughout Tulsa. Second, African-Americans also began to spread out as they were no longer confined to one area of town. Civil

rights laws gave them the right to live where they wanted and many were ready for a change. What resulted was a major shift in the composition of North Tulsa neighborhoods almost over night as white flight took hold. Third, what were once all white schools in some areas of North Tulsa became almost all African-American over a short time as legal segregation ended and white parents pulled their children out as more African-Americans began attending their schools.



N. Main south of I-244



Greenwood during the race riot

A Short History and Introduction to North Tulsa



Typical Burroughs area home west of Cincinnati

Due to a shift in the African-American population to the west and north and resulting white flight, older areas like Greenwood and Five Points were viewed as blighted and decayed. The solution was one that was tried in cities all across America: urban renewal. Many African-American Tulsans will say that their community went through two holocausts: the race riot and urban renewal. The Tulsa Urban Renewal Authority (TURA), now known as Tulsa Development Authority (TDA) forever changed the landscape of almost all of the near north side. Nearly every neighborhood between downtown and Pine, and east of Brady Heights, was demolished. In its place, some new suburban style residential subdivisions were built. However, the closest areas to downtown remained fallow. Matters were made worse when I-244 was built on the southern boundary of this area further cutting it off because it was an elevated road.

As the 1970s began, North Tulsa had begun a serious spiral of decline that would worsen throughout the decade. More houses were abandoned or not maintained. This resulted in TDA conducting “spot clearance”- the removal of just a few buildings while maintaining the surrounding neighborhood. Part of this was due to a drop or stagnation in prices as some people believe that the properties would now be worth less than before. Resegregation of neighborhoods was occurring all over North Tulsa as areas that had once been almost all white became nearly 100% African-American. It was commonly held that having an African American in a house would cause its property value to drop. In some other cases new African-American occupants did not have the means to properly maintain the homes and absentee landlords did not care. Commercially, Northland began to decline. Following a fire and disastrous roof collapse, it was never the same. Services that had once been available in North Tulsa ceased to exist since Greenwood and Five Points had all but disappeared.



Five Points today after urban renewal north of I-244 and west of Cincinnati

A Short History and Introduction to North Tulsa



University Center at Tulsa now OSU-Tulsa

The 1980s and 1990s continued a pattern of decline although white population losses slowed. At the same time, there began to be signs of African-American flight as well. Crime also was worsening and becoming a greater problem as gang and drug activity, and the violence that accompanies it, dramatically increased. Despite the population loss, crime trends, and the accompanying disinvestment, there were some glimmers of hope. Two developments occurred that finally began to breathe some signs of life back into the furthest southern areas that had been part of urban renewal. First, Greenwood Centre was built that preserved the few remaining facades on Greenwood Avenue while providing new commercial space behind them. Second, the first phase of the University Center at Tulsa (UCT), now OSU-Tulsa, was built on a portion of vacant urban renewal land.

Today, North Tulsa has continued a pattern of disinvestment that remains unabated. Sadly, it appears that almost all persons that could leave or want to leave have left. Vacant homes, vacant lots and poorly maintained homes dot the landscape. A perception remains, rightly or not, that crime in the area is out of control and it is not safe. Efforts to attract new basic services to the area have largely failed for a variety of reasons. The poster child for the problem is the now vacant Albertsons at Pine and Peoria. There is now a growing disconnect between North Tulsa and the rest of the city. Health statistics demonstrate this in a very striking way: if you live in part of North Tulsa, your life expectancy is 14 years less than some of the wealthier parts of the city (Archer, 2009).



Vacant former Albertsons grocery

Thus, the challenge remains of changing North Tulsa for the future. Because its problems are blight, a lack of services, vacant housing, perceived high crime, racial segregation, poor schools and many others, no one approach is a silver bullet to the area's problems. However, it is critical that there start to be some improvement soon for the future of Tulsa. The city can no longer sprawl south and east due to having nearly reached the geographic limits of growth in this direction. It must turn around to consider the future of its inner city that has long been neglected. Because of that reality, maybe things will finally start to change for the better in a real way.

Location of Historical Landmarks

The numbers below refer to locations on the map that were referenced on the previous Introduction and History.

- 1 Tate Brady Mansion
- 2 Greenwood Avenue (also known as Black Wall Street)
- 3 Five Points (at the north end of the Main Street commercial district)
- 4 Reservoir Hill
- 5 Northland Shopping Center
- 6 Greenwood Centre
- 7 University Center at Tulsa (now OSU-Tulsa)
- 8 Former Albertsons grocery store
- 9 Banfield site



North Tulsa Historical Timeline

- 1893-Tulsa incorporates
- 1907-Statehood and enactment of Jim Crow laws forcing segregation
- 1921-Race Riot destroys the African-American Greenwood commercial district known as Black Wall Street
- 1930-Kennedy plan for “The Osage” completed which would drive Tulsa’s growth toward the northwest
- 1930-Tulsa refuses to annex land for “The Osage” prompting Kennedy to prohibit development till 1960 which encouraged the city to grow south and east
- 1946-1960-New suburban areas built further north and east
- 1950s-Northland constructed
- 1953-Skelly Drive completed (I-44) around the south and east sides of Tulsa
- Late 1950s-Integration of schools in Tulsa begins due to Brown vs. Board of Education prompting white flight from the north side
- 1964 and 1968-Landmark civil rights legislation ends legal segregation in housing, employment and public places
- 1960s-Urban renewal, model cities and public housing primarily affects the near north side
- 1966-Huge annexation of land to the south and east doubles Tulsa’s land area overnight
- 1970s-The Crosstown Expressway (I-244) is completed effectively changing the southern boundary of North Tulsa from the BNSF Railroad to its elevated alignment
- 1970s-Gilcrease Hills developed on portions of land that Kennedy had originally proposed for “The Osage”
- 1970s-Northland Shopping Center closes due to the decline in its surrounding neighborhood and roof collapse



Tulsa in the 1920s



Looking up N. Main about 1907



Tulsa Race Riot destroys Greenwood

North Tulsa Historical Timeline

- 1980-Enactment of third-penny sales tax for capital needs
- 1980s-Further decline of neighborhoods on north side
- Early 1980s-Remaining facades on Greenwood used in Greenwood Center, Greenwood Cultural Center built
- Early 1980s-Decision made to open the Haikey Creek Sewer Treatment Plant, further allowing more growth south and east
- Mid 1980s-Establishment of the University Center of Tulsa (UCT), now OSU-Tulsa
- Early 1990s-Gilcrease Expressway extended west to U.S. 75 from the airport across part of North Tulsa
- U.S. 169 extended to 71st Street South and Creek Turnpike built west to U.S. 75 spurring further development southeast
- Late 1990s to present-Concern about growing problems with crime and blight, particularly on the north side
- Late 1990s-Redevelopment of Osage Hills Public Housing on the northwest side into a Hope VI project called Country Club Gardens espousing new urbanist design principles begins
- 2004-Rebuilt Peoria Avenue opens, new Albertson's grocery store and adjacent retail open at Peoria and Pine, the first significant new development north in many years
- 2006-Albertsons closes after leaving OK and no buyers wanting the north location
- 2006-present- Ongoing efforts to attract a new grocery store to the former Albertsons site
- 2008-Effort launched to redevelop the former Banfield site



Northland sign then and now along 36th St. North



Typical North Tulsa home in decay



Country Club Gardens HOPE VI project on the west side of the Osage-Tisdale

What is Refill North Tulsa?

The Challenge

Despite efforts that stretch back for over 40 years to revitalize the area, the decline of North Tulsa has continued. The challenge of this project is to **refill** vacant lots or dilapidated homes that cover it.

Primary Purpose

*Develop strategies and policies that could result in **population growth** in North Tulsa, as defined by 36th St. North, the Osage-Tisdale, I-244 and Cherokee Expressways.*

The project is not about dealing with perceived problems with crime and poor education. While these are very real issues which need to be addressed, they are outside the scope of this project.

What is “Refill”?

- Development of vacant land that once may have been occupied by a structure or replacement of no longer habitable or usable structures. In other words, refilling the use of the land or structures.

Desired Outcomes

- Additional residents in North Tulsa.
- More businesses and services in the area.
- Additional sales tax revenues for the City.
- Better utilization of infrastructure.
- New urban lifestyle opportunities such as New Urbanism.



Cleared out urban renewal area



Decaying North Tulsa house



New development on vacant land

Why North Tulsa?

Evidence that the broader citizen population is concerned.

- As part of the PlaniTulsa comprehensive planning process, Fregonese and Associates engaged Collective Strength to do a survey of community attitudes and priorities. The survey found that 83% of Tulsans believe North Tulsa is not receiving enough attention or resources 34% believe that it should be the highest priority for the future, higher than any other region of the city (Collective Strength, pp. 36-37, 2008).

North Tulsa has experienced little new development in many years.

Virtually all redevelopment is occurring in Midtown Tulsa.

Infrastructure and natural amenities are present.

Wide variety of property types are available for refill projects.

- Brownfields
- Vacant underutilized land
- Blighted properties

Why population growth?

- is a base for business and services growth.
- is a very visible activity that can change the perception of North Tulsa.
- infrastructure is vastly underutilized, giving the city a poor return on investment.
- *There are large numbers of existing vacant residential parcels (properties with no residential structure on them). Estimates by this study indicate there may be as many as 2,000 vacant parcels or lots in the target area. Most of this is due to population loss.*

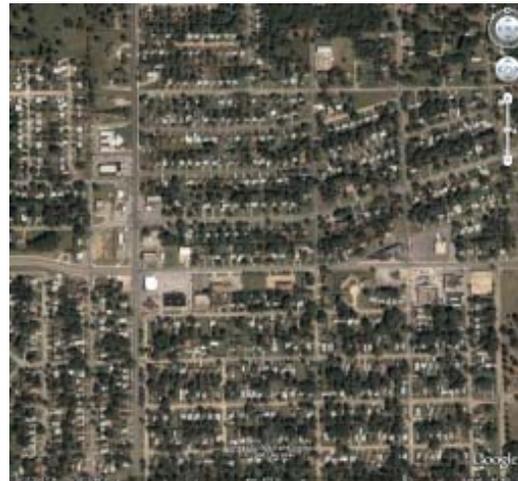


Apache Circle Development on Apache west of Cincinnati



Decaying home in Burroughs neighborhood

Data and Maps



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Refill North Tulsa Area



As it currently exists, the project area is defined by the major expressways that cut through North Tulsa, with U.S. Highway 75 (Cherokee Expressway) on the east, I-244 (north side of the Inner-Dispersal Loop) on the south and the Tisdale Parkway/Osage Expressway on the west. On the north side, the border is deliberately different than all the others because of the recent extension of the Gilcrease Expressway west from U.S. 75 to the Tisdale Parkway/Osage Expressway. Thus, a decision was made to use the historical east/west route on the north side- 36th St. North.

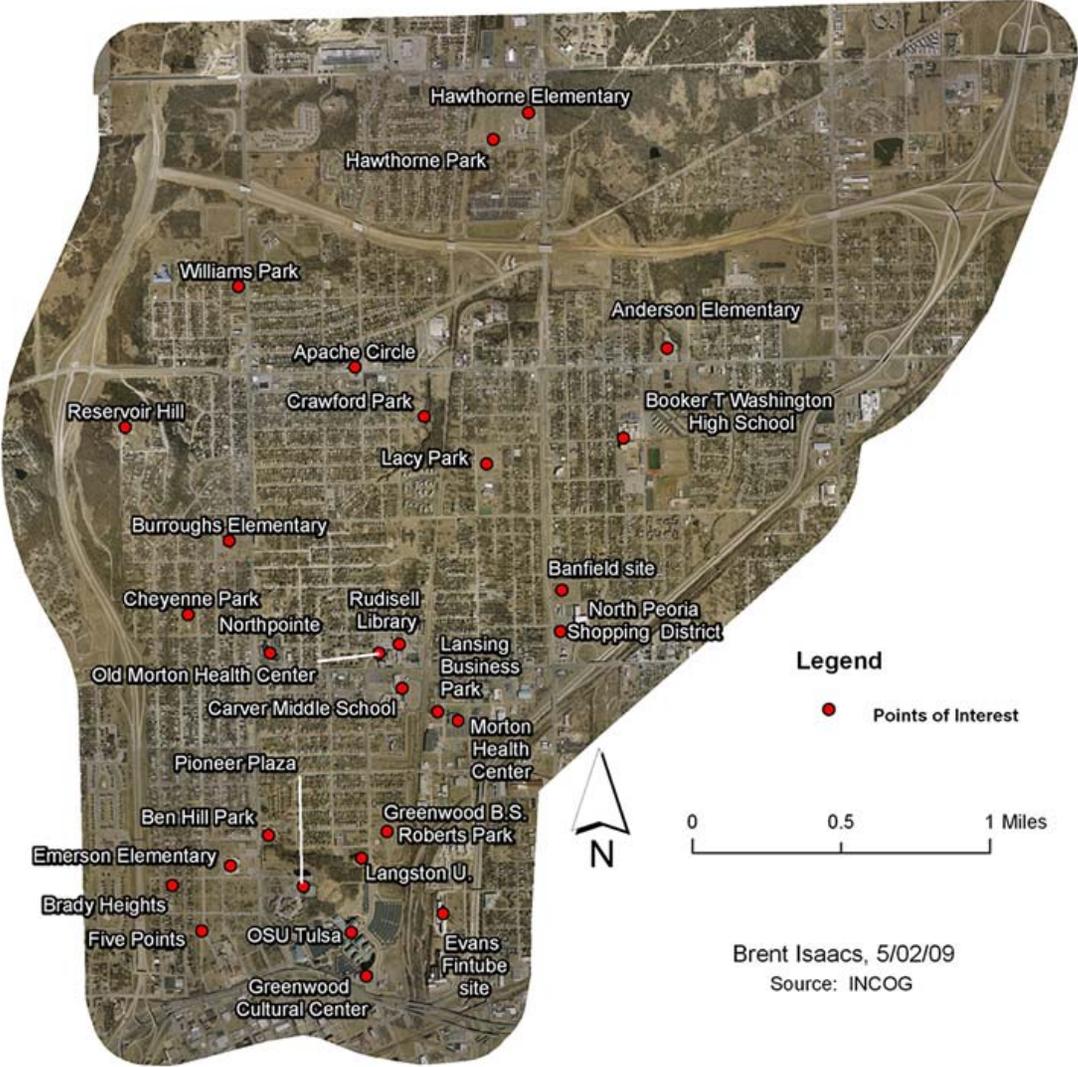
On the east and west sides, it was felt that the longstanding presence of the rail line (ex-Santa Fe) and the Osage County line respectively reinforced the natural barriers created by the highways. On the south, I-244 today clearly delineates the northern edge of downtown. Despite the historical boundary of North Tulsa prior to its construction being the BNSF Railroad, it now provides a noticeable barrier given its elevation. The northern border does not have nearly as strong a boundary, as evidenced by the above discussion.

Points of Interest

The character of the area is defined by its parks, schools and churches, not unlike most of Tulsa. As far as landmarks are concerned, they are largely clustered along Pine and in the area just north of downtown.

The most notable are the Greenwood Cultural Center, OSU-Tulsa, Morton Health Clinic, Reservoir Hill, Pine and North Peoria shopping district, and Booker T. Washington High School.

Landmarks further north consist of neighborhood parks and elementary schools.



Detailed Census Tract Data

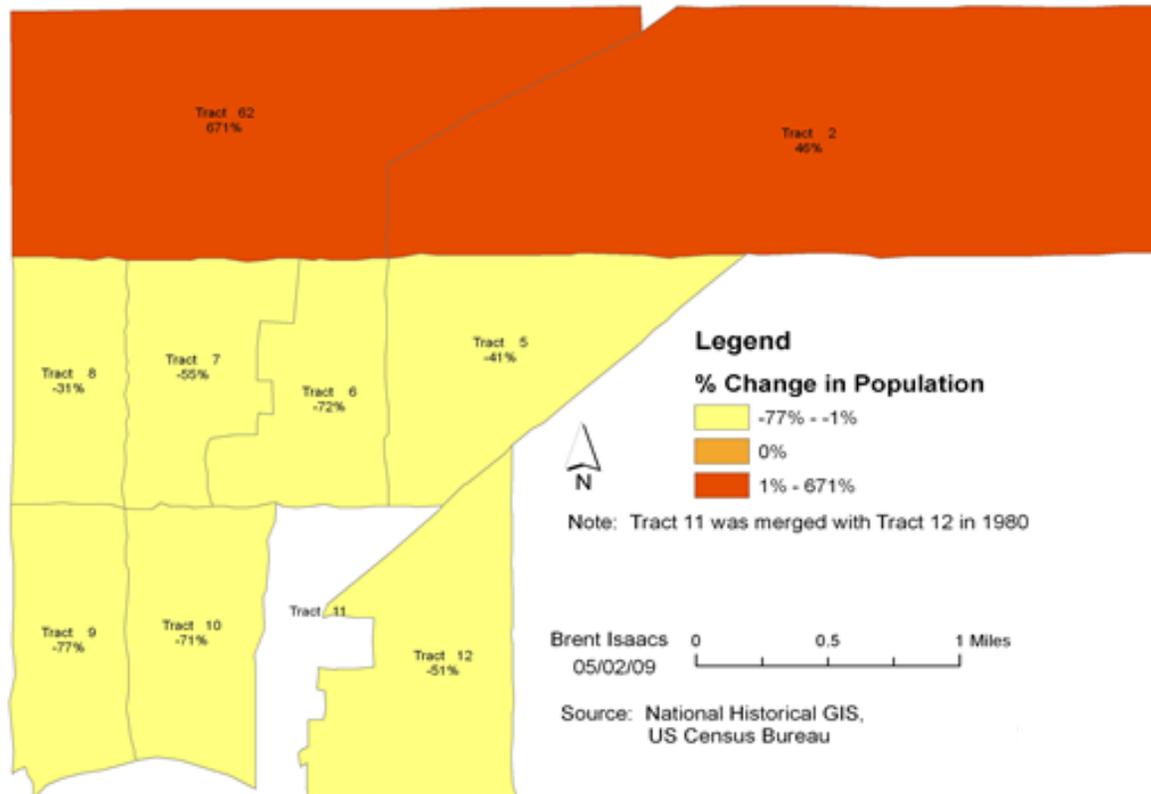
CENSUS COMPARISONS 1960-2000 TABLE: POPULATION AND HOUSING UNITS

	Tract 2	Tract 5	Tract 6	Tract 7	Tract 8	Tract 9	Tract 10	Tract 11	Tract 12	Tract 62	Total
2000 POPULATION	1,295	2,613	1,173	1,772	1,564	1,590	1,494	NA	2,023	2,913	16,437
Change in Pop.	-188	179	-24	-93	-189	-331	205	NA	357	131	47
<i>Housing Units 2000</i>	617	1,088	708	830	718	737	746	NA	871	1,347	7,662
Change in Units	-188	179	-24	-93	-189	-331	205	NA	357	131	47
1990 POPULATION	1483	2434	1197	1865	1753	1921	1289	NA	1666	2782	16390
Change in Pop.	-346	-994	-607	-428	-415	-1115	19	NA	-1090	-1018	-5994
<i>Housing Units 1990</i>	805	909	732	923	907	1068	541	NA	514	1216	7615
Change in Units	42	-386	-294	-91	63	-211	-181	NA	-906	-216	-2180
1980 POPULATION	1829	3428	1804	2293	2168	3036	1270	NA	2756	3800	22,384
Change in Pop.	-541	-1137	-1421	-1241	-356	-1688	-2599	NA	-140	-1237	-12010
<i>Housing Units 1980</i>	763	1295	1026	1014	844	1279	722	NA	1420	1432	9795
Change in Units	-60	-164	-333	-169	31	-605	-1229	NA		-85	-2614
1970 POPULATION	2370	4565	3225	3534	2524	4724	3869	1650	2896	5037	34394
Change in Pop.	1483	146	-902	-412	272	-2098	-1278	-1374	-1272	4659	-776
<i>Housing Units 1970</i>	823	1459	1359	1183	813	1884	1951	787	1262	1517	13038
Change in Units	514	220	-43	-15	-22	-740	-331	-268	-289	233	-452
1960 POPULATION	887	4419	4127	3946	2252	6822	5147	3024	4168	378	35170
<i>Housing Units 1960</i>	309	1239	1402	1198	835	2624	2282	1055	1551	1284	13779

*Tract 11 was merged into tract 12 in 1980 resulting in a much larger area. Comparing Tract 12 with pre-1980 data is not an accurate comparison.

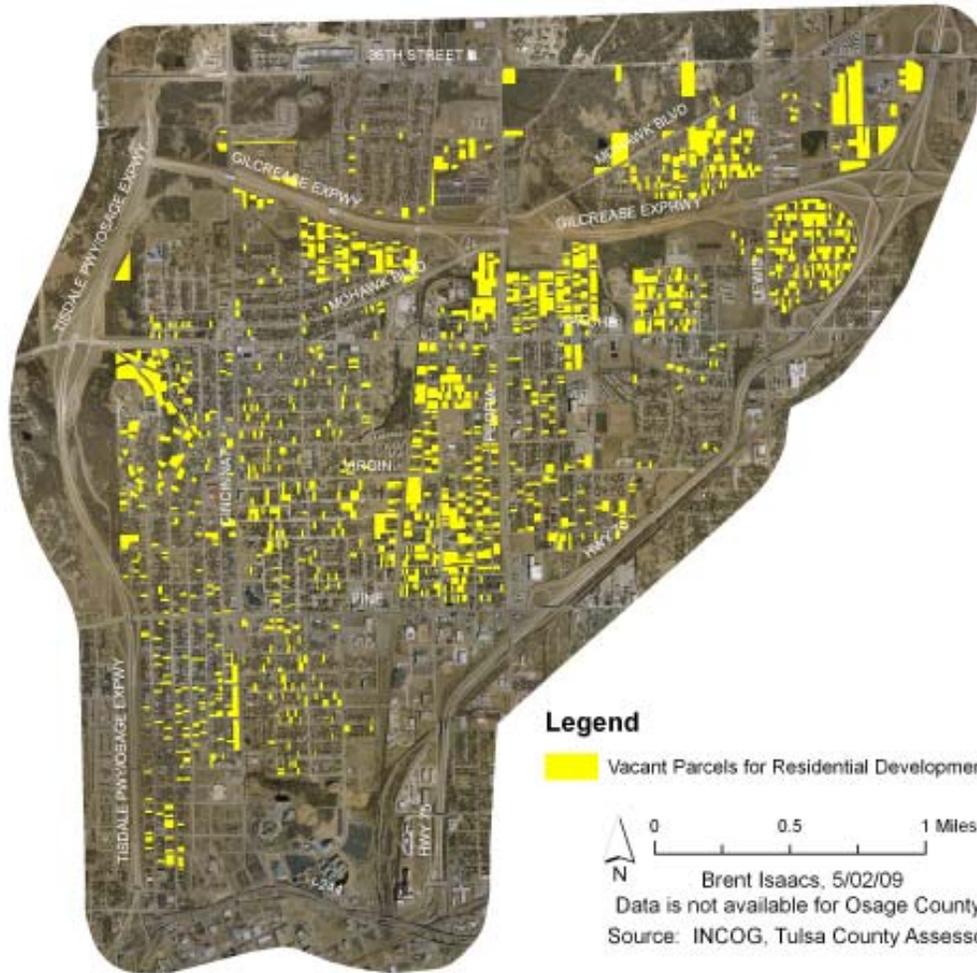
Census data shows a dramatic drop in population and housing units in tracts closely resembling the project area. The total population loss was approximately 19,200. Tract 62 experienced a large increase between 1960 and 1970 that is an anomaly. It appears that a large number of homes were built that had not been occupied in 1960. While some tracts were still increasing in population from 1960 to 1970, all tracts experienced population loss between 1970, 1980 and 1990. 1990 may be when population loss ended because 2000 showed a very small increase (47) but this may be statistically insignificant. Housing units also showed major decreases. This was true in every tract from 1970 to 1980. For 2000, just as in population, there was a very slight increase in the number of housing units. However, the net housing units across the area dropped by over 6,000 units during the 40 year period. Complete population data from the Census for the project area is in appendix 4.

Percentage of Change in Population 1960-2000



To show the data another way, the table at the left shows the percentage of change by census tract approximating the project area. With the exception of the two northern census tracts, all of the area saw a tremendous loss in population from 1960 to 2000. Every other tract lost at least 30% of its population with three tracts 6, 9, and 10 losing over 70%.

Vacant Parcels for Residential Development



The method chosen for identifying parcels that might be redeveloped was to use Tulsa County Assessor's data that was in a GIS compatible format. The information in their database is from periodic assessments that appraisers conduct on property for tax purposes.

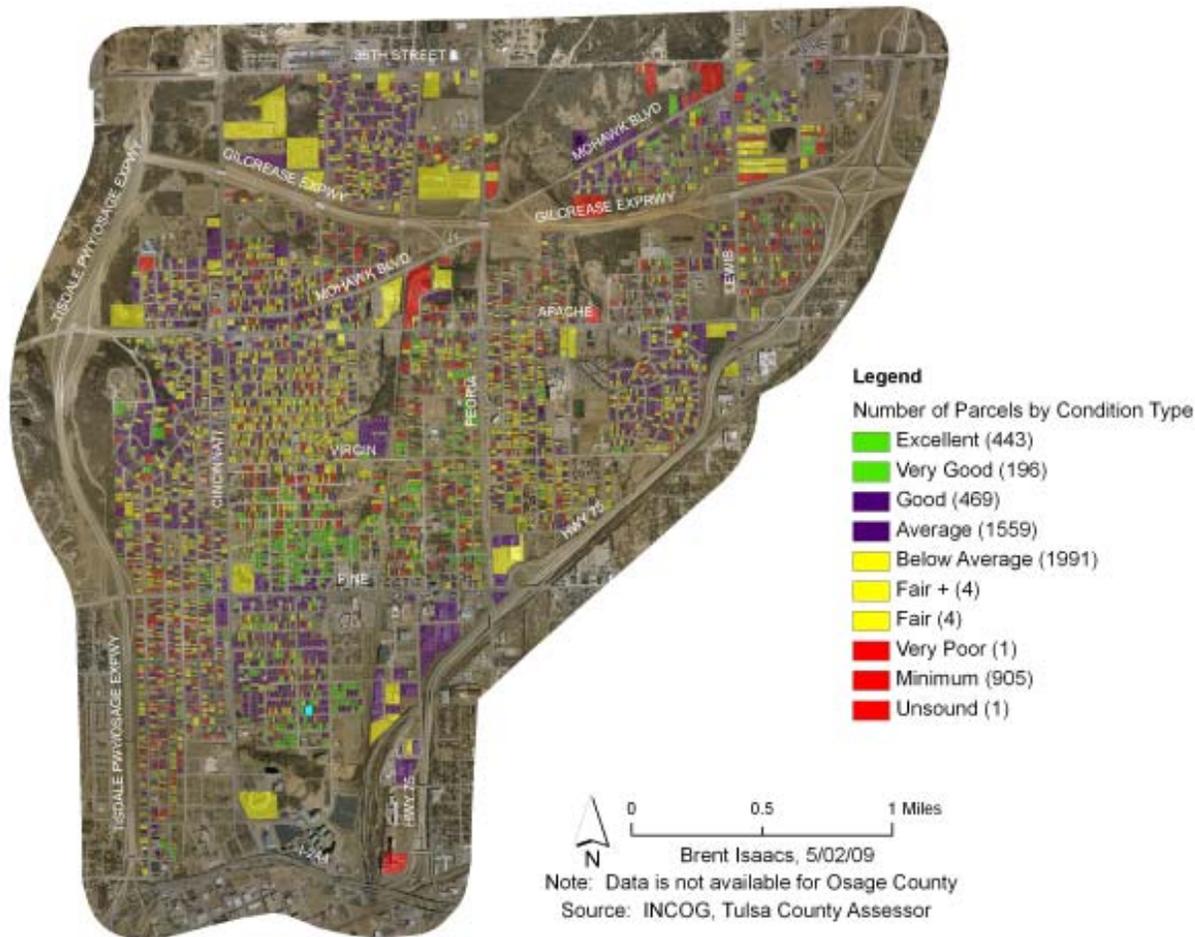
For the purposes of providing an estimate, a parameter of 12,000 square feet was used to limit sites chosen that could be residential parcels. According to the Tulsa County Assessor's data there are over 1800 vacant parcels scattered all across the project area. These are located in areas that are residentially zoned and available to be developed as housing.

Two areas of vacant parcels in particular stand out: the area between Peoria Avenue and the Midland Trail and the area between Apache and Gilcrease Expressway.

Parcels by Condition

The Tulsa County Assessor rates parcels' condition based on a visual exterior inspection of the property by one of its appraisers. According to Steve Mullen, the Chief of Residential Appraisals, there are industry standards developed by Marshall and Swift and Beck for the determination. He indicated that their rating was determined by the condition of the structure in comparison with the age of the property (Interview with Steve Mullen, March 9, 2009).

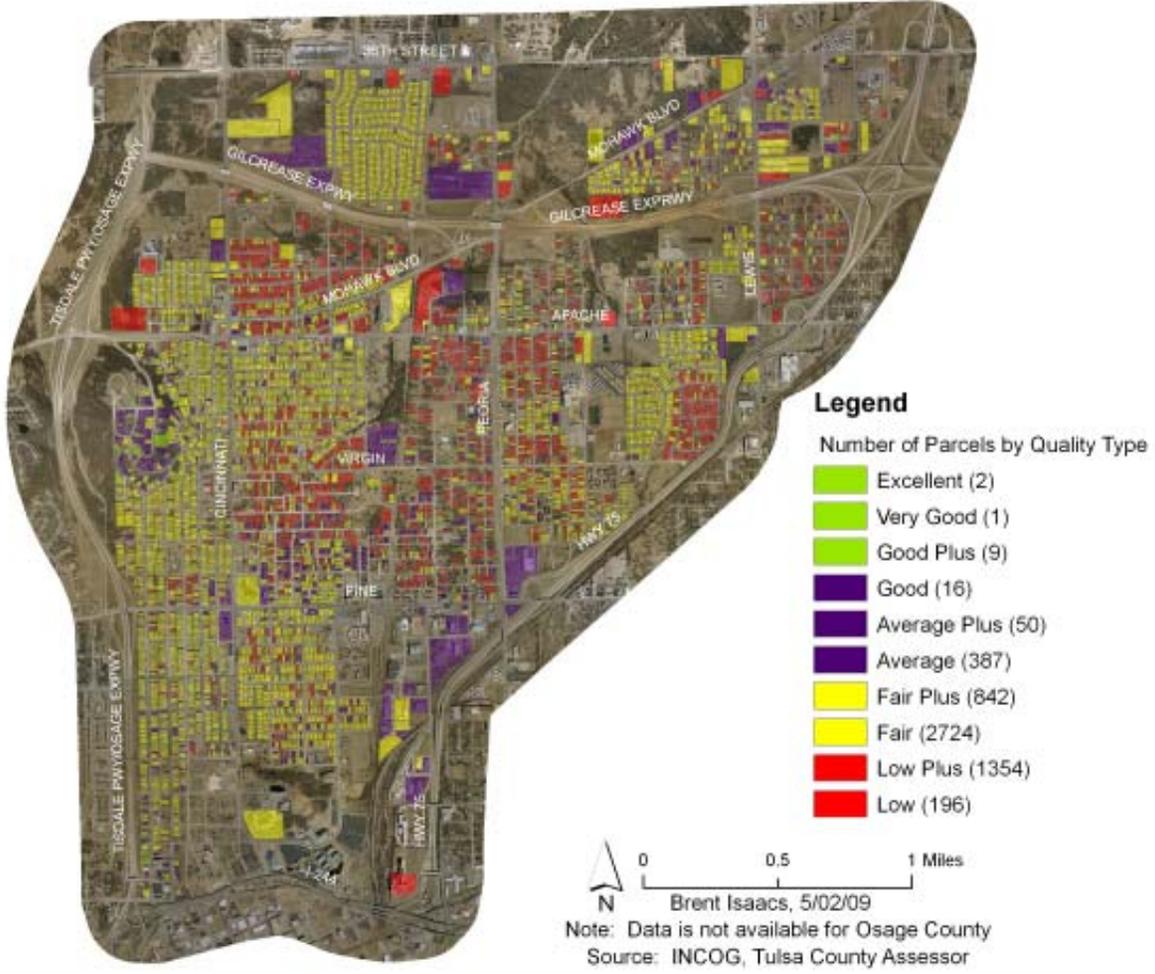
While parcels of all condition types are found throughout the project area, there are two noticeable concentrations. The first is of excellent and very good parcels west of Peoria and east of Cincinnati, south of Apache and north of Pine, excluding the northwest quarter section west of the Midland Trail and north of Virgin. The second is of good to average parcels east of Cincinnati, west of Greenwood and south of Pine to just north of the OSU-Tulsa campus.



Parcels by Quality

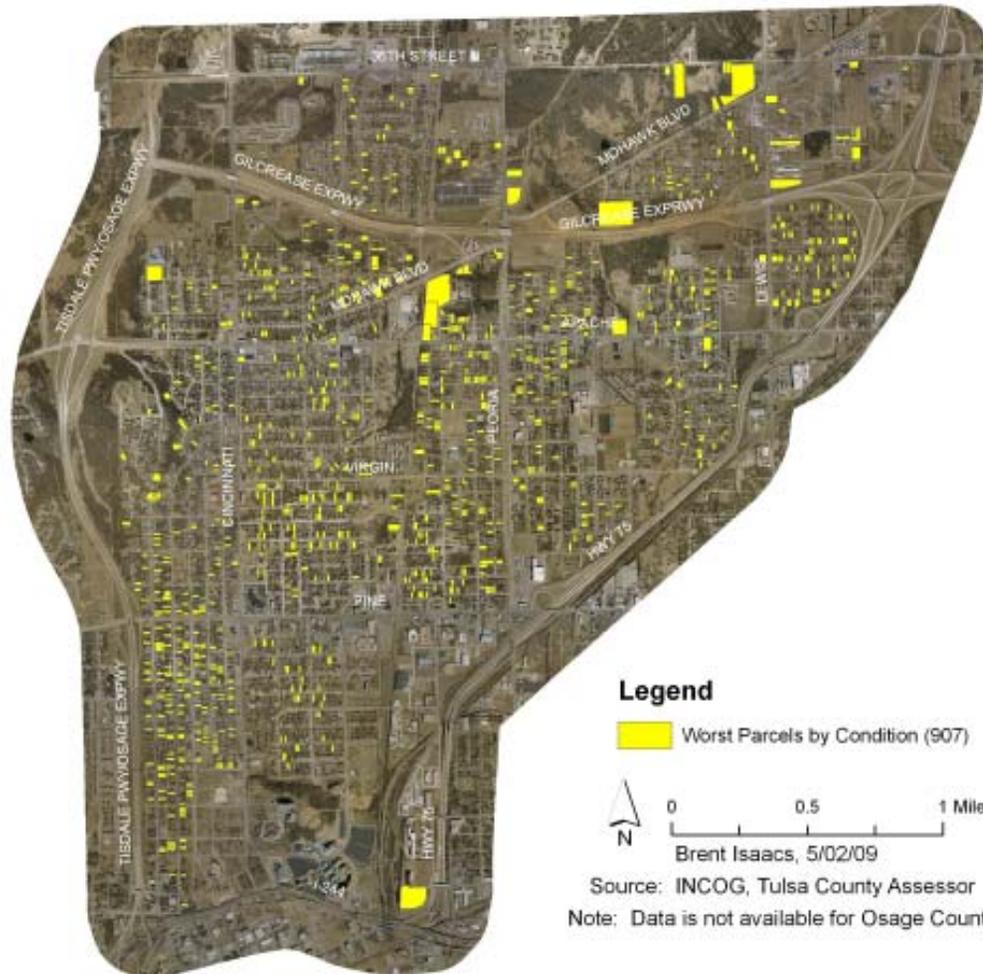
Parcels by quality considers the actual quality of materials and construction determined by an exterior visual inspection of the property. Like condition, there are industry standards used for the determination. Appraisers look at the quality of construction in comparison to the property age.

More so than with parcel conditions, here there are some definite concentrations by different levels of quality. Virtually no parcels were rated excellent to good plus and few were rated good to average. Most parcels were rated fair plus to fair or low plus to low. Fair plus to fair had the greatest concentration west of Greenwood to the Tisdale Parkway/ Osage Expressway, and south of Apache. Low plus to low had the greatest concentration in the area bound-ed by Mohawk on the north and Pine on the south, and Dirty Butter Creek on the west and Peoria on the east. Other lesser concentrations of the two lowest categories exist across the area.



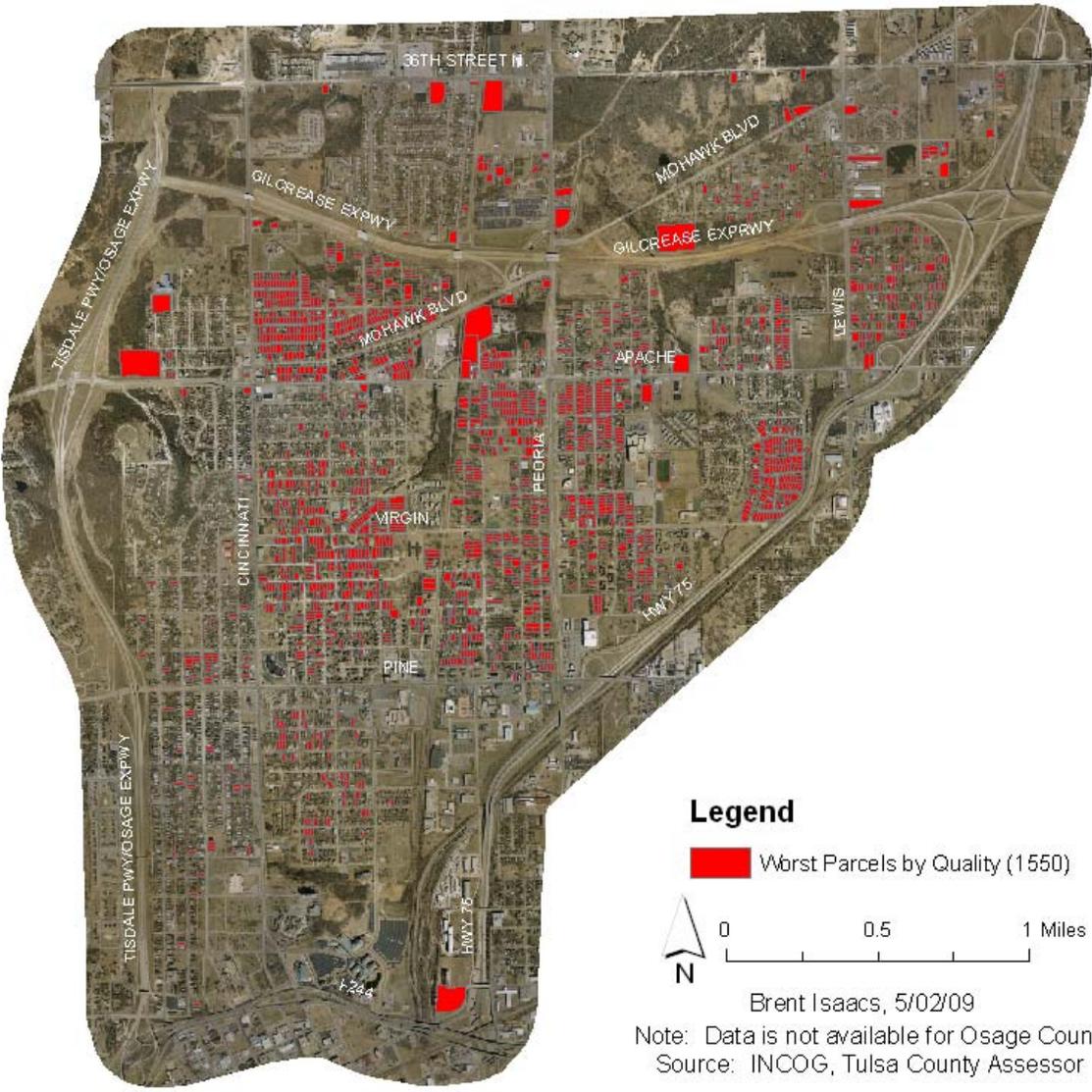
Worst Parcels by Condition

As noted on the map, the worst parcels are scattered all over the project area. These parcels are rated very poor, minimum and unsound by the Assessor. Data indicates that there are 907 such parcels in the project area. There is no one neighborhood that appears to be relatively free. This is a geographic representation of what nearly 50 years of growing blight and neglect has done to the project area.



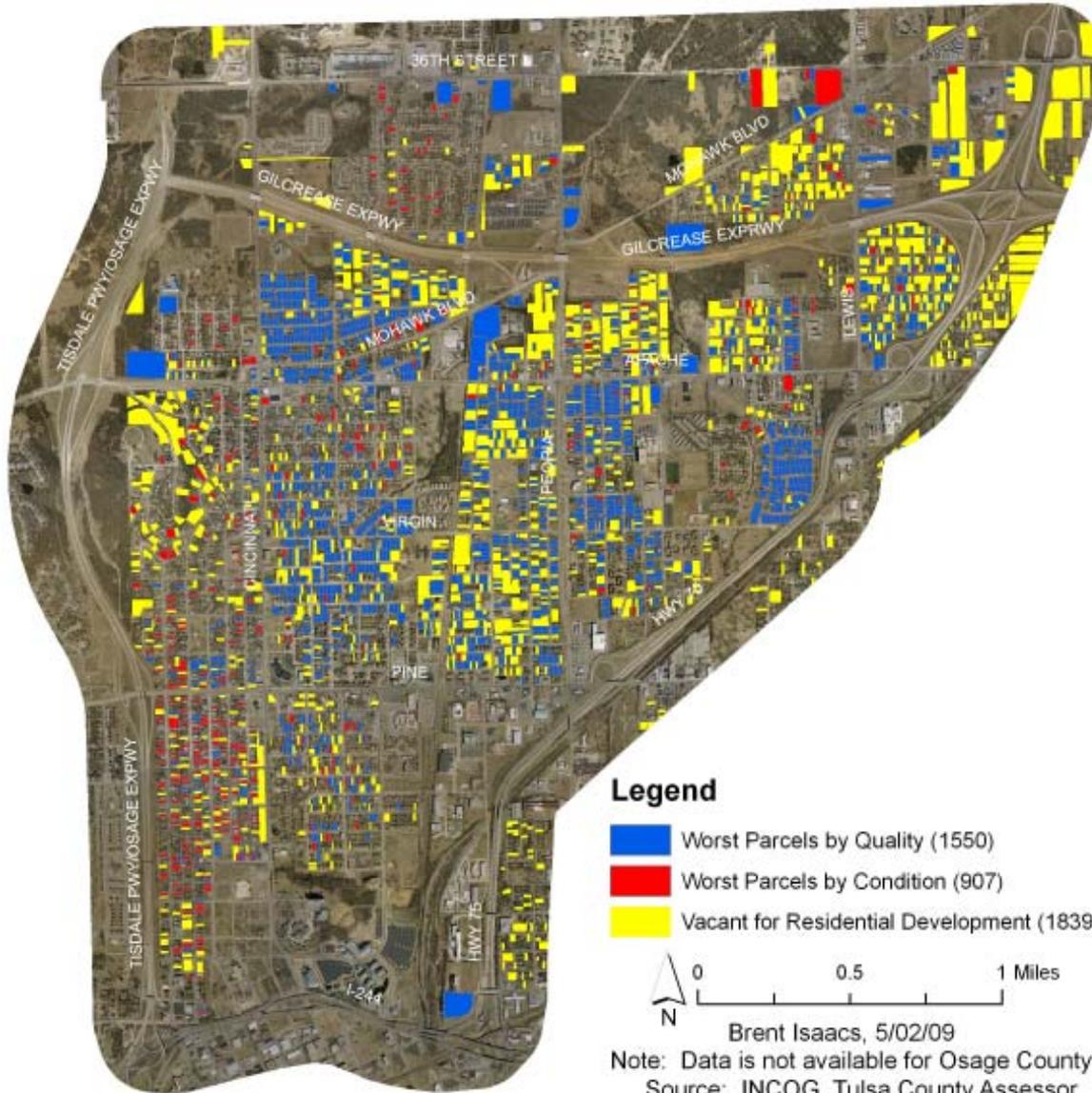
Worst Parcels by Quality

In contrast once again to the worst parcels by condition, those by quality are much more concentrated. These are rated by the Assessor as being low and low plus. They are largely north of Pine and east of Cincinnati and number 1550. There definitely is a dividing line at Cincinnati with relatively few parcels to the west being of poor quality. One can easily notice the difference by driving through the neighborhoods west of Cincinnati, which contain Brady Heights, Burroughs and Reservoir Hill. The age and construction in these neighborhoods is comparable to that south of Cherry Street and in Florence Park in Midtown Tulsa.

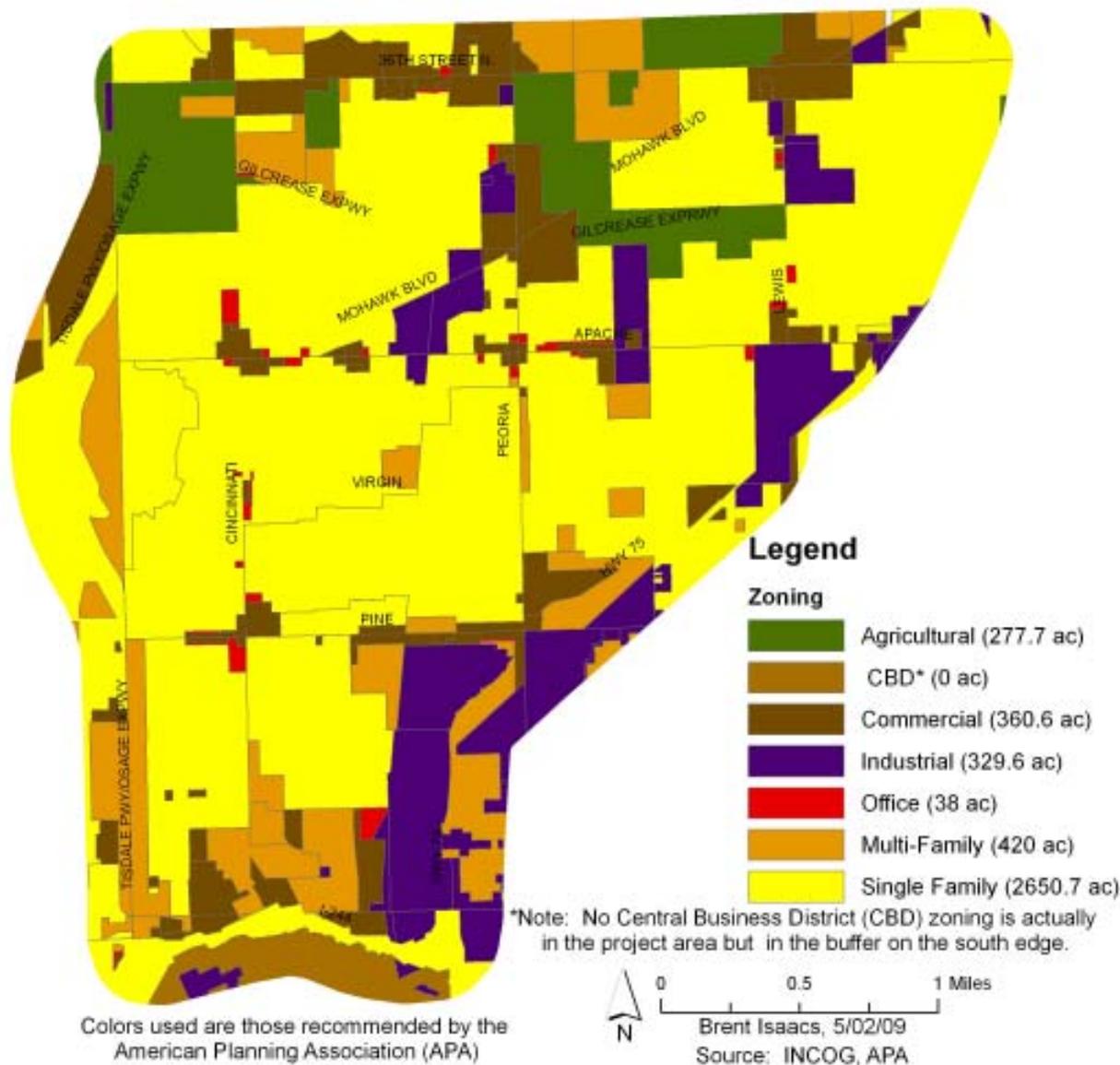


Potential Refill Sites

Three major possible criteria from data provided by the Assessor can be used to determine the suitability of a parcel for refill: poor quality, poor condition and vacant residentially zoned lots. Using this criteria, in this area no real overlapping pattern emerges. What is clear is that the worst parcels by quality are concentrated north of Pine while the worst parcels by condition are west of Cincinnati. The numbers after each legend entry are the total number of parcels in that particular category.



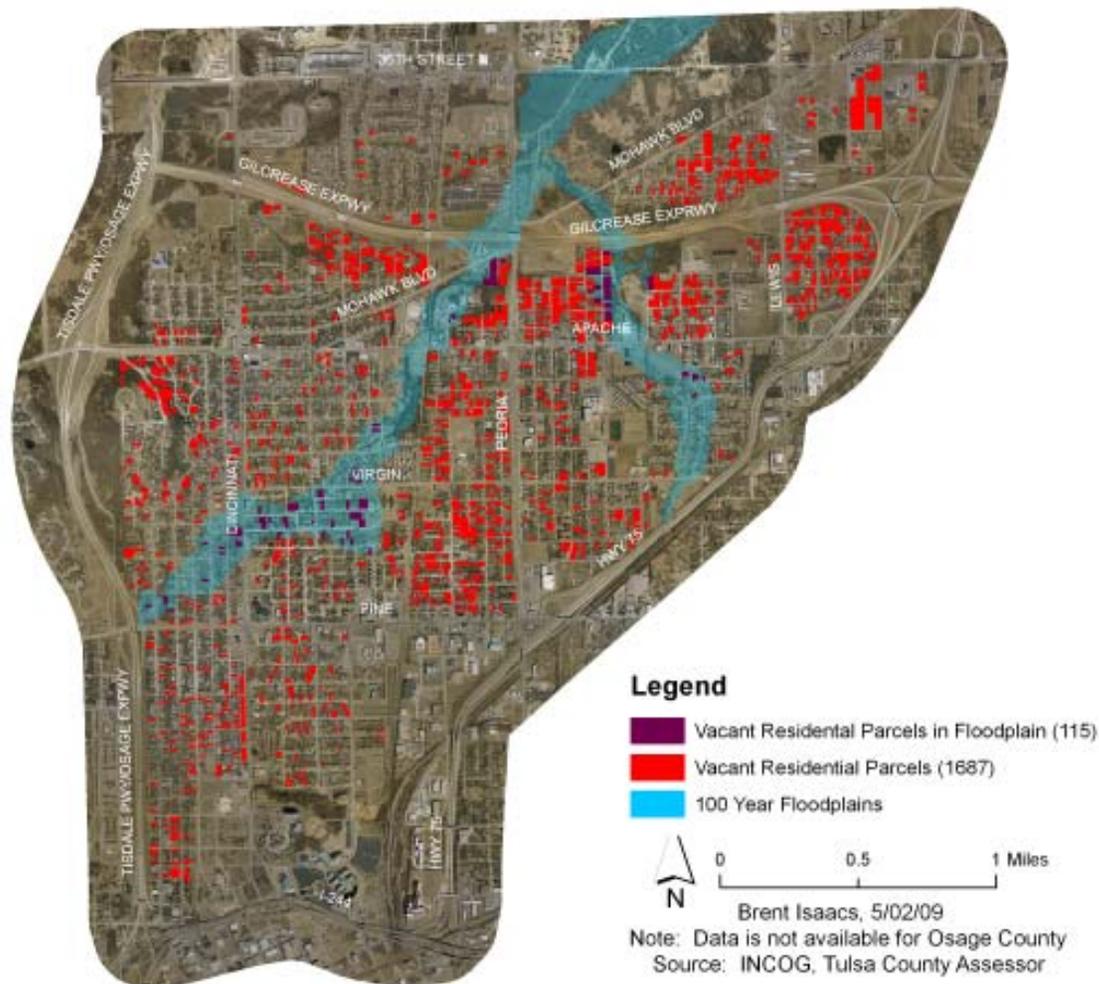
Area Zoning



The zoning of the area speaks to its characteristics: overwhelmingly single family residential at 2651 acres. Some significant areas of multi-family zoning exist along Cincinnati and the Inner Dispersal Loop, Denver through Brady Heights (surprising given its single family historic home character), east of Peoria along 36th St. North and along the Cherokee Expressway and railroad alignment. Office is virtually non-existent in just scattered pockets. Industrial zoning is concentrated along the Midland Trail (a former rail line) and the Cherokee and railroad corridor south of Pine. Commercial zoning is located just north of the Inner Dispersal Loop, around Pine and Peoria and in the Northland area of 36th St. North. Smaller commercial parcels are located all along Apache. There are a couple large agricultural parcels located along 36th St. North. Zoning does not appear to create a barrier to development any more than the rest of the city.

Parcels without Houses and FEMA 100 Year Floodplains

There is one major floodplain that impacts the project area: Dirty Butter Creek and a tributary. Currently, the City of Tulsa is clearing out houses as part of a flood abatement area to the west of the Midland Trail and east of Cincinnati. In some areas, the Creek has already been put underground through established neighborhoods. The northern part of the creek and its tributary does not have much development on it currently, while the south part is buried through an existing neighborhood. Of the total number of vacant residential parcels in the project area, 115 are in a floodplain. Given the current flood control buyout by the City, some of the creek and its tributary being below ground and the relatively undeveloped remaining areas, flooding does not appear to be a major concern for area development.



Traffic Counts



Source: City of Tulsa Public Works Department

Based on the 2007 Traffic Counts, the most recent available, none of the major arterial streets are above capacity. Indeed, many are well below capacity due to the population loss and demolitions that have occurred throughout the project area. The highest counts occurred near Pine and Peoria and even then counts were below 20,000 vehicles per day (VPD). This is well below the capacity of the existing four lane major arterial streets in the area. In several areas, VPD was below 10,000 for major arterials, again dramatically below capacity. Thus, street capacity should not be an issue in repopulating the area. This does not mean that there are not significant deficiencies in street conditions that need to be addressed.

City water and sewer utilities are available throughout the project area. Based on data from the Public Works Department the area appears to be adequately served. Thus no map of them was included in this report. As with streets, their condition may be another matter.

Combined Refill Sites

When all the different Assessor's criteria reviewed through previous maps are put together; vacant sites, residential zoning, the worst parcels by condition and quality and staying out of the floodplain; it becomes quite apparent that at first glance the refill sites are north of Pine. They are largely to the east of Dirty Butter Creek and west of the Cherokee Expressway, almost running diagonal across the project area from the southwest to the northeast. Their total number is 390.

Of course, the previous criteria is just one way of determining such sites and they remain scattered across the area.



Criteria for Determining Actual Refill Sites

While the above analysis has led to some interesting findings about the parcels in the project area, it alone should not be the only determinant of what areas appear to be the most appropriate for refill. Below is criteria recommended for picking sites to focus on first:

1. *The site must be of significant enough size to permit the construction of several units of housing and or commercial development.*
2. *The site must be viewed as having marketing potential due to its location.*
3. *The site must be along a primary or secondary arterial street so as to be easily visible to passing traffic.*

In other words, a good refill site must be more than just a parcel that is either vacant or has structures of the worst possible condition or quality, that is in a residentially zoned neighborhood outside a flood plain. The above criteria for these types of sites will ensure the greatest impact visually that North Tulsa is changing. They are easier wins because its more likely to get developers interested in new construction and individuals willing to consider North Tulsa as a residential and commercial business choice.

Once the more visible sites are refilled, then the focus should turn to what will arguably be more difficult: the refilling of sites in interior neighborhoods. In many cases work in these neighborhoods will not mean a one size fits all approach but rather a combination of rehabilitation, demolition and new construction.



Vacant land on the west side of Cincinnati



Greyfield parking lot on 36th Street North

Suggested Refill Sites and Neighborhood Approaches

1. Standpipe Hill/Five Points-This area, just on the north side of the Inner Dispersal Loop, could arguably be considered the gateway to North Tulsa and its premier development opportunity. The views of the downtown skyline from the elevated portion of the site are phenomenal. And the area basically presents a clean slate on which to work. Sanborn maps and other research would need to be consulted to determine previous land uses since the area was once fully developed and now has been completely cleared. Standpipe Hill was once the site of a water storage tank for Tulsa because of its height. The force of gravity was used to cause water to flow downhill to the surrounding area.

The biggest barrier is that the land is being held in trust by TDA to be given to the University Center at Tulsa Trustees for the expansion of OSU-Tulsa. This arrangement was created back in the early 1980s when OSU, OU, Northeastern State (NSU) and Langston University were all co-located in the University Center at Tulsa (UCT) at the current OSU-Tulsa site. It was anticipated that UCT would grow tremendously requiring all of the vacant land over time. Now, with just OSU at the site, it is doubtful that the full site will ever be used. OSU-Tulsa is considering a new master plan for its facilities. In order for the development site to be available for non-OSU projects, OSU, UCT Trustees and TDA would have to buy into the plan. Perhaps a joint OSU/developer partnership would make sense as the University is in need of housing but lacks the money to build it.



Steps indicating a home once stood at this site in Five Points



From the crest of Standpipe Hill looking south toward Downtown

Suggested Refill Sites and Neighborhood Approaches

2. Evans-Fintube-The site is located just east of OSU-Tulsa, across the railroad tracks but at the northwest corner of the Cherokee and Cross-town Expressways. It has been a frequent target for different development plans. One of the biggest barriers is that previous industrial usage of the site renders it a brownfield. This creates a whole series of questions determining its future use. No developer is going to have an interest in this site without a complete environmental assessment regarding the level of pollution and resulting development obstacles that may present. Also, the old industrial buildings remain on the site and access is difficult despite being by two major expressways.

However, to improve the image of North Tulsa, again coming from the south and east, it is necessary that it be cleaned up and redeveloped. Currently, the City is soliciting proposals for the site. Jack Crowley, Special Advisor to the Mayor for Urban Affairs, has proposed a new transit-oriented mixed-use neighborhood on the site that would be connected to downtown by a new transit line paralleling the existing railroad and BSNF line.

The Brownfields Revitalization Act, BEDI (Brownfields Economic Development Initiative), Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) and the Oklahoma Department of Environmental Quality (ODEQ) provide incentives for the redevelopment of such sites. Depending on the availability of funding, the City may be able to use these as a tool for development on this site and should aggressively pursue such funds. If a complete environmental assessment has not been done, this should be the first priority before redevelopment can occur.



*Evans-Fintube site as viewed
looking west from U.S. 75*



*Evans-Fintube site as viewed
looking east from OSU-Tulsa*

Suggested Refill Sites and Neighborhood Approaches

3. Sites along the new Gilcrease Expressway- These locations are far less defined than the ones on the south. But they have the same purpose: to enhance the image of the area from a gateway this time on the north. Particular emphasis should be given to a site located at the southeast corner of the Gilcrease and Peoria. This is a strategic location because Mohawk Blvd. also runs through the intersection. Again, the site is largely clear and has good visibility. It would be ideal for this to be a “new urbanist” type mixed use development that would incorporate suburban styles with walkable features. It is my understanding that the site has already been reviewed as a possible development site.

Additionally, all along the south side of the Gilcrease Expressway, particularly to the east approaching U.S. Highway 75, there are numerous subdivisions that have either been cleared. Many demolitions have been drug house abatement projects. The homes that remain are often of poor quality and condition. Serious thought should be given to removal of many of these houses that remain, with the idea that the area could be prime for additional mixed use development, particularly at the southwest corner of the Gilcrease and U.S. 75.

Key intersection of Pine, Mohawk Blvd. and the Gilcrease Expressway. This image was taken before its recent completion. The primary site discussed is located southeast of Mohawk and Peoria.



Neighborhood at the southwest corner of the Gilcrease Expressway and U.S. 75. There is also a full interchange at Apache just east of Lewis. Many residential lots are vacant along with those at key intersections.



On the north side of the Gilcrease, there are many lots that are deep and run between 36th St. North and the Expressway. Much of this area is zoned agricultural while other parcels are zoned commercial and are greyfields. Like the south side, there may be a new opportunity for development due to the Expressway. Particularly on the grayfield sites, the opportunity exists to completely redevelop them into a different use. Special consideration should be given to the fact that OU is planning to build a “super clinic”, just short of a hospital, in the Northland area to address the chronic health care crisis in North Tulsa. Perhaps there is an opportunity for related development. It would be natural to try and tie together St. Simeons Retirement Community (just north of the project area) that is undergoing a multi-million expansion and renovation, OU and other medical facilities at the northwest corner of 36th St. North and Cincinnati.

4. Arterial Street Intersections and Transit Opportunities-Nearly all of the major intersections in the project area North of Pine offer refill opportunities. At the intersections of Cincinnati, Peoria, and Lewis with the major cross streets; Pine, Virgin and Apache; opportunities may exist for creating neighborhood commercial districts. These could be pedestrian oriented and not built around the automobile like most of the commercial areas at major intersections in South Tulsa.

Peoria offers an opportunity to recreate the Greenwood Avenue of the past with a twist: make it transit-oriented. The street, from Pine going all the way north to the Gilcrease Expressway, has been dramatically widened allowing for the creation of a light rail or bus rapid transit line in the future. Even now, the street acts as the city’s only true busline with regular service intervals during Tulsa Transit’s limited hours of operation.

Suggested Refill Sites and Neighborhood Approaches



Vacant lot at the corner of Apache and Lewis



Vacant lot at the corner of Virgin and Peoria

Suggested Refill Sites and Neighborhood Approaches

Some development could occur within street right of way now particularly at intersections because it is so wide. These could function much like the areas around old streetcar, trolley or interurban stops did of old. Additionally, this could help with saving the existing commercial development at Pine and Peoria that is struggling. Perhaps it would facilitate its conversion into something less auto-oriented.

5. West side of Cincinnati North to Pine- This area is a narrow strip of land but it is much deeper than that along the rebuilt Peoria Avenue. The land is 50' deep from the street. An opportunity may exist to create a neighborhood commercial district. A branch of Tulsa Teachers Credit Union has recently opened at the corner of Pine and Cincinnati. Some new single family residential development that is reflective of the historic style of the area has also already been constructed. The benefit is that critical mass could be achieved because of the length of the strip is nearly a mile. Another benefit is that the rear of the development would abut Brady Heights and Cheyenne Park and be just south of the Burroughs neighborhoods, which may have the greatest residential attractiveness for repopulation. Drawbacks are the stores and businesses located here would need to be small and traffic counts on Cincinnati remain very low, especially when compared to Peoria. This site would likely gain more attractiveness as the neighborhoods just described to the west improve.



Historic Burroughs Elementary School on Cincinnati



New homes on the west side of Cincinnati

Suggested Refill Sites and Neighborhood Approaches

6. Rehabilitation/Repair Focus Area- The area bounded by Cincinnati on the east, the Tisdale Parkway/Osage Expressway on the west, Reservoir Hill on the north and I-244 on the south generally has high quality housing construction, some of which may be historically significant. The problem is that there has not been adequate maintenance of these structures over the years. Besides the Brady Heights area, there appears to be little or no rehabilitation or repair of these structures occurring. A specific neighborhood strategy to restore the quality of housing in what should be a highly desirable neighborhood should be initiated as a way to stabilize the area and attract new residents. There should not be major clearance efforts undertaken in this area.

7. Reconstruction/Rebuild Focus Area- The area to the east of Cincinnati and north of Pine is a very different story. In this area, the quality of construction and condition of the housing leaves much to be desired. Major rehabilitation should be considered for homes that are feasibly able to be saved. On others, there should be spot demolition undertaken along with refill efforts. Some of this was done a few years ago by TDA. For the large number of vacant lots, primarily west of Peoria, east of Cincinnati, north of Pine and south of Apache, there should be a focused housing refill program undertaken.

By no means is the above list exhaustive of the opportunities that exist. They appear to be the most obvious ones and places to begin.

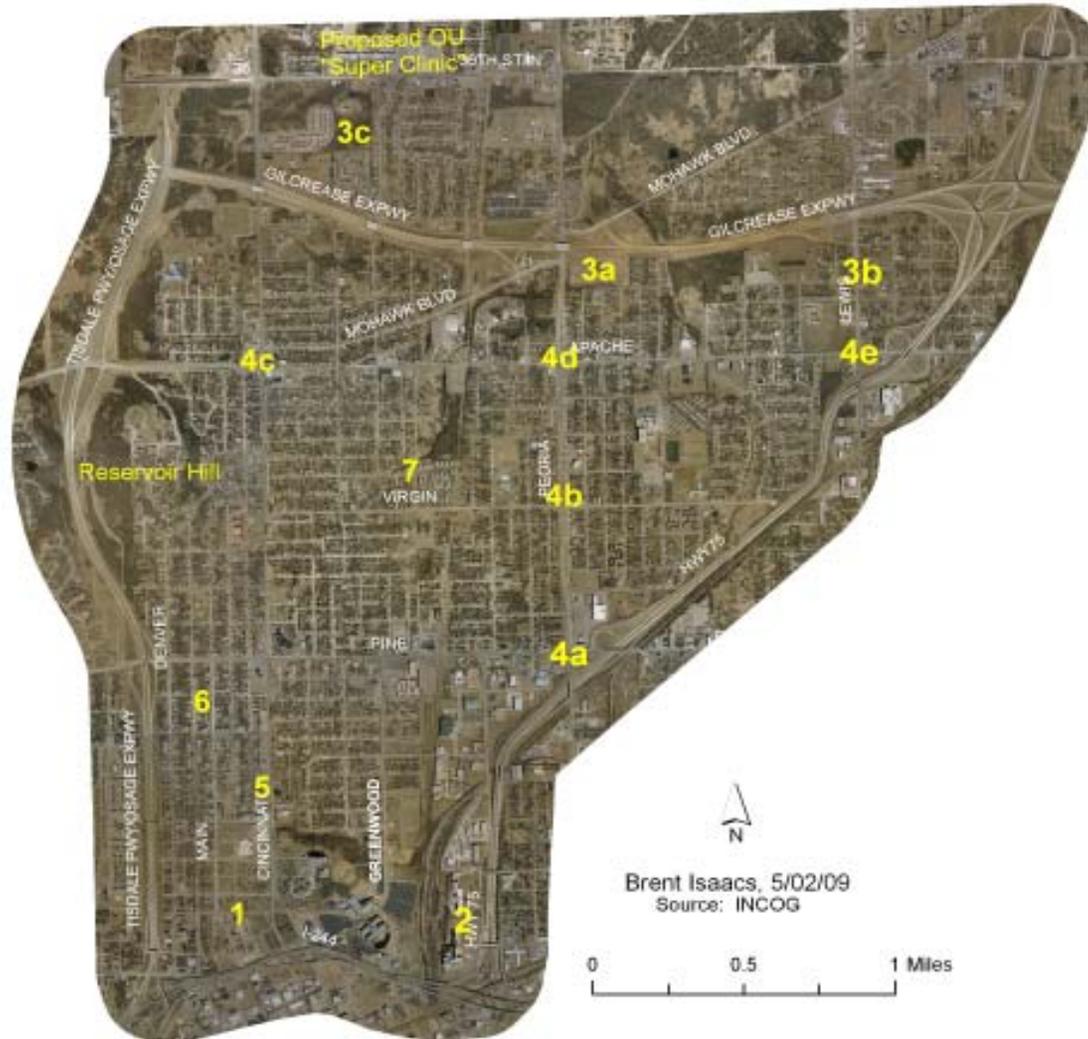


High quality brick home in the Burroughs neighborhood



This decaying front porch is typical of conditions in the reconstruction and rebuild focus area

Location of Suggested Refill Sites and Neighborhood Approaches



The items represented on the map in yellow are the locations of refill sites and neighborhood area approaches.

1. Five Points/Standpipe Hill
2. Evans-Fintube site
- 3a. Peoria and the Gilcrease Expressway
- 3b. Sites toward the Gilcrease and U.S. 75
- 3c. North side of the Gilcrease
- 4a. Pine and Peoria
- 4b. Virgin and Peoria
- 4c. Apache and Cincinnati
- 4d. Apache and Peoria
- 4e. Apache and Lewis
5. West Side of Cincinnati
6. Rehabilitation/Repair focus area
7. Reconstruction/Rebuild focus area

Example of Proposed Refill Development Type

Below is an abandoned brownfield building at the northeast corner of the Midland Trail and Apache. At right is a rendering of a proposed building that could take its place. The minimalist look of the new building resembling the old building is coincidental. The new building is sits much closer to the Midland Trail, with a patio that takes advantage of this connection. The first floor is designed to be retail or commercial space with the upper floors being residential. This is but one example of what could be done with refill promoting mixed-use development all over North Tulsa.



After: Rendering of a new mixed-use building at Apache and the Midland Trail



Before: An abandoned brownfield at Apache and the Midland Trail

Possible Policy Directions



Possible Policy Direction: Community Development Corporations

Community development corporations (CDCs) are organizations that typically are driven by a mission to improve a specific area of a community, or focus on specific activities in the community that will result in significant improvements to the socio-economic well-being of residents, businesses and stakeholders.

Most CDCs start because of the failure of the market and government programs to address their problems and communities begin looking for a way to change things on their own. They are driven by specific problems or projects not major master plans.

Sustained support from local government and philanthropy is necessary as projects are not designed to generate a high rate of return, as in a traditional real estate deal, but rather focus on community improvement.

In 2000, there were at least 3,500 CDCs in the U.S. with 95% of the largest 133 cities having at least one (Grogan, 2000, p. 69-70). Most begin with a focus on housing. As of 2000, they were generating 40,000 new or rehabilitated houses a year.

CDCs typically start with housing activities for a variety of reasons: funding, visibility, building a track record (Stoutland, 1999, p. 202). There is ample evidence that they have accomplished much in housing development (Stoutland, 1999, p. 210). However, little data is available that objectively assesses their performance. Most research is anecdotal, focusing on the major success stories (Stoutland, 1999, p. 201).

Successful CDCs have been able to integrate their programs beyond bricks and mortar because:

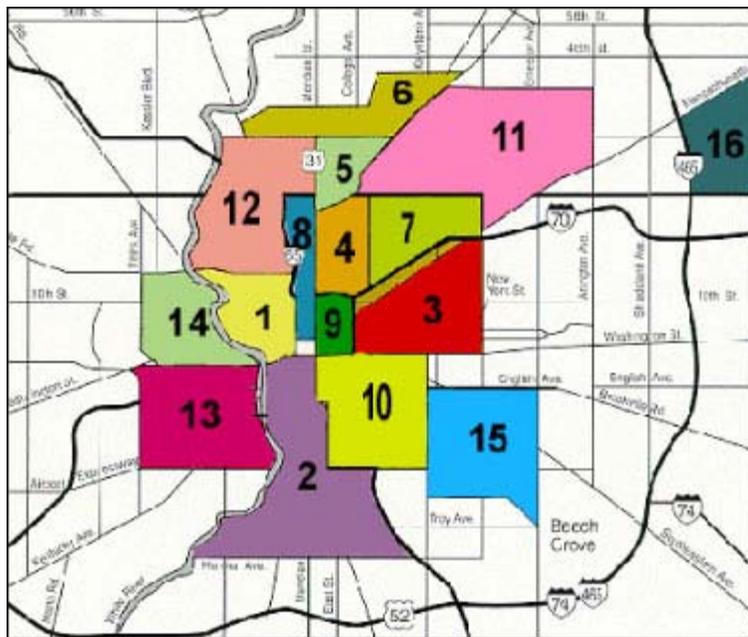
1. they are true public/private hybrids.
2. they become community anchors.
3. they have to live amid the consequences of their work.
4. they embrace American values of self help, entrepreneurship, community building and local control.
5. they start small on the micro level and build on successes rather than taking on too much at the beginning (Grogan, 2000, p. 71-73).

Community Development Corporations

Funding from the non-profit sector for CDCs has come through major fund intermediaries. Local Initiatives Support Corporation (LISC), the Enterprise Community Partners (formerly the Enterprise Foundation) and Neighbor Works America (the operating name of the Neighborhood Reinvestment Corporation) are three intermediary funders supported by private organizations willing to invest in projects that potentially generate a lower rate of return (Stoutland,1999, p.199). Each is responsible for seeing that the funds are used most efficiently and providing technical assistance to community based groups. As of 2000, LISC and Enterprise Community Partners had invested over \$5 billion in community development corporation projects around the country (Grogan, 2000, p. 89).

Indianapolis, IN: a city with a well-developed CDC network

Indianapolis is a good example of a city that has numerous, well defined territorial CDCs which are the primary vehicle for its housing and community development programs.



Map of Indianapolis showing the different CDC areas

1. BOS Community Development Corp.
2. Concord Community Development Corp.
3. Indy-East Asset Development
4. King Park Area Development Corp.
5. Mapleton-Fall Creek Development Corp.
6. Martin Luther King Neighborhood
7. Martindale-Brightwood Community Development Corp.
8. Near North Development Corp.
9. Riley Area Development Corp.
10. Southeast Neighborhood Development, Inc.
11. United North East Community Development Corp.
12. United North West Area Development Corp.
13. West Indianapolis Development Corp.
14. Westside Community Development Corp.
15. Redevelopment/Revitalization of the Southside CDC
16. Community Alliance of the Far Eastside

Community Development Corporations

Funding mechanisms: LISC- Indianapolis regional office, City of Indianapolis' U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) Community Development Block Grant (CDBG) and Housing Investments Partnership (HOME) funds, Lilly Endowment, Central Indiana Community Foundation and Indianapolis Neighborhood Housing Partnership (INHP)

Bill Taft, Program Director for LISC Indianapolis, indicated that the network in Indianapolis was somewhat unique because it was created by the City of Indianapolis as an effort to bolster neighborhood organizations. The entity that created such a well defined territory for CDCs was INHP, an organization designed to provide funding to improve the quality of housing in the city's neighborhoods. Leverage for the creation of regional as opposed to citywide organizations was provided through operating funding. He indicated that one of the best things he saw CDCs do was infill development (Interview with Bill Taft, December 9 and 19, 2008).

Currently, it appears that LISC nationally is not looking for more cities. However, if Tulsa wanted to attract it, at the minimum there would need to be a local group requesting it that could provide a minimum of \$300,000.00 annually in operating support.

Rationale: The creation of a network of well-capitalized CDCs in Tulsa would lead to a significant improvement in North Tulsa, making the area a more desirable place to live. This would support population growth and mixed-use, mixed-income development.

Positives:

- An intense neighborhood focus will improve areas of North Tulsa.
- Creating a CDC creates a sense of ownership and can engender neighborhood pride in a particular area.
- Having a specific organization to focus on areas or projects can result in more being accomplished.
- CDCs can bring in capital and expertise from national funders, such as LISC and Enterprise, currently not in Tulsa.
- CDCs ideally blend the expertise of professional staff and community residents into one organization.
- CDCs are a "bottom up" rather than a "top down" approach to community revitalization.

Community Development Corporations

Negatives:

- There is the potential for money to be invested with no concrete results. This can be especially true in neighborhood-oriented organizations that may not have sufficient organizational capacity to carry out their mission.
- Turf wars could develop with focus on who gets the credit or who is in charge rather than just getting things done.
- CDCs have had mixed results historically in terms of the quality of staff and projects attempted.

Current Realities:

- Tulsa currently has four CDCs chartered:
 - The Greenwood Chamber Community Development Corporation
 - Tulsa Community Development Corporation
 - North Tulsa Community Development Corporation
 - Tulsa North Community Development Corporation
- At present the only CDC with ongoing significant activities is Greenwood.
- Compared to other cities, Tulsa has a very small CDC network.
- There may be a perception in Tulsa that CDCs are ineffective because of a lack of visible activities.
- LISC does not have a presence in the urban areas of Oklahoma. It does have a presence in southeastern Oklahoma through its rural LISC initiative.

Requirements:

- There would have to be a serious commitment from local funders to support CDCs.
- It would be essential to get LISC, the Enterprise Community Partners or another similar organization involved.
- There would need to be a detailed strategy prepared showing how CDCs would work.
- A network of professional community-based organizations would need to be created.
- Adequate resources would need to be obtained for effective projects.
- Grants would need to be obtained for initial operating support.
- National and local economic conditions would have to improve in order for there to be adequate capital to invest in a local CDC or CDC network.

Possible Policy Direction: Code Enforcement

Some cities are seeing improvements in distressed neighborhoods through a vigorous code enforcement program that requires property owners to maintain the exterior of their property in accordance with local standards.

The theory behind this approach is that well maintained property will attract new development while exterior decay of property will deter investment and actually create more disinvestment in areas over time. For example, developers generally are not going to build homes on vacant lots in a neighborhood where adjacent homes are vacant but open to the elements, have yards with extremely high grass or maintain a trashy exterior. This is because homes will not sell easily in such an environment. Furthermore, homeowners will begin to leave areas where the signs of disinvestment are already occurring in part because of concern about the loss of property value caused by conditions of properties around them. Once such a cycle begins, it is important to try and intervene in the decline because it can ultimately devastate neighborhoods. Former Tulsa Mayor Bob LaFortune has strongly advocated increased code enforcement as a key to revitalization of North Tulsa (LaFortune, July 9, 2008).

Innovative Code Enforcement Approaches:

Landlord licensing-Many cities license landlords that provide residential rental property. Each unit must be inspected periodically to determine if it meets code requirements. A licensing fee is paid to the city which funds the landlord licensing and stepped up code enforcement programs. The main drawback of this approach is that marginal landlords, knowing that they would have to make improvements to their property, may take it off the market and board the unit. Another less controversial approach that might accomplish the same thing is to require inspections for certificates of occupancy to be issued for residential units.

Flexible codes-This approach is based on requiring the minimum codes that can be economically sustained for an area. In other words, the codes would be adjusted based on the economic realities of an area: what housing improvements can be sustained by landlords and property owners before continued occupancy of the unit is no longer affordable. This would eliminate the tendency just to abandon units that affordably cannot be brought up to one size fits all standard codes. The theory is that the most critical code requirements are affordable in any market (Freilich, 1999, p.259).

Code Enforcement

Positives-

- Theoretically, landlords and tenants would take better care of property.
- People would be more willing to remain in neighborhoods that have the means to leave.
- There would be increased investment through renovations and maintenance of dwelling units.
- Potentially, a large number of substandard housing units in Tulsa could be eliminated.

Negatives-

- Effective code enforcement is costly for the city to run given its already precarious financial situation.
- Landlords and property owners could simply abandon their properties if improvements required by code were deemed too costly.
- The city or county could end up with a large number of properties to be sold for delinquent taxes or to satisfy mounting fines. The upside of this problem is that the properties could then be sold to owners that want to rehabilitate them for safe, sanitary and decent housing.
- If landlord licensing or the certificate of occupancy approach is approved, the costs will likely be passed on to tenants, causing an increase in rental rates.
- Some families in North Tulsa might not be able to afford higher rents for housing and could be made homeless.
- Flexible codes could give the impression that housing in certain areas is not as desirable because it is not as well maintained.

Requirements:

- A detailed policy impact analysis must be completed showing the costs and benefits of enhanced code enforcement.
- Additional fees must pay for the vast majority of additional code enforcement costs.
- A determination must be made of whether landlord licensing would result in the significant improvement in property without large scale abandonment or cost increases that would create homeless families.
- To deal with potential abandonment issues, the City should consider an expedited process of foreclosure or condemnation for unpaid taxes, cleaning up the liens that make it difficult to have a clear title and then selling it to property owners who are capable of maintaining the property as available housing kept up to code.
- Flexible codes must be written in such a way that all housing must remain maintained above what is considered substandard. There must be a floor in codes that can't be exceeded.

Possible Policy Direction: Business Development

There are many different methods available to encourage business growth and development in inner city areas much like North Tulsa. Two of the most widely known are “Drill Down” and determining the competitive advantage of inner cities.

Drill Down—the proprietary approach used by Social Compact, Inc. to find business opportunities in inner city areas by focusing on strengths not weaknesses of neighborhoods.

Competitive Advantage—applies the concept of competitive advantage originally used to analyze national economic strengths to urban areas. The approach is based on Harvard Business School Professor Michael Porter’s research. Essentially, the concept is that inner cities, much like countries, have unique economically competitive advantages. The organization that has applied this approach to inner cities is the Initiative for a Competitive Inner City (ICIC). Porter was instrumental in founding ICIC and continues to be involved in the organization.

Both Social Compact and ICIC have engaged in numerous strategic plans for cities across the U.S. focused on their inner city areas.

Rationale: Attracting more businesses to North Tulsa will help the area retain and attract new residents. ICIC and Social Compact approaches, along with many others, have had some impact in causing new businesses to locate in other underserved inner cities.

In Tulsa, efforts are underway with the FORWARD initiative (Franchising Opportunities Reinforced with Assistance Rewards Development) to develop additional businesses at the former Banfield site (just north of the existing Pine and Peoria development on the east side of the street). Rose Washington Rentie, Executive Director of the Tulsa Economic Development Corporation (TEDC), is working on a planned development that would have a mixture of franchised and local businesses. There will be extensive assistance offered to the businesses that locate there, just like that given to other TEDC clients. TEDC is a non-profit organization dedicated to providing capital and business development assistance to small, minority and disadvantaged businesses (Interview with Rose Washington Rentie, December 1, 2008).



The Banfield site is the location of the FORWARD initiative

Business Development

There is a need to determine what the market really is for additional types of businesses in North Tulsa, not just for FORWARD-Banfield but for all kinds of future development. Social Compact, Inc. has offered their services in this regard. While their fees may be too expensive, utilizing an approach like theirs will be critical for new retail or business development.

Positives:

- More services in an area generally attract and retain residents. Its the old question: do services or people need to come first?
- Additional services generate sales tax revenue which is needed by the City of Tulsa.
- Identification of market opportunities in North Tulsa could help the area come back into the economic mainstream of the city.
- Would find natural advantages for North Tulsa that could harness the mainstream of private markets.
- Would attract sorely needed private market capital to North Tulsa.

Negatives:

- Concern that alternative models, such as Drill Down, could overestimate market opportunities.
- Worry about high business failures reinforcing the negative perceptions of no opportunity in North Tulsa.
- Loss of credibility if the analysis is wrong, lack of opportunity if the analysis shows that north Tulsa cannot support additional services.
- Difficulty in funding such an approach.



Abandoned neighborhood commercial building like those in the project area



The Blue Jackalope is a new neighborhood grocery store in Tulsa like what could be done with lots of old neighborhood commercial structures.

Business Development

Requirements:

- Must more fully understand these processes and find out results that have occurred (i.e. new services that have been successful) as a result.
- Must determine if the processes have been independently reviewed and found to be effective.
- Must have a plan for follow up strategies to actually respond to the findings regarding market opportunities.
- Must have a funding source identified that will be available for follow up funding.

Risks:

- That the analysis does not show additional service opportunities.
- That the analysis is wrong, resulting in numerous business failures.
- That no growth in population occurs even if additional services are provided.

Rewards:

- Clarification of business opportunities in North Tulsa.
- Potential for new businesses of a variety of types.
- Potential for new sales tax revenue.



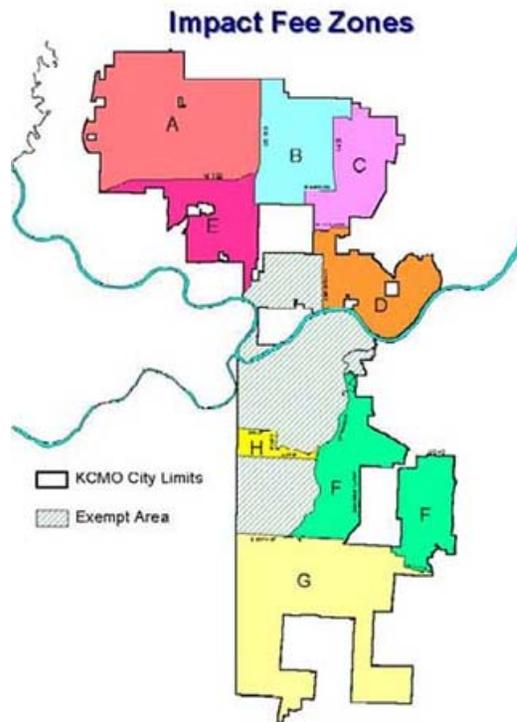
Underutilized Northland Center on 36th St North which was partially renovated by Neighbor for Neighbor a few years ago



Unutilized greyfield site

Possible Policy Direction: Development fees

Development fees are fees charged for new development that requires additional public infrastructure. Fees are calculated by a formula based on the additional services required. Typically, the fee is determined by the number of square feet for commercial development and the number of bedrooms in dwelling units.



Map of Kansas City, MO's impact fee zones. Zones A, B, C, D, E are north of the Missouri River while F, G and H are south of it.

Rationale: Higher development fees on greenfield sites or in other areas of the city will result in additional housing units being built in North Tulsa. They could also result in denser mixed use development in North Tulsa depending on how they are calculated.

Examples of cities with development fees:

Kansas City, MO

The City of Kansas City, MO has experienced very spread out, leapfrogging growth patterns. Because the City could not afford to build the infrastructure to support this development pattern, in 2002 it established impact fee zones with the fees going to roadway improvements of arterials, parkways and boulevards in each zone. They have been so designated because they are the areas experiencing the most development. All new developments have the impact fee levied on them, treating developers with and without arterial street frontage the same.

In addition to the zones noted above for the collection and expenditure of fees, the City is divided into two areas: the North Service Area and South Service Area (divided by the natural geographic boundary of the Missouri River). There is a different impact fee schedule for each of the service areas based on the land use type. A detailed formula is created for those inevitable special exception cases that occur.

Development Fees

Over the last 10 years, there has been significant growth in residential development in the urban core, particularly between the Missouri River and the Plaza, primarily west of Troost, the traditional division between predominately white neighborhoods on the west and predominately black neighborhoods on the east. This area is largely exempt from impact fees. According to the Downtown Kansas City Council, as of May 2008 there had been over 5,400 new units of housing constructed since 2000 in the area north of 31st Street. This represents nearly a 175% increase in housing units in just a portion of the exempt area since 2000 (Downtown Council, 2008). During this same period, there was a resurgence in urban living, passage of special tax incentives by the Missouri Legislature and the development of the Power and Light District downtown. While it is doubtful that the impact fee caused such growth alone it was probably a contributor along with these other factors.

San Diego, CA

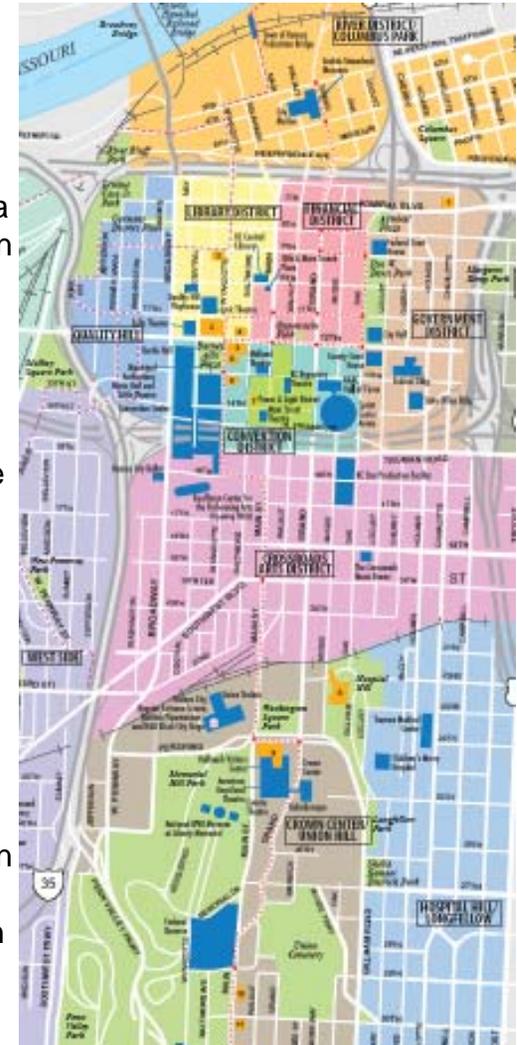
San Diego uses different types of impact fees or charges for development based on where you are located. There are four main types of fees with different purposes:

Facility benefit assessments—designed to provide 100% of the funds for public projects serving a specific community planning area.

Development impact fees—designed to mitigate the impact of new development in urbanized areas that are already near build out or maintain the existing levels of service in these areas.

Regional transportation congestion improvement program fees—recently adopted in April, 2008, these are only for new residential development and designed to ensure that that the development invests in the regional transportation system. These are in addition to the facility and development impact fees.

Housing impact fees—designed to fund the local housing trust for affordable housing, these are only levied on non-residential development.



Map of Downtown Kansas City

Development Fees

Oklahoma cities

Oklahoma City has considered the expansion of its current fees that only cover water and sewer. Currently there is a schedule based on the meter size. The proposed fees would be expanded to cover transportation infrastructure (City of Oklahoma City, November 16, 2008).

Other Oklahoma cities with development fees are **Norman** and **Moore**. Norman has current wastewater fees based on the square footage of the home. Discussion has occurred recently on increasing them with a permanent impact fee. Moore has a transportation impact fee that is levied on all residential, retail and commercial property. For residential developments, the fee is levied per unit or lot. Retail and commercial properties are assessed the fee by square feet. Moore's fee is more like that levied by San Diego and Kansas City (City of Norman, OK, December 5, 2008).

Positives:

- Potential for more new housing and population growth in older areas of Tulsa, including North Tulsa
- New source of revenue for public entities to use in providing infrastructure and related services.
- Potential for encouraging more compact growth and development.
- Encouragement for infill development of all types, including true mixed use development.
- Potential for development in areas of the city (including North Tulsa) that have been overlooked previously which may already have adequate infrastructure. Lower development fees would be charged in areas of the city that have existing infrastructure.

Negatives:

- Politically difficult to implement with possible opposition from the development community.
- No guarantee that development would occur in North Tulsa especially since there are available sites elsewhere.
- Acceleration of the teardown trend in midtown as developers seek to use existing valuable land with a lower development fee for new development.
- Increase in the cost of development as the fee would likely be passed on to customers.

Development Fees

Requirements:

- Must be implemented on a metropolitan basis or developers may simply go outside the city to develop where no such fees exist except for the most desirable locations.
- Need to have neighborhood conservation districts in place to discourage teardowns that dramatically change the character of neighborhoods as well as landmark listings that protect the most important historic structures from demolition.
- Need to determine the current number and location of vacant lots in the entire City of Tulsa and the number available for residential and commercial development.

Risks:

- New development will not come to North Tulsa because there are adequate sites elsewhere.
- The problem with teardowns will increase regardless of efforts to stop it.
- It will be impossible for such a policy to be implemented on a regional or metro wide basis, causing more construction to move outside the city limits.
- It may also be impossible for conservation districts and the landmarking of buildings to be done politically.

Application:

- One positive result of development fees would be better use of existing infrastructure and more compact development.
- Much needed revenue would be generated for the City.
- The cost of land will be a significant factor influencing the effects of development fees on Tulsa area real estate.
- This approach would likely have the greatest effect on the Standpipe Hill/Five Points area if opened for development because it is adjacent to downtown, has great views, is adjacent to historic Brady Heights and to some extent, is a “greenfield in town”, which may be easier to develop. These are perhaps the most desirable sites in the target area.
- Other areas of North Tulsa would be less likely to receive development until the more desirable sites with low development fees were taken.
- Even then, developers would have to feel that there was a market for such development because development fees are just passed on to the customer for desired locations. In other words, customers will pay the higher housing cost to be in a good location.
- North Tulsa could compete on cost because development there would be less expensive due to lower land costs than that built on greenfield sites with higher development fees but might remain at a distinct disadvantage due to crime, blight, poor schools and a lack of services.

Possible Policy Direction: Financial Incentives

There are several types of incentives that could be utilized to promote living in North Tulsa or relocating a business to the area. Examples of these include:

Urban homesteading is based on the concept that was used to settle much of the U.S. Instead of staking ground to virgin land, urban homesteaders are qualified homeowners willing to live in and improve property in City or TDA control. Some financial assistance could be made available based on need. Provided that the resident stays in the area for a certain length of time, say five years, they would be given title to the property. If the resident moves prior to five years, ownership would remain with the City or TDA (Schaefer, 2009). Typically, this type of program is run by a City agency or non-profit organization.

Tax abatement means that taxes are reduced on a property as an incentive. For residential property, typically property taxes are owed at a reduced rate for a certain period of time because they have been abated. For instance, for new residents, the City could provide tax abatements for a certain number of years on new construction or substantially rehabilitated property. This would be an incentive for developers to consider building or renovating owner-occupied housing in the target area because demand would be created by this incentive for home buyers. It could also be an incentive for property owners to rehabilitate property if it were structured in such a way that taxes didn't increase for a certain period of time despite the improvements increasing its value.

Tax deferral is similar to tax abatement but it does not mean that taxes are eliminated. Rather, they are deferred for a certain period of time. At some point, taxes are owed but they often may be reduced at that time due to the length of residency.

Tax exemption is very straight forward. Essentially, it means that no taxes will be owed because the property or improvements on the property are exempt from property taxes. It can function like a tax abatement where the exemption only lasts for so many years.

Financial Incentives

Tax increment financing (TIF), unlike some of the other tax incentives, does not abate, defer or exempt one from taxes. Instead the owner of a new or rehabilitated structure pays the normal tax rate due but a portion of the tax, the increment due to new improvements on the property, is used toward infrastructure that will benefit the property. For instance, TIF is sometimes used to pay for parking structures or roads required to service a new development. This infrastructure, the cost of which would normally be borne by the property owner, is instead paid for out of property taxes. Often, determining the portion of the increment that will be redirected toward the property is the subject of discussions between the property owner and a TIF commission. The TIF commission is usually made up of representatives from entities that receive property tax revenues. Frequently these entities, school districts in particular, are opposed or reluctant to support TIF because they don't benefit immediately by receiving the new tax revenue. An alternative approach is to have TIF districts, where the TIF commission has already approved the availability of such funding for qualified developments. Often the criteria for such districts is a determination that areas are blighted or included in a specific urban renewal area. In Oklahoma, TIF districts only last for so many years and must be renewed if they are to continue beyond a specified timeframe.

Tulsa has used TIF in some locations downtown. Two notable ones encompass the Blue Dome and Brady Districts. Most districts remain small. Ironically, the largest TIF in Tulsa is for Tulsa Hills, a large new big box retail development at U.S 75 and West 71st Street South. No TIFs have been used on the north side but surely if they can be used on a greenfield site in Southwest Tulsa that was hardly blighted and in need of renewal, they could be used in North Tulsa.

Most TIFs are done for commercial not residential development. Conceivably though, a TIF could be used to pay for needed repairs to infrastructure in neighborhoods much like those in the project area. The City of Bartlesville is one of the few cities that is using TIF for residential construction in greenfields by paying for new infrastructure required.

Homeownership programs vary widely. Typically, they are often geared toward creating first-time homebuyers. They are based on the theory that increased homeownership is desirable. Often they take the form of a no or reduced downpayment mortgage. Sometimes financing is available to rehabilitate the home so more money is lent than what the property is worth. While these are often administered by a city or non-profit organization that doesn't require a market rate of return, in the past private lenders have used them as well. The subprime mortgage crisis has all but eliminated this option with a private lender.

Financial Incentives

Requirements:

- Tulsa needs to determine the number of properties and their location under City and TDA ownership. Such an effort is underway now.
- Once property locations have been determined, a decision must be made on whether something like the urban homesteading program is feasible.
- A detailed analysis needs to be done to determine if particular initiatives would create the most demand for housing in North Tulsa. It is possible to use models of impact analysis to determine which of the incentives, if any, would accomplish this goal.
- A stable and ongoing source of funding would need to be identified for programs providing direct homeowner assistance. Financial support from the private sector could be difficult to obtain because of the economic crisis.
- Criteria would need to be put in place to avoid creating significant defaults and foreclosures of properties when owners can't maintain the structure properly, make payments or afford taxes because of changes in incentives.
- Consideration could be given to create a community land trust that would manage the program as they generally have a good record at avoiding adverse outcomes for property owners.



Sign advertising new homes on Cincinnati



New house in Brady Heights

Recommendations and Conclusions



Recommendations and Conclusions

As should be very clear by now, the problems of North Tulsa are extremely complex. There are many different factors at work that are affecting the population of the area. Different neighborhoods and parcels require different responses to refill the area with population. To most effectively address these issues, it is recommended that the following approach be used.

- 1. Assemble a task force made up of community members, local bankers, representatives from TDA, City of Tulsa, Tulsa Housing Authority (THA), Greenwood Chamber, Community Action Project of Tulsa County (CAPTC), Tulsa Community Foundation, George Kaiser Family Foundation, TEDC, existing CDCs, active neighborhood groups, the development community and other interested parties to study whether it makes more sense to:**
 - a. create a whole new community development organization that can actively address the issues that must be considered to repopulate and revitalize North Tulsa OR***
 - b. create an ongoing task force or council that focuses on coordinating work between existing organizations to repopulate and revitalize North Tulsa.***

There are pros and cons to each approach. What is important is that more resources be brought into the community, with community support, than currently provided. *Just maintaining the functioning of current efforts and coordinating them better will not cause a significant change in the project area.*

It is not possible for any one of the above entities to effectively address the issues of the area. Particularly in the case of the City of Tulsa, available resources such as CDBG funds have been in decline. Whether this trend continues with the Obama Administration remains to be seen. Thus, there must be a true public-private-philanthropic partnership if change to occur regardless of City resources.

- 2. Conduct a needed detailed market analysis that considers the demand that could be created for population growth in the area if adequate commercial services were provided and/or other tax incentives to attract new residential development.**

No plans should be made that are not based in reality. Therefore, a detailed market analysis needs to be adequately funded and created to clearly identify what opportunities actually exist in the marketplace.

Recommendations and Conclusions

3. Develop specific neighborhood strategies based on the principles of PlaniTulsa as applied to existing neighborhood conditions.

The strategies should be based on the traditional neighborhood concept, where you have a mixture of uses designed to encourage walking, pedestrian-friendly and transit-oriented development. Such plans could be similar to the plans that have been created for Whittier Square and Brookside. It is important that the strategies recognize the potential of major infill sites and focus on them along with neighborhood construction, demolition and rehabilitation. Different neighborhoods will require different strategies. The plans should actively include significant input from the home builders and commercial developers in the Tulsa area. Once the plans are created, they should be formally adopted by the Metropolitan Tulsa Area Planning Commission (TMAPC) and the Tulsa City Council as a formal amendment to the new comprehensive plan so that they will have the force of law.

4. Create an implementation plan in conjunction with these strategies.

One of the major problems of Tulsa's planning is that there is little thinking put into how planning recommendations can be put into action. For there to be any real improvement in North Tulsa, this must not be the case here. Perhaps the key is to invite the development community to be real partners in the implementation process. This would be natural given their participation in the plan creation.

5. Launch an aggressive housing rehabilitation program with the clearance of lots as an option of last resort.

A major initiative needs to be created where houses can be more properly maintained on a regular basis and those in need of major repair can be addressed. As the maps from the Assessor's office indicated, the problem of dilapidated housing is widespread across the area. Once homes are being properly maintained and those that can be repaired are receiving major rehabilitation, then consideration should be given to demolition and clearance of the remaining structures that cannot be rehabilitated. Financial support for property improvements will be needed for low or moderate income owners.

6. Problems with dirty property titles that impede development should be addressed.

An initiative needs to be put in place that would allow developers interested in purchasing properties to be able to do so with a clean title. One option would be to create a program that allows properties that are going to be sold to have their title inspected before being placed on the market and cleaned up through a partnership with local title companies or the Assessor's Office. Discounts could be made available on a volume basis or for any title work done in the project area to potential purchasers.

Recommendations and Conclusions

Three additional recommendations that fall into “inside game”--actions designed to help a specific area directly-- and “outside game”--actions designed to impact an area surrounding the specific area-- thinking are proposed below (Rusk, 1999).

7. The City should consider the licensing of landlords or issuing certificates of occupancy with the funds to be dedicated to code enforcement.

Landlord licensing or issuing certificates of occupancy must be done in a way that does not drive them out of the market by them simply deciding to board their units. Rather, it should require them to meet minimum acceptable standards when licensed or certified. Other cities have instituted such programs that should be studied in greater detail.

8. Create special financial incentives to promote living or locating a business in North Tulsa.

A study should be done on a variety of incentives that could encourage people to live in North Tulsa. One concept is that of urban homesteading. There could be special exceptions created that would allow residents and potentially developers to be exempt from property tax for a certain period of time. Or, for mixed-use, multi-family development, tax increment financing (TIF) could be used to redirect tax revenues toward improvements to support the development. As stated earlier, the key need is to stimulate demand for new housing.

9. The City should enact some type of system that requires developers to pay the cost of infrastructure for new developments outside older developed areas of the city. Ideally, this should be done on a regional basis.

It makes sense for the City to require such a system as it is obvious that it cannot adequately fund infrastructure development. For North Tulsa, such a system will create an incentive for developers to consider that area. An alternative approach would be to require concurrency, the presence of infrastructure that is necessary to support the new development.

The above recommendations and conclusions are really “next steps” that can be taken to repopulate North Tulsa. They are primarily aimed at studying in further depth some of the concepts in this report. It is important to refill North Tulsa now. Waiting will only make the challenge harder. *The problems of the area, and Tulsa in general, are not going to get better by just doing nothing or doing the same old thing. The time for action is now.*

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Appendix 1: Definition of Terms

Vacant Lot-a platted lot that does not have a structure on it

Vacant Building-a building that is not occupied

Vacant Land-a piece of property that does not have an active use of the property

Building Quality-is a term from the Tulsa County Assessor that focuses on the original quality of construction viewed from an exterior location

Building Condition-is a term from the Tulsa County Assessor that focuses on the actual condition of a structure as viewed from an exterior location

Blight-building or neighborhood conditions that endanger the health, safety or welfare of citizens as defined by the state of Oklahoma.

Brownfield-land or building that has previously had a use that would likely contribute to some form of building, air, ground or water pollution of the property

Greyfield-a commercial development that is vastly underutilized with a large area of underutilized surface parking surrounding it

Greenfield-land that has likely not had any development in the past and may have been used for agriculture

Floodplain-land designated by the City of Tulsa to reside in a 100 or 500 year floodplain

Leapfrogging growth-development that skips over open areas of land that are available for construction resulting in a sprawling area

Mixed-Use Development-a development site that has multiple types of uses within it (i.e. residential and retail)

Mixed-Use Building-a building that has multiple uses in it which can be on the same floor or more typically different floors

Mixed-Income Development-a residential development that provides housing for people in different economic classes or income groups

Transit-Oriented Development-development that is designed around accessibility or proximity to transit (buses, street cars, light rail, bus rapid transit, subways, commuter rail, etc.)

Spot Clearance-the demolition of one or two buildings while the surrounding neighborhood essentially remains intact

Neighborhood Commercial District-typically an area composed of several blocks where the buildings are of mixed-uses, with retail or some other commercial use on the lower floor with the upper floors occupied by residential units or office space. Buildings are built close to the street and sidewalk to put emphasis on pedestrian traffic

New Urbanism-is typified by walkable communities with a mixture of uses in a village-type setting

Neighborhood Conservation District-designed to preserve the character of an area by focusing on building size, massing and appropriateness

Landmarking-designating a site or building to have special historical status that can mean it cannot be significantly altered or torn down without permission

Appendix 2: Research Methods

Document/Literature Reviews

- Historical document review for Tulsa
- Best practices review and comparison for other cities
- Review settlement patterns literature
- Review growth management techniques

Qualitative Research

- Interviews with local officials and persons
- Telephone interviews with officials from other cities

Historical Census Analysis

- Review of population shifts by tract from 1960 to 2000
- Review of changes in the number of housing units by tract from 1960 to 2000

GIS Mapping and Analysis

- Analysis and creation of area maps using information from INCOG
- Review of building vacancy, condition and quality data from the Tulsa County Assessor

Research Products

- Determine the best practices most applicable to North Tulsa
- Analysis of current land uses and opportunities for development

Research Outcomes

- Choose sites to apply policy concepts to North Tulsa
- Provide strategies resulting in policy recommendations for implementation



"The Tulsa Spirit" monument in Brady Heights



Appendix 3: Schedule

Presentation 1
 Presentation 2
 Presentation 3
 Final Presentation

	Aug-08	Sep-08	Oct-08	Nov-08	Dec-08	Jan-09	Feb-09	Mar-09	Apr-09	May-09
Presenting Dates			18		6			7		2
Refine Topic										
Review of Literature										
Qualitative Research										
Determine Best Practices										
Historical Census Analysis										
GIS Mapping and Analysis										
Research Products										
Research Outcomes										
Conclusions and Recommendations										
Book Making										

Appendix 4: Detailed Census Population Data

CENSUS COMPARISONS 1960-2000

2000 (digital)	Tract 2	Tract 5	Tract 6	Tract 7	Tract 8	Tract 9	Tract 10	Tract 11	Tract 12	Tract 62	Total
White alone	55	57	17	51	163	310	72	NA	991	93	1,799
Black or African American alone	1,137	2,394	1,106	1,636	1,334	1,085	1,315	NA	227	2,612	12,846
American Indian and Alaska Native alone	17	39	15	5	15	67	33	NA	134	62	387
Asian alone	6	4	2	3	1	4	1	NA	4	2	27
Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Is	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	NA	10	0	12
Some other race alone	26	25	8	3	4	16	2	NA	534	18	636
Two or more races	54	94	25	73	56	108	71	NA	123	126	730
Total	1,295	2,613	1,173	1,772	1,564	1,690	1,494	NA	2,023	2,913	16,437
Housing Units 2000	817	1,088	708	830	718	737	748	NA	871	1,347	7,862
Increase (Decrease) - 1990 to 2000	-188	179	-24	-93	-189	-331	205	NA	357	131	47

1990 (digital)	Tract 2	Tract 5	Tract 6	Tract 7	Tract 8	Tract 9	Tract 10	Tract 11	Tract 12	Tract 62	Total
White	63	25	31	35	242	370	64	NA	1138	137	2106
Black	1403	2368	1163	1814	1487	1487	1198	NA	195	2588	13693
American Indian, Eskimo, or Aleut	15	28	10	14	16	41	23	NA	170	47	364
Asian or Pacific Islander	1	6	2	0	5	7	2	NA	2	0	25
Other race	1	7	1	2	3	16	2	NA	161	10	203
Total	1483	2434	1197	1895	1763	1921	1289	NA	1886	2782	16390
Housing Units 1990	805	909	732	923	907	1088	541	NA	514	1216	7616
Increase (Decrease) - 1980 to 1990	42	-386	-294	-91	63	-211	-161	NA	-906	-216	-2180

1980	Tract 2	Tract 5	Tract 6	Tract 7	Tract 8	Tract 9	Tract 10	Tract 11	*Tract 12	Tract 62	Total
White	92	11	15	76	319	668	189	NA	1926	233	3729
Black	1711	3397	1772	2200	1821	2021	1062	NA	542	3512	18038
American Indian	17	8	6	7	16	89	16	NA	211	51	421
Asian	2	2	1	3	4	20	1	NA	1	2	36
Other	7	10	10	7	8	38	2	NA	76	2	160
Total	1829	3428	1804	2293	2168	3036	1270	NA	2756	3800	22,384
Housing Units 1980	763	1295	1026	1014	844	1279	722	NA	1420	1432	9795
Increase (Decrease) - 1970 to 1980	-80	-164	-333	-169	31	-805	-1229	NA		-85	-2614

1970	Tract 2	Tract 5	Tract 6	Tract 7	Tract 8	Tract 9	Tract 10	*Tract 11	Tract 12	Tract 62	Total
White	78	33	12	143	490	2117	247	9		506	3635
Negro	2159	4602	3195	3361	2010	2326	3589	1632		4486	27262
Other Races	133	30	18	30	24	281	33	9		43	601
Total	2370	4665	3225	3634	2524	4724	3869	1650	2896	5037	34394
Housing Units 1970	823	1459	1359	1183	813	1884	1951	787	1262	1517	13038
Increase (Decrease) - 1960 to 1970	514	220	-43	-15	-22	-740	-331	-268		233	-452

1960	Tract 2	Tract 5	Tract 6	Tract 7	Tract 8	Tract 9	Tract 10	Tract 11	Tract 12	Tract 62	Total
White	3	40	15	841	2190	5627	7	3		360	8986
Negro	884	4373	4111	3077	42	1138	5137	3019		13	21794
Other Races		6	1	28	20	157	3	2		5	222
Total	887	4419	4127	3946	2262	6822	5147	3024	4168	378	35170
Housing Units 1960	309	1239	1402	1198	835	2624	2282	1055	1551	1284	13779

*Tract 11 was merged into tract 12 in 1980 resulting in a much larger area. Therefore, comparing Tract 12 with pre-1980 data is not an accurate comparison.