Urban Renewal and the Distortion of Cultural Heritage: A Case Study of Cultural Heritage Preservation within The Five Points Historic Cultural District

by

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Certificate of Approval

This is to certify that the accompanying thesis by Alexander Walsh has been accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for graduation with Honors in Sociology.

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Introduction

In the early 20th century, many African Americans in Colorado called Five Points a sanctuary from the surrounding Denver areas. Named for the vertices of four intersecting streets in the heart of the neighborhood, Five Points is one of Denver's fastest growing neighborhoods today. Settled in the northeast part of downtown Denver, Five Points initially grew around an African American church congregation and quickly became the largest African American neighborhood in the entire state of Colorado. In the late 1940s, housing covenants specified that only persons of Caucasian race could rent or own homes in most parts of Denver, effectively limiting the African American population in Denver to the Five Points and adjacent Whittier neighborhoods. By 1950, 25,000 African Americans lived in the Five Points District, which spans only 2.3 square miles.[1] In this time of structural racism and residential segregation, the Five Points community successfully connected to one of the most common forms of African American rebellion and expression of that time: jazz. Five Points, dubbed the "Harlem of the West," began to gain a reputation as one of the best jazz hubs west of St. Louis. Five Points saw famous musicians such as Duke Ellington, Louis Armstrong and Miles Davis. Segregation did not permit these Black musicians to stay in the main parts of the city, so residents of Five Points welcomed these musicians into their own homes. For this reason, Five Points became a closely knit and interdependent community intertwined with jazz culture.

Many historic jazz venues came into existence from 1900-1940. The Rossonian Hotel is one such establishment that exemplified Five Points' unique ethos. The Rossonian's distinctive Beaux-Arts architecture and location in the heart of Five Points

made the building a frequent stop for these famous jazz musicians to perform and stay. Other businesses contributed to Five Points' proud, distinctive community. These included Station Number 3 (Denver's First all-Black fire company), Roxy's Theater, Zion Baptist Church and Radio Drugs[2]. Facing Jim Crow era racism and fueled by the protest music of jazz, Five Points became an asylum where the people of Denver could intermingle. The cultural heritage of the Five Points District is exemplified through not only jazz, but African American pride.

Five Points and the jazz culture there prospered until the late 1950s, when crime and drugs became more prevalent and Five Points' economy began to suffer. Housing restrictions barring African Americans from living in certain parts of Denver were lifted, and many residents of Five Points moved to other, more prosperous parts of Denver. The Rossonian began to decline as musicians chose to perform in larger venues across Denver, adding to the district's deterioration. The Rossonian saw many changes of ownership throughout the next fifty years and never regained its status as a premier jazz hotel, despite being defined as a historic landmark in 1995. By 1974, the population had shrunk to 8,700 despite 32,000 residents living in Five Points in 1959 (Cordell 2015); as a result, many of Five Points' once culturally prominent buildings had been abandoned. Many revitalization attempts were made by the city government throughout the next twenty years; however all were unsuccessful. It was not until the early 2000s that the spillover from the economic boom occurring in surrounding areas in Denver bolstered the city's revitalization attempts. Since then, Five Points has been given $250 million dollars of investment from private investors and city funds (Cordell 2015). Numerous

construction sites, long lines to get a coffee and numerous other indicators speak to Five Points' massive economic revival.

However, all this development has come at a price; many of those families who had generational ties within Five Points were forced out due to rising housing prices. In 2017 only 12.6% of Five Points District's population is currently African American (Cordell 2015). Despite this, Five Points still boasts its cultural heritage and attachment to jazz. City led committees have appointed several Five Points' buildings, including the Rossinian, as historical landmarks and the entire district was awarded the title of "Historic District" in 2002, later rebranded a "Historical Cultural District" in 2014.[3] While preserving the physical, Five Points still attempts to maintain its jazz origins, hosting jazz festivals every May and June. However it remains unclear how successful Five Points has been in preserving the cultural heritage which once made the district famous. Is it possible for newcomers, who have no generational ties to the district, to preserve Five Points' cultural heritage? This begs the question to which I will be concerned with throughout this thesis: to what extent has the Five Points District successfully retained, in the face of rapid urban renewal, the cultural heritage that was instilled in the 1920s-1940s? How has this cultural heritage been distorted by franchises, developers, and city officials which promote Five Points' jazz roots as a means to sustain economic growth?

Conducting an in-depth investigation of this tension between preservation of cultural heritage and the forces of urban renewal, I analyze how the Five Points District has evolved in the face of massive economic growth and demographic change. I have

looked at the strategies employed by the city, developers, and residents in preserving the historic African American jazz culture while also analyzing how these affect economic growth of the Five Points District. I then examine how recent building developments in Five Points have attempted to model themselves after the historic architecture of the district. I ask if a physical representation of culture translates to a retention of authentic cultural heritage, or if Five Points is merely a preserving a representation of its historic period to stimulate economic growth.

It is important to define some terms and the boundaries of the areas my research is concerned with. I define a district as an urban area composed roughly of ten blocks. An amenity is defined as desirable aspect of an urban area, often these are the services that businesses offer. A franchise is defined as businesses which is part of a larger corporation (i.e. Starbucks). The Five Points Historic Cultural District is the main area I will be analyzing, it was home to many historic buildings (such as the Rossonian and other jazz clubs). Welton Street serves as the main street within the Five Points Historic Cultural District. Throughout this thesis I will refer to just this area as the Five Points District, however documents which I quote refer to this area as 'The Welton Corridor.' As opposed to the Five Points Neighborhood (shown below) which encompasses the Five Points District but spans 2.3 square miles in total, whereas the Five Points District spans just a few blocks.

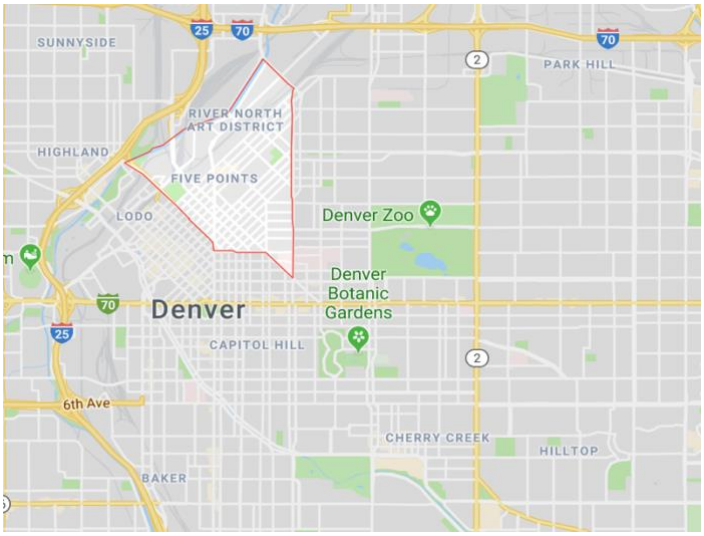


Image 1: Map of the Five Points Neighborhood[5]

Image 2: Map of the Five Points Historic Cultural District[6]

Finally, let me make the distinction between heritage, culture, and cultural heritage. Heritage is simply the properties or traditions of a past area passed down through generations – the important thing to note is that these properties and traditions were instilled in a place generations ago. Culture takes on a more temporally current definition, and can be seen as the beliefs, traditions, and other characteristics pertaining to a group of people. Finally, I define cultural heritage as representations of heritage which still hold cultural value in the modern era. An example of this might be a building which matches the architectural style from a historic period, or a monument which displays important aspects of that period's heritage.

I will use several theoretical perspectives throughout my analysis of the Five Points District, which will be discussed in greater detail later. The foundation of my theoretical analysis will be rooted in Jane Jacobs' (1961) theory of how urban districts respond to physical change. Jacobs (1961) explores how economic success within an urban district sets in motion the cycle of the "self-destruction of diversity" (Jacobs 1961:251). What Jacobs (1961) means here by diversity is the variety of amenities available to residents and visitors alike. Jacobs (1961) lays a framework for how the quantity of diversity in a city can be viewed as parabolic in nature. Amenity diversity initially grows within a city "because of economic opportunity and economic attraction" (Jacobs 1961:243), thereby crowding out other superfluous shops with a district; in Jacobs' (1961) own words, "economic competition for space is net increase in diversity" (Jacobs 1961:243). However, once diversity reaches its maximum point (if you imagine the quantity of diversity as parabolic), any new diversity is competing with other already existing amenities. It is at this maximum point where the diverse mixture begins to crowd out less profitable businesses and begins an asymptotic decline of diversity, with the most profitable type of business becoming the most prevalent. This cycle will continue to force out diverse forms of businesses until the district becomes homogenous in the types of services and amenities available to both residents and visitors. However, it is nearly inevitable that with no or little regulations "one or few dominating uses finally emerge triumphant," a process which Jacobs calls "self-sorting by expense" (Jacobs 1961:243). Eventually this process stagnates, and a district becomes monotonous due to its lack of diversity. Within Jacobs' (1961) framework of a self-sorting district, this suggests that

more profitable businesses offering different services are crowding out jazz venues with Five Points.

But to what extent can we say that a physical change represents a true cultural shift? By examining the diversity of amenities within the district, I will analyze how Five Points' amenities signal a cultural shift and the associated importance of jazz culture to the current residents of Five Points. In addition to Jacobs' (1961) theory of a self-sorting district, I will also utilize Jain's (2004) theory on how districts transform into either concrete places or non-places as a result of the forces generated by globalization. Furthermore, I will use Zukin's (1995) theory of Disneyfication, which tells us that the culture of a place is repackaged in order to make that place more accessible to the wider public. Jacobs' (1961) framework as well as these other theories which I have just mentioned both encompass the economic and physical aspects of culture in addition to how individuals construct meaning and the discourse associated with cultural heritage. Using these theoretical perspectives, I will look at how the Five Points District has changed in the amenities that the district offers. In the early to mid-20th century, Five Points' most successful amenities were bars and clubs where jazz was played, housing nearly fifty such establishments within the district (Werges 2016). This empirical reality is a strong indicator of the cultural embeddedness of jazz in the neighborhood. But as Five Points grows today, many bars and clubs offering jazz are shutting down due to the rising cost of rent within the district. Despite city officials rebranding Five Points to showcase its historic jazz status.

By denoting certain buildings or areas of historical significance, city officials hope that the general public will remember the history and previous culture of that district. While generally well-intentioned, these historical designations which physically preserve an entity will often contribute to effacing the associated culture. This is especially salient in UNESCO World Heritage Sites, which act as a mere ideological cover in order to allow the tourist industry to accumulate capital on the basis of the embodiments of culture. Any institutional designated label that aims to preserve culture only increases the economic activity within that area, incentivizing franchises to capitalize on a new source of income. These franchises do little to contribute to the cultural significance that the historic label was originally attempting to preserve.

The distortion of cultural heritage can also be seen with increased economic activity of one area; the institutional declaration of a historical entity is not a prerequisite. If a district begins to exhibit increased economic activity, the cost of living or operating a business in that area will rise as well. Eventually outside franchises, businesses and residents are going to seek to imbed themselves within that district, forcing out those who established the original culture. While some may argue that this is may be the natural evolution of an urban area, by forcing out residents and businesses who initially instilled that cultural heritage, the retention of that cultural heritage becomes progressively difficult. Urban renewal is in opposition with the preservation of culture unless city officials control for economic forces driving urban renewal. If designations of historical entities only preserve the physical and lead to the loss of previous culture, is past culture doomed to die at the force of urban renewal?

My methods for this analysis will rely on measuring two components of evolution in the Five Points District: urban renewal and the strategies put in place by the city of Denver to maintain Five Points' cultural heritage and sense of place. To measure urban renewal I have created a composite measurement to effectively quantify the change in demographic and economic housing characteristics within both the Five Points District and Neighborhood since 1990. The variables which will contribute to the housing aspect of my composite measure are median home value, gross rent, total housing units and total population (to operationalize demand for housing units). While demographic variables include average age, median household income, educational attainment, and change in the African American residential population. I have standardized these variables for urban renewal and will analyze how both housing and demographic changes have occurred since 1990. In order to understand how the Five Points District has evolved over the years, the comparison of my urban renewal measurement to the entire Five Points Neighborhood will be critical.

While my data for urban renewal is quantitative, my measurement of cultural preservation strategies will take a qualitative approach. As Five Points primary cultural significance is its deep connection to jazz and its African American community, I will root my analysis in Five Points retention of these two cultural elements. I will look at the businesses that offer live jazz within the Five Points community, to indicate how closely the community maintains its cultural connection to jazz. In addition to jazz, I will examine the restrictions imposed on renovating existing buildings or new construction developments to determine if this translates to a retention of cultural heritage. By

preserving the appearance of Five Points District, developers are prolonging which types of people are attracted to live and visit Five Points, and thus the types of amenities that will want to be located here. That is to question if developers and the city are disregarding Five Points' history in favor of appealing to larger, more mainstream audience. I will discuss my methodology in greater detail in my methods section.

In the next section, I will then situate my theoretical framework in more detail before moving onto reviewing the literature on previous sociological studies on gentrification and the preservation of culture. Turning to methodology, I will present how I went about measuring urban renewal and culture and proceed to present my findings and figures, comparing how these two measurements have developed in tandem. Finally, I will discuss to what extent preserving culture is possible in the face of economic growth as my analysis of Five Points has shown.

Theory

To effectively evaluate the changing aspects of a cultural heritage within a community facing urban renewal, let me situate and elaborate on the theoretical frameworks I will be operating within. As previously mentioned, Jacobs (1961) will act as my foundational theory in order to understand how districts change in the amenities they offer and how, with no intervention, districts become homogenous in nature. I will utilize Palen and London (1984), Zukin (1995), Poria & Ashworth (2009) and Jain (2004) to understand how city officials, businesses and residents react to, and initiate a changing district and how this distorts one's perception of cultural heritage within that district.

Jacobs' (1961) cycle of the self-destruction of diversity can be seen in districts as they begin growing economically, creating a competition for space. The crux of Jacobs' (1961) argument relies on the underlying assumption that a single type of business will become the most profitable type of business within that district – she refers to the most profitable business as a dominant entity. Jacobs (1961) notes that these districts will eventually decline in diversity as a dominant entity will crowd out less profitable businesses and attract similar types of amenities – forcing a district to evolve into one known for the dominant entity. As a district continues to grow, and the costs to exist within this district increase, only those with sufficient capital will be able to remain in this district. Jacobs (1961) calls this process self-sorting by expense and the "winners in the competition for space will represent only a narrow segment of the many uses that together created success" (Jacobs 1961:243). A district may have initially grown rapidly because of the variety of different amenities it offered and the diverse crowds it attracted.

However, with no regulations, the cycle of the self-destruction of diversity will take hold, causing the district to become limited in not only the types of amenities it has to offer, but the demographic of people who are attracted to that district. Those persons who are attracted by the diverse amenities and excitement of that district will look to move into that district, increasing the demand, and therefore cost of living in that district. Therefore, those already living within the district and those looking to move into that district will be self-sorted by expense. Since so many are looking to get in, those winners of the competition for space within the district will only represent a slim portion of those who lived in the district before it began growing.

Once a district devolves into a certain demographic of people, only the types of amenities which particularly cater to that demographic will continue to profit unless they change how they market their business. All other amenities which may have initially accommodated all pervious residents "will gradually be deserted by people using it for purposes other than those that emerged triumphant from the competition" (Jacobs 1961:243). Businesses will either need to change their practices to become more geared towards the new demographic of residents and thus their customer base, or face running out of business. Both the types of amenities and demographic of individuals within a district will asymptotically decline as the competition for space increases and businesses and people alike are self-sorted by expense. From this framework, it is apparent that districts will devolve until they are uniform in both the types of amenities that are offered and the demographic of people who live there. However, this cycle of the self-destruction of diversity should not be overexaggerated in its use. While it is true that the winners of

the competition of a space within any one district will only represent the narrow segment of those previously in the district, be that resident or business, a district will never become perfectly identical in the amenities it offers and the residents who live there. There may be other amenities within a district that offer different services, likewise other people may live in that district that differ from the dominant demographic.

Jacobs (1961) brings forth one element that aids in the production of diversity within a district: aged buildings. She advocates for aged buildings as an ingredient for hampering the self-destruction of diversity and the overall economic vitality of a district because of the low overhead costs with older structures. In order to "support the cost of new construction [tenants] must be capable of paying a relatively high overhead – high in comparison to that necessarily required by old buildings" (Jacobs 1961:188). Often, businesses that can afford high overhead are franchises, whereas older buildings provide a space where small and local businesses to grow – contributing to the amenity diversity within a district. Therefore, in order to prevent any one district from giving in completely to the forces of economic growth, cities must put policies in place which aim to preserve aged buildings. However, the use of aged buildings has its limitations. After a certain period of time, aged buildings will accrue costs to keep that building up to code, and tearing it down and building a new structure may seem more financially desirable. Thus, the upkeep of aged buildings are crucial if Jacobs' (1961) assertations are to hold true – after a long enough period of time, the upkeep may not be economical. Nevertheless, Jacobs (1961) points to how aged buildings often accommodate smaller businesses by providing a cheaper overhead. This exact technique can be seen in the Five Points

District as city officials protect aged historic buildings through several policies and guiding principles which I will elaborate on later in this thesis.

The paramount aspects of Jacobs' (1961) cycle of the self-destruction of diversity that I want to hone in on is that when a district begins the self-destruction of diversity cycle, and thus those within that district begin to be self-sorted by expense, this puts pressure on businesses to change their practices to reflect a changing customer base. Simply put, businesses are going to market and reflect consumer habits of those individuals who have sufficient capital to keep up with the rising cost of living of the district. Districts change not merely as a result of monetary components, but because of ideological components as well. Individuals want to live in a district that fits in with their beliefs and cultural tastes, and those who watch their own district morph to something which no longer represents their own cultural taste will seek to move if they have the means to do so.

This brings me to my next theory that focuses on why people choose to relocate to any one place. Palen and London (1984) assert that people are motivated to move back into cities based on three aspects: practical economic incentives, preferences for specific types of neighborhoods or housing, and ideological factors. Economic incentives can be seen rather intuitively, as buying a house in a growing area will likely have a high return on their investment. Alternatively, one may choose to live in an economically disadvantaged district because the cost of living and housing costs are cheaper. Furthermore, relocating because of preferences for a specific type of neighborhood or housing can also be seen rather evidently. One might choose to live in a suburb as the

price for square foot of housing is cheaper, therefore one could get a larger place and raise and family. Similarly, an individual might choose to relocate based merely on the fact that it would be closer to their place of work.

However, ideologies are very culturally rooted when relocating into a neighborhood or district. Palen and London (1984:30) take a generational perspective asserting that "intergenerational differences in social values" influence a younger demographic to settle in developing neighborhoods. Individuals want to be surrounded and live with those who have a similar worldview, which will likely be those individuals in the same generation. Palen and London (1984) view relocation into cities as a migration of several like-minded persons – akin to a social movement in nature. As with any social movement, there are underlying goals driving the movement. In the case of the migration, there "emerges a consensually shared set of social definitions or an ideology that rationalizes and celebrates the goals of the movement" (Palen and London 1984:31). Take for example the ideology that guided many individuals approaching their thirties and the desire to move out of the city to the suburbs to have more space to raise a family. This movement motivated couples across the U.S. to relocate into suburbs and move away from cities. Through Palen and London's (1984) framework, this movement was due to an ideological shift; highly dense urban neighborhoods are not conducive for raising a family. A similar ideological shift can also be seen in how millennials view city districts today. The ideological desire to be surrounded by many analogous persons in a vibrant district filled with culture and trendy businesses is prevalent in motivating a younger demographic to move into certain districts. From here we can see how Jacobs'

(1961) cycle of self-destruction of diversity can be seen with outside resident's displacing current ones. As a district begins to grow and the competition for space intensifies, local amenities are crowded out by franchises with more capital, simultaneously as ideological movements are influencing a demographic to move to a rapidly developing place. From a city planning perspective, city officials want to support this growth. This economic growth is often achieved by employing heritage of that place as a resource to attain this goal, despite the new residents in this district having little connection to that heritage.

Cultural heritage can be understood as a social resource in order to bolster and define an already growing district as I have outlined earlier. Poria and Ashworth (2009) comment on this very phenomenon noting how heritage sites, or places of some cultural importance, can be capitalized upon "as a resource to achieve certain social goals" or "legitimize a certain social order" (Poria and Ashworth 2009:523). Poria and Ashworth (2009) theorize how heritage's primary use is to create separation between groups, "dividing people into 'we' and 'they'" based on that groups relation to that heritage (Poria and Ashworth 2009:522). While heritage is often used as a solidarity mechanism, the use of heritage changes when used in a tourism-driven district. Heritage takes on a more consumption-based nature as that heritage is driving revenue for the businesses in that place. It no longer belongs to just one group of people, but invites everyone to participate in this heritage as the vitality of the site now depends upon it. Poria and Ashworth (2009) create the term 'heritagization' to describe how heritage transforms in a tourist industry, defining it as "the conversion of cultural resources and their mass customization into globalized products" (Poria and Ashworth 2009:523). The

representation of the heritage within a tourism reliant district is altered to be more easily consumed by a larger audience that does not necessarily have a direct connection to this heritage. During heritagization, "history is captured as completed, something that belongs to the inhabitants of the present who can choose how to interpret and use it to their advantage" (Poria and Ashworth 2009:523). A district is presented as a living representation of its past, beloved history – similar to how a museum would present historic artifacts. This can be seen around the Five Points District today; murals displaying jazz artists, which are encouraged and protected by city officials, are seen throughout the district. Those who visit a historic place want to relive the enjoyable aspects from that point in time, without any negatives which may have simultaneously existed. This heritage no longer acts as an exclusionary mechanism which separates demographic groups, but is an element which is specific to the residents within that place. Additionally, heritage is still being used as a social resource, but its primary objective is now to attract and profit in the tourist industry, the residents are free to interpret and use that heritage to make the district more accessible to a wider commercial audience. Therefore, physical representations of heritage within that district are going to become increasing more valuable because of the symbolic meaning imbued with them.

Zukin (1995) elaborates on the exact ways of how cultural heritage begins to change during heritagization. She describes how forces of capitalism repackage culture in favor of consumerism in a manner akin to heritagization. She calls this process 'Disneyfication,' as the starkest illustration of this theory is Disney World. The culture that Walt Disney had created is presented in the form of souvenirs and other attractions

which cost money and are very accessible to the public – as long as you have sufficient funds. Disney World repackages its media, and in turn culture in order to make it easily accessible to anyone within the park. In doing so Disney World creates its own market for the culture it has created, allowing Disney World to profit immensely from it. Disney World's success can be attributed to presenting culture in a material form that can be easily sold. With Disney World's massive access to resources and capital, Disney World can be understood as "a powerful visual and spatial reorganization of public culture" (Zukin 1995:53). Moreover, Disney World is highly maintained and constructed in order to appear ascetically pleasing – removing unpleasant objects (such as garbage) and relying on a constantly upkeep of structures. In doing so, Disney World is "flattening out experience to an easily digestible narrative and limiting visualization to a selective sample of symbols" (Zukin 1995:64). By reorganizing this culture in favor of consumerism, Disney World is able to fabricate a whole city built entirely around culture.

Zukin's (1995) theory of Disneyfication can be illustrated to demonstrate how Jacobs' (1961) self-destruction of diversity can be set into motion. When a place is fabricated based on a shared passion or culture, this causes a transition of that place into a space of consumption – this not only increases economic prosperity but creates an entirely new market for that culture. However, the difference between Disney World and a district is that Disney World is controlled by a lone institution, where a district is composed of many businesses and residents and merely managed by a city. As Jacobs (1961) established, as these places increase in economic wealth, so will the competition for space as less profitable entities are crowded out. Thus the repackaging of culture can

lead a place to become homogenous and a void of cultural significance, despite its economic growth initially sprouting from its culture.

Zukin (1995) combines her previous points to conclude that the single most important aspect we can take away from Disney World is its visual coherence – both physically and symbolically. This can be seen physically by utilizing a large workforce to make the theme park appear as a wholesome haven; unpleasant aspects about any normal city (homeless populations, drugs, crime) are hidden. The symbolic aspects are demonstrated by reorganizing a space around a cultural theme or passion. The ultimate goal of Disney World, from Zukin's (1995) perspective, is transforming the park into a space of consumption of material representations of culture. What we can learn from Zukin's interpretation of Disney World is that "it confirms and consolidates the significance of cultural power – the power to impose a vision – for social control" (Zukin 1995:77). Ultimately this raises consequences about using this cultural power as an economic stimulant to a district. Not only does it begin Jacobs' (1961) cycles, as I previously discussed, but detracts from the cultural importance of these places and forces them to lose connection to their past heritage.

Five Points certainly is not repackaging culture to the extent Disney World is, yet Zukin's (1995) theory is still relevant to understand how the presentation of Five Points' cultural heritage can be centered around economic activity. Presenting the jazz culture of the early 20th century in a reduced degree (the prominence of jazz venues and artists is far less than what it was) can be viewed as flattening out the entire experience of that time. Jazz and African American pride are the only aspects which are being preserved at that

time, not recognizing the negatives which simultaneously existed. Yet as Poria and Ashworth (2009) would say, Five Points' cultural heritage is being used as a marketing resource to increase economic activity. Moreover, as I will delve into later in this study, the cultural heritage within Five Points is being presented in a more visual manner. This is achieved specifically through historic architectural consistency throughout the district and prominence of jazz murals – thus creating a visually coherent place akin to Disney World. Due to massive economic growth in the surrounding areas of Denver, Five Points is under constant pressure to develop to accommodate individuals moving into the city.

Jain (2004) discusses how places develop with the pressures of globalization, concluding that places will begin developing into two extremes: concrete or non-places. Jain (2004) builds upon Sassen's (1991) notions of globalization, specifically how places with cultural heritage are at a constant risk of being "dissolved by the simultaneously absorbing and disembedding power of globalization" (Jain 2004:54). This power of globalization can be understood through Jacobs' (1961) cycle of self-sorting by expense, with global networks and more exposure to sources of capital, franchises with access to capital are going to look to displace local businesses and other cultural amenities. Jain (2004) calls these places with strong linkage to their cultural heritage concrete places, and calls for a constant need for them to be protected. Conversely, those places which have not been regulated for the forces of globalization will develop into what Jain (2004) refers to as non-places. Jain (2004) adopts this term from Certeau (1984) who defines them as places which "do not bear the character of a (structured) space of action: they are (urban) transient places, places of restless drift, of an endless search, of absence" (Jain

2004:54). Concrete and non-places are two extremes on a spectrum places facing pressures of globalization can evolve into, however a critical aspect which Jain (2004) notes about non-places is any person "cannot build a real relationship" with them as they are "places without identity and history…they are merely functional places of passage" (Jain 2004:54). Non-places can be equated to "imagined localities," that is places which "were created or reshaped according to certain images" (Jain 2004:54). Interpreting this theory, these non-places are transformed into having little connection to its past cultural heritage, yet is shaped according to those images and loses its cultural heritage by cultural amenities being self-sorted by expense. This can be also be seen in Disneyfication, Jain's (2004) usage of reshaping based on certain images can be equated to reorganization of space around a common passion. Jain (2004) presents the concept of a non-place as a way to think about the effects of Disneyfication when not controlled for the forces of globalization. Districts that are reshaped according to their previous cultural heritage develop in order in favor of consumerism – losing their connection to the heritage it initially developed around. Moreover, as noted above with Jacobs (1961), as the competition for space increases and places lose their linkage to their cultural past as franchises and outside residents with more capital and resources are able to crowd out previous businesses and residents.

In summation, when the primary social goal of cultural heritage becomes the generation of revenue through tourism, this forces the entire district to begin a metamorphosis where the end result might be a non-place, with the cultural heritage it once embodied distorted or entirely destroyed. Operating under Jacobs' (1961)

assumptions, as a district with some heritage begins to initially grow, be that because of economic spillover or ideological incentives (Palen and London 1984), heritage will shift to be used as a resource in the tourism industry. Poria and Ashworth (2009) called this process heritagization and explained that this process enables the current residents of that district to interpret and use the cultural heritage to their own advantage by creating a tourist destination. A similar process, Disneyfication proposed by Zukin (1995), demonstrates that a tourism-driven district will have to be repacked in order to appear visually and symbolically coherent. A district will have to exemplify an ideal tourist destination based on its respective cultural heritage, while simultaneously neglecting undesirable aspects associated with the temporal period when the cultural heritage was formed. If done correctly, the competition for space within this district will increase as Jacobs' (1961) cycle of self-sorting by expense will begin, and those who cannot keep up with the rising cost of living will be forced out – the winners of this competition for space will only represent a narrow portion of those who initially resided within the district. It might become the case that a district may transform to where there are little to no residents remaining from before this shift. As this district continues to grow, franchises who can afford these rising costs are going to crowd out local entities which contribute more to the cultural heritage than any franchise could. Eventually, this district will begin to devolve from a concrete to a non-place as Jain (2004) described. From these theoretical perspectives we can see how a district, which may have attempted to capitalize on its cultural heritage as a means to reinforce its revenue, will become a place

devoid of that very culture, with residents who share little attachment to that place aside from the fact that they live there.

Review of Literature

As there is much scholarly literature on gentrification, I will be primarily focusing on literature that attempts to study how culture and the amenities within a district are affected when dealing with a changing residential demographic. Moreover, I will analyze literature on the implementation of policies by various institutions to maintain the cultural heritage specific to any one site. There has been little scholarly literature on the Five Points District, so I will use findings from this past literature to better understand the developing nature of the Five Points District.

In order to limit growth and preserve the physical presence of culture, government officials will often designate certain areas of historic or cultural importance. This entails placing rigid regulations on how new building developments and renovations appear on both the exterior and interior of those buildings. These regulations are implemented in hopes of preserving cultural or historic value by matching the architectural style of the cultural or historic period in question. A common example of this preservation technique are UNESCO World Heritage Sites. UNESCO, which stands for United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, "seeks to encourage the identification, protection and preservation of cultural and natural heritage around the world considered to be of outstanding value to humanity" per their mission statement (UNESCO 2019). UNESCO designates certain sites as having valuable cultural or physical properties that merit a form of protection, current sites include ancient ruins, wilderness areas, or a historic section of a city. Since 1975 the organization has been deeming sites worthy of this label based on their contribution to the common cultural value added to humanity.

However, what many scholars find is that World Heritage Sites, while well intentioned, often act as a means for the tourist-oriented businesses to profit. The way UNESCO World Heritage Sites reshape any one area can be thought of in the theoretical frameworks of heritagization (Poria and Ashworth 2009) and Disneyfication (Zukin 1995). D'Eramo (2014) critiques how UNESCO World Heritage Sites act as a mere "ideological cover," and a means that only allows the "tourist industry to cash out the market value of authenticity" (D'Eramo 2014:50). In his study, he finds that the label of a World Heritage Site, does preserve the physical appearance of structures in a site, however they cause an influx of tourism in that area because of the gravity this designation brings. World Heritage Sites often end up detracting from the cultural value of the site by increasing the amount of people who desire to visit this site as they gain more visibility via the World Heritage Site label. While a beneficial effect of increased economic activity may occur, as Jacobs (1961) theorized, economic success usually is the start of the demise of a district. Increased economic activity puts upward pressure on the cost of both living in and operating a business in that area, which turning back to Jacobs (1961), sets in motion the self-destruction of diversity and forces that district to be self-sorted by expense. Eventually, as Jacobs (1961) predicts and D'Eramo (2014) discovers, wealthier franchises that can keep up with rising rents who sell what they claim to be 'local specialties' nudge out authentic local businesses which contribute to the historical and cultural value UNESCO was initially attempted to protect. D'Eramo refers the label of UNSECO World Heritage Sites as "the kiss of death" for most districts with cultural heritage (D'Eramo 2014:47). While this is not necessarily true about every UNESCO

World Heritage Site, D'Eramo (2017) is especially critical of how this label causes susceptible sites to become overrun with tourism. D'Eramo (2017) indirectly references Jacobs' (1961) theories that I've introduced previously, noting how "the heterogeneous humanity of its urban fabric gives way as if by magic to a monoculture of innkeepers, bar-tenders and waiters, touting for customers who will be instantly recognizable by their clothes—shorts, hiking boots—which are radically unsuitable for city wear" (D'Eramo 2014:48). This 'monoculture' propelled by tourism money from UNESCO World Heritage Sites forces those residents to be pushed to miles away from the district they initially imbued with culture.

D'Eramo (2014) proposed striking a balance between construction and preservation, criticizing UNESCO for attempting to just freeze a cultural heritage site in hopes of preservation, when in fact this just opens the door for all tourism related entities. These entities merely attempt to put up the façade of the culture in question – "with the inevitable products of 'invented tradition' on commercial display" (D'Eramo 2014:48). Here we can see connections here to Jain's (2004) theory of 'imagined localities,' which reshape districts based on certain images associated with that district's cultural heritage. Franchises in UNESCO World Heritage Sites are contributing to the 'imagined locality' of that site by attempting to produce a product or atmosphere with the ultimate goal of profit and not to add to the cultural value of local residents who embody this culture. If the goal of any area is to increase economic activity by capitalizing on its past heritage and 'cash out' on the market value of that heritage, then the UNESCO World Heritage Site accomplishes this goal. However, if the aim is true preservation of that heritage, then

businesses and longtime residents which instilled this culture must be protected. The label of UNESCO World Heritage Sites nudges out these businesses and residents as they are self-sorted by expense, allowing franchises to win the competition for space.

To further the argument of the destructive nature of UNESCO World Heritage Sites as demonstrated by D'Eramo (2014), Avieli (2015) analyzed the disconnect that UNESCO often displays between local residents and UNESCO officials when making decisions about how to best preserve the cultural character of any one site. Avieli (2015) relays an anecdote of the massive construction undertaking done in Hôi An after this area was awarded a World Heritage Site by UNESCO. Hôi An is an ancient town located in the Quang Nam Province in Vietnam – it features an incredibly well preserved trading port town active from the 15th to 19th century. Avieli (2015) reports, the Hoianese had a very limited voice when sharing their opinions on the development of their downtown district to make it more apt in the name of preservation. Similar to what D'Eramo (2014) found, Avieli (2015) also came to the conclusion that UNESCO World Heritage Sites "conservation guidelines and requirements generate a situation whereby the very same material and sociocultural elements that were to be protected were quickly and powerfully destroyed" (Avieli 2015:37). Sites selected that have a less-affluent residential population, as is the case in Hôi An, are particularly susceptible to the destruction of cultural heritage fueled by the influx of capital which these World Heritage Sites bring. In conclusion, UNESCO World Heritage Sites attempt to preserve, but their policies give birth to a place where the cultural heritage is static – visitors can experience cultural heritage like stepping back in time. This static preservation in time is similar to

the concept of heritagization (Poria and Ashworth 2009); a place is preserved as a living representation of its past, beloved history. This forces an area to become tourism oriented, increasing economic activity and nudging out entities that instilled or have a connection to that area's heritage. Physical development occurs, but it is centered around heritage preserved from long ago, in some cases, from centuries ago. This is accomplished by instilling policies which force new developments to match the architectural style from the historic period that is attempted to be recreated. This changes the primary use of cultural heritage, enabling the tourism industry to invade the area, and in combination with the rise in tourism traffic caused by the World Heritage Site label, forces any site to use heritage as a resource to accumulate wealth for franchises and tourist-oriented businesses.

The weight and monetary impact a mere label such as UNESCO's World Heritage Site has on a place has been demonstrated to be a major force of development, which comes at the price of the manipulation of culture. Relating this label back to Zukin's (1995) theory of Disneyfication, we can see how most of these sites reorganized their own culture as to be more appealing to the wider public; a reorganization of culture in favor of tourist consumerism. In D'Eramo's (2014) study, this reorganization can be seen in the ways in which franchises attempted to mirror the cultural heritage of the site that they were occupying. D'Eramo (2014) critiqued franchises for selling 'local specialties,' which reflect the cultural character of a place, but are presented by a franchise that people around the world are familiar with. The World Heritage Site label enables franchises to

enter a cultural district and repackage the culture of that district as a means to gain more revenue by appealing to a wider tourist audience.

Learning from D'Eramo's (2014) and Avieli's (2015) findings, cultural heritage is distorted when it becomes a resource to profit from in the tourism industry. An influx of economic activity coupled with the attempt to freeze a district as a living representation of its heritage forces a place to develop into solely a tourism-oriented district. In Jacobs' (1961) theorizing, tourism-oriented businesses or those which perpetuate this static cultural heritage will become the dominant entity – ultimately attracting similar businesses and crowding out others. Where UNESCO World Heritage Sites fail is that they lack the ability to preserve cultural heritage without morphing a site into a tourism centric area.

A similar comparison of institutional labels can be made between Five Points and UNESCO World Heritage Sites. The Welton corridor, a section of Five Points, was awarded the label of "Historic Cultural District" in 2014, bringing with it investment from the city and an opportunity for businesses and franchises to capitalize on this new label. However an important distinction to make between UNESCO World Heritage Sites and the case of the Five Points Historic Cultural District is that the weight and monetary investment of rebranding the Five Points District is not as substantial as an UNESCO World Heritage Site. UNESCO is a global organization comprised of far more members and greater access to resources than the local government actors involved with Five Points. However, D'Eramo's (2017) and Avieli's (2015) findings still remain relevant to understanding the evolution of the Five Points District. Similar to how franchises within

UNESCO World Heritage Sites were able to repackage the cultural identity of any one site and use to their own advantage, I will delve into how exactly the label of "Historic Cultural District," and development guidelines that came along with it, force the cultural heritage of Five Points' to be repackaged in favor of tourist consumerism. However what this study will illuminate is if the repackaging of cultural heritage is being utilized in the same manner and with the same intentions as in the case of UNESCO World Heritage Sites. What D'Eramo (2017) and Avieli (2015) fail to address is how a site can experience increased economic activity while still retaining cultural heritage.

Roza Tchoukaleyska (2015) addresses the issue of cultural heritage retention in her study where she finds that the physical erasure of urban areas is closely tied with cultural erasure, suggesting that urban spaces are imbued with social meaning. Tchoukaleyska (2015) conducts an ethnography of a rapidly expanding small city in France: Montpellier. Tchoukaleyska (2015) examines how memories and historical narratives on urban spaces aid in the construction of national identity and the associated cultural heritage. Zeroing in on the removal of a North African outdoor food market from the Plan Cabanes plaza, Tchoukaleyska (2015) studies how this changes the perception of the plaza to reflect a "homogeneous vision of French heritage and history" (Tchoukaleyska 2015:1103). By removing this marketplace, and thus the memories that migrants associated with the North African food market, city officials are dictating how the residential community perceives cultural heritage. Moreover, Tchoukaleyska (2015) is addressing how the physical construction of places shape social interactions via the use of remembrance.

Citing another ethnographic study done on national heritage (Nora 1989), Tchoukaleyska (2015:1105) concludes that "memory is a conscious event….which prompt individual citizens to take part in collective recognition of a defined national past." These memories are prompted by physical representations of cultural heritage, ranging from monuments, statues, architecture of buildings, books or even festivals and celebrations of heritage. Tchoukaleyska (2015) notes how the identity of a place can be constructed "through the ritual of public remembrance and interaction with spaces, objects and ideas dedicated to eliciting an emotional-sensual reaction." A city's construction and appearance have the ability to invoke residents and visitors to recognize the heritage of a place and create a sense of place around that heritage. Therefore, a useful mechanism which could aid in the preservation of cultural heritage would be to present representations of cultural heritage that invoke memories of the site's past.

What separates Tchoukaleyska (2015) study from other studies of gentrification and cultural heritage is the inclusion of various types of memory as a mechanism that shapes the relationship one has with an urban public space. Drawing distinctions between personal, collective, and historical memory, Tchoukaleyska (2015) demonstrates how the "interplay between the ways in which the city is perceived, conceptualized and lived" is reliant on these different forms of memory (Tchoukaleyska 2015:1103). The main arguments I want to hone in on for the sake of my own study is how public memory is controlled through the political sphere. Tchoukaleyska (2015) argues that "public memory is implicated in political struggles not only over what defines legitimate knowledge of the past, but also over who and what defines the terms of collective

membership" (Tchoukaleyska 2015:1104). What she is elaborating on here is that public memory, and therefore how one understands cultural heritage, can be skewed based on who defines that area's history. Public memory is intertwined with the construction of urban spaces, therefore cities who control how a space is developed have the ability to change the narrative on the history of that place. Tchoukaleyska (2015) found this to be true with the removal of the North African outdoor market in a plaza as residents viewed the plaza to reflect more conventional French culture. Without the use of historical memory as a way to remember the cultural heritage, the transmission of previous culture becomes nonexistent. Ultimately it rests on city officials to control and manage cultural heritage by ensuring public spaces remain imbued with heritage and representations of cultural heritage are still present in an urban district.

Drawing from Tchoukaleyska's (2015) study, I will analyze how construction design standards and guidelines within the Five Points Historic Cultural District are aimed to preserve the cultural heritage of Five Points. Specifically, how new buildings are required to mesh with the architecture in the time of Five Points' historic jazz growth. Operating under Tchoukaleyska's (2015) finding of the close relationship between physical and cultural erasure, I will analyze the strategies put forth in order to retain this cultural heritage and the success of these strategies.

Turning to how small businesses react in a developing district, Gonzales (2009) analyzes how local small businesses change their practices in the face of a changing customer base due to gentrification. Small businesses can be viewed as a form of diverse amenities – often catering towards markets most franchises tend to neglect. Ethnic small

businesses in particular have been found to add to the cultural identity of an urban district (Sánchez-Jankowski 2008). Similar to Jacobs' (1961) view, Gonzales (2009) asserts that small businesses provide a valuable resource for the growth and health of any district – they "reflect a neighborhood's vitality" (Gonzales 2009:2). However, within Jacobs' (1961) framework, neighborhoods will move towards homogeneity of businesses and residents alike due to the economic success of an area; therefore, causing those small businesses to be self-sorted by expense. Gonzales (2009) is concerned with the actions small businesses take when they begin struggling to keep with the cost of operating a business in an increasingly expensive district. Gonzales (2009) shows how small businesses are confronted with the decision of whether to new adopt practices that cater to a different demographic, often more affluent and white clients, or face running out of business as a result of not appealing to a new customer base. Gonzales concluded that small businesses "found different ways of enacting their agency within the changing economic structure of the neighborhood" (Gonzales 2009:18). This enabled these small businesses to cater to multiple individuals from different socioeconomic and ethnic backgrounds while also adding to the culture of that district. While Gonzales (2009) may have concluded that some small businesses may have found ways to remain relevant and prosperous when being self-sorted by expense, this surely does not mean that all small businesses will be able to afford rising rents and compete with franchises. Small businesses adopting new practices might slow Jacobs' (1961) self-destruction of diversity, but certainly won't eradicate it.

In another study of gentrification in an urban city district, Richard Lloyd (2006) in *Neo-Bohemia* scrutinizes development the Wicker Park neighborhood in Chicago and its ultimate transformation into a mecca for cultural production by young artists seeking an alternative lifestyle. A neighborhood becomes a place for cultural production as in the case of Wicker Park, economic growth and gentrification ensue. Similar to Five Points, Wicker Park was home to primarily ethnic groups – most prominently Polish and Puerto Rican communities. However, by the 1990s these communities were displaced as the neighborhood began to become known as an artistic hub. Price per square foot was relatively cheap, making it ideal to live and operate an art studio or gallery in. Soon enough "individuals with aspirations in a range of creative pursuits….were crowding into local lofts and flats," in hopes of having their own art validated or discovered by the like-minded surrounding artistic neighborhood population. Lloyd (2006) introduces the term "neo-bohemia" to describe "the traditions of the artist in the city, shaped both by material exigencies and by cultural identifications" in which create "a blueprint for contemporary action in a neighborhood like Wicker Park" (Lloyd 2006:12-13). As opposed to the term bohemia, which seeks to simply describe the areas occupied by artists living a socially unconventional life, Lloyd (2006) articulates "neo-bohemia" as a term which intersects with economic forces. Lloyd (2006) looks at how these artists displacing ethnic communities and repurposing spaces in Wicker Park aid in cultural production and perception of this new space. Similar to Jain's (2004) theory of imagined localities, Lloyd (2006) comments on how neighborhoods such as Wicker Park are "simultaneously real and imagined, organizing and organized by both practical activity and cultural

representations" (Lloyd 2006:29). This allows spaces within neo-bohemian places to become reused in a manner that is respected – an old warehouse being turned into a gallery or a coffee shop. Lloyd (2006) notes how by capitalizing on forms of cultural representation, "immaterial attributes of commodities – their 'sign value' or cultural content – take on increasing importance in the pursuit of profit" (Lloyd 2006:29). Akin to the ways in which Zukin (1995) described repacking culture in favor of profit, Lloyd (2006) recognizes that once culture shifts to be used as a commodity, so does its purpose.

Lloyd (2006) also acknowledged the value of diverse culture within a neighborhood, noting how artistic or cultural activities, while they have "very limited economic potential still contribute to the creative ambiance of the neighborhood, and in so doing they increase its attractiveness for both cosmopolitan residents and aesthetically oriented enterprises" (Lloyd 2006:167). Palen and London (1984) also addresses this phenomenon, asserting that people will be attracted to reside in a particular district that matches their preferences for types of neighborhoods or ideological factors. Therefore, while some cultural or artistic entities will see little economic return, they will contribute to the overall success of the district by further attracting residents whose prefer a neighborhood with these certain artistic or cultural entities.

The most prominent similarities between Lloyd's (2006) analysis of Wicker Park's development and Five Points' evolution is that both places deal with cultural production. However, Lloyd (2006) asserts that Wicker Park's growth can be attributed to the neighborhood being known as a place of cultural production – thereby attracting artists hoping to be discovered and increasing the demand to live in that district. Higher

demand which causes ethnic residential communities to be crowded out due to rising rent costs. Whereas in the case of Five Points, the district is no longer known as a place of cultural production, but a place which was once a known for cultural production, specifically its jazz reputation. The City is attempting to preserve this jazz heritage associated with Five Points as a revitalization strategy to increase demand to live in this district. In Wicker Park, cultural production causes the neighborhood to change, but in Five Points, the City is attempting to revitalize the district using the heritage of from the time when the district was a place of cultural production.

To conclude this review of literature and to provide a transition to my methods, I'll examine Brown-Saracino's (2017) study which analyzes how scholars discuss gentrification and the drawbacks of methodological approach when studying this phenomenon. Brown-Saracino (2017) find that scholars vary on how they frame gentrification as a significant issue dependent on whether they conduct a macro or micro level methodological analysis. Macro level analyses typically draw on quantitative methods across several neighborhoods and generally view gentrification as an overinflated issue perpetuated by the media. Usually these macro-level analyses frame gentrification as phenomenon that is often not "driven by the white gentrifiers establishing residence in a minority community," as is the collective understanding among the general populous (Brown-Saracino 2017:519). Many macro analyses "demonstrate the durability and expansion of high poverty tracts even in the face of gentrification; underlie the uneven distribution of concentrated affluence" (Brown-Saracino 2017:520). Macro-level analyses conclude that gentrification has become a term

that is too broadly applied. Brown-Saracino (2017) finds that these macro analyses view urban districts as "neither gentrifying nor gentrified" and that it is a mistake to simply analyze urban areas as "either poor or gentrified; some remain middle or upper class, experiencing little of the combined upward mobility and demographic shifts indicative of gentrification" (Brown-Saracino 2017:522). While it is the case that not all quantitative, macro studies of gentrification share this viewpoint, Brown-Saracino (2017) is picking up on trends within many studies of gentrification.

Contrary to the macro-level and quantitative approach, micro-level analyses tend to rely on qualitative methodological frameworks and place more significance on the consequences of gentrification. Particularly how the spread of gentrification is "fueled by powerful actors and institutions, as deeply problematic and consequential for longtime residents" (Brown-Saracino 2017:517). Micro studies tend to point to the state, developers and entrepreneurs as driving forces behind gentrification; gentrification is framed it as a profoundly social problem. Gentrification is viewed as contagious and an unassailable force, as the economic prosperity of one district, will spill over into proximate districts. Further, these frameworks show how districts can affect long term, low-income residents who make their livelihood based on the nature of that district. As Brown-Saracino (2017:531) noted: "the shift from the city as a site of production to the city as a site of consumption and the parallel homogenization of city spaces." As the forces of gentrification spread, lower-income individuals who are employed and live in these districts of production, are forced out because these districts become more populated with profitable shops and places of consumption.

Learning from Brown-Saracino's (2017) study, I utilize both quantitative and qualitative methods when conducting a micro-level analysis of the Five Points District. It is my aim that doing so will produce results that accurately frame how the Five Points District has developed and the degree to which urban renewal has affected a change in cultural heritage.

Methods

As Brown-Saracino (2017) found, most gentrification studies done on just a single district (micro-sociological approach) utilize primarily qualitative methods. For my methodological analysis of the Five Points Historic Cultural District and the entire Five Points Neighborhood, I utilized both qualitative and quantitative methods. I constructed a composite measure to quantify the amount of urban renewal within the Five Points Neighborhood based on Census Bureau data. In addition, my qualitative component of my research looks at the policies implemented by the city officials to retain the historic appearance of the Five Points District through the theoretical framework outlined previously.

The only way to access data specific to just the Five Points Neighborhood through the Census Bureau data is through three Census Tracts: 16, 24.02 and 24.03. The Five Points Historic Cultural District is within 24.03. I used the American Community Surveys (5-Year Estimates) as this survey goes down to Census Tract level as opposed to the 3-Year or 1-Year estimates. However, data from this survey is only available until 2010, a few years after the Five Points Neighborhood began to experience rapid change. In order to supplement this, I also use data from the U.S. Decennial Census which collects data from Census Tracts every ten years. Therefore, my study ranges from years 1990-2017, but only two data points are shown for the years 1990 and 2000. The period in question which will provide the most insight into how this district has changed is from 1990 to present day. 2017 is the most recent dataset available for the American Community Survey, so my composite measure will analyze the years 1990, 2000, and

every year from 2010-2017. All data is collected on the same three census tracts from 1990 to 2017.

I built my composite measure to quantify the amount of urban renewal in the district, and not gentrification. I decided to have my composite measure gauge not the gentrification within the district primarily because I feel, as Brown-Saracino's (2017) study noted, the term gentrification has been applied and used in a myriad of ways that any individual will come in with preconceived notions about gentrification. Thus, I create my own term of urban renewal to measure the economic and demographic change within the Five Points Neighborhood.

I define urban renewal as the degree to which the district has evolved in both the demographics of residents and the cost of residing within Five Points. I built my measure specific to the Five Points Neighborhood and will now justify why I chose specific variables to operationalize certain elements of the change within Five Points. My measure includes the following variables: total population, median age, percentage African American, educational attainment, median gross rent for residential units, median home value, mean household income, and total housing units. The two elements I wanted my composite measure of urban renewal to quantify was economic growth and the types of residents in Five Points, from both a class and racial perspective. I adjusted all dollar values in my data using the consumer price index to 2017 dollars to account for inflation.

Economic growth is typically defined as an increase in the amount of goods and services from one temporal period to another. For the purposes of this project, I operationalized the economic growth in Five Points via the variables of total housing

units, total population, median gross rent and median home value. Total housing units can be seen as a component of the goods available to consumers. An increase in total population is reflective of an increase in the amount of both the goods and services. As the population of any area increases, so will the goods and services within that area to take advantage of a larger market. Therefore, an increase in the number of total housing units and population reflects a higher degree of urban renewal. To further strengthen my operationalization of economic growth, I included the variables median gross rent and median home value to effectively measure the cost of living by encompassing all residential units in Five Points (both owner occupied units and those renting). An increase in the cost of living implies that more wealth will be within the district as residents that live in Five Points will have to have more wealth in order to afford higher residential costs. Thus, a rise in either median gross rent or median home value translates to an increase in urban renewal.

For the second element of my composite measure of urban renewal, I took into account both race, socioeconomic status (SES), and age to measure the how the types of people residing in Five Points are changing. I chose to only look at how the change in African American population and not entire racial makeup of the Five Points Neighborhood. This choice seemed rather intuitive as the neighborhood came into cultural significance at a time when the population of Five Points was almost entirely African American. Therefore, any change in the African American population is meaningful in understanding how this neighborhood has changed since its explosive growth. A decrease in the African American population within Five Points implies an

increase in urban renewal as this suggests that longtime residents are being forced out due to rising costs. For SES, I chose to use the variables of median household income and educational attainment. I measured educational attainment as the percentage of residents within Five Points that had a bachelor's degree or higher. An increase in median household income or the measure of educational attainment as I have put forward here illustrates a higher degree of SES resident moving to Five Points. Therefore, in my measure of urban renewal, higher SES will correlate with an increase in urban renewal. Finally, as Palen and London (1984) theorized, generational attitudes are a key component when debating where to live; one is more likely to live in a certain district if they are surrounded by people of similar age. I included age in my composite measure of urban renewal to test if a younger generation was settling into Five Points, and if this could help explain the manner in which this district is changing. Hence, a comparative lower median age implies an increase in urban renewal. Urban renewal not only seeks to measure how the district has changed from a purely monetary standpoint, but also measures how the types of people looking to reside in Five Points has developed.

In order to ensure all my variables had the same weight in my composite measure of urban renewal, I normalized my variables using min-max standardization. This process proportionally puts each value on a scale of 0-1 for each variable, with the minimum value of the variable being 0 and the maximum being 1. The equation follows:

$Standardized\ X = (X - Xmin) / (Xmax - Xmin),$ where X is each yearly value for every one of my variables. Values that reflect a higher degree of urban renewal will be closer to 1, while those which reflect a lower degree will be near 0. From here I added up all the

normalized scores for each year and divided this number by the amount of variables I had – effectively averaging the normalized score for each year. I then plotted each value with the corresponding year. I also plotted each normalized variable on a separate axis to see how each variable changed over the same timeframe as urban renewal. Additionally, just as I proposed that my composite measure of urban renewal captured two elements (economic growth and the types of people residing in Five Points), I graph each of these smaller composite measures in order to see if one has a larger influence over the whole measure of urban renewal.

While the measurement of urban renewal certainly comprises how Five Points has changed from a demographic and monetary perspective, let me now present how I measured cultural heritage within Five Points. As jazz and the historic African American community exemplified Five Points' unique culture when this neighborhood came into musical significance in the early 20th century, I operationalize much of Five Points' cultural heritage through the use of jazz and prominence of an African American community. Referring back to Jacobs' (1961) theoretical framework for how urban districts evolve, I specifically utilize how a dominant type of business entity emerges during economic growth. As Jacobs (1961) describes it, the dominant type entity will crowd out other less profitable businesses as a district will become known for the type of dominant entity. When Five Points came into jazz significance, the dominant entity was jazz bars and venues – with Five Points being home to more than 50 jazz bars and venues. Therefore, I look at the current distribution of the types of business within both the Five Points Historic Cultural District as well as the entire neighborhood to see if jazz

venues or places where jazz is played is still prominent. I compiled an entire list of the businesses within the Five Points Neighborhood and the Five Points Historical Cultural District.

Turning towards qualitative methods, I examine the exact ways city officials and the committee in charge of development in the Five Points Historic Cultural District go about preserving the jazz cultural heritage. This committee published a document titled "Five Points Historic Cultural District Design Standards and Guidelines," with the intent to preserve the district's cultural character through the architectural design of new and current building developments. For further reference, I will refer to this document as the "Design Standards and Guidelines." The Committee's guidelines are based on historic landmarks still standing in the district today. I analyze what qualities the Committee puts on certain attributes of buildings and how certain developments would contribute to the larger Historic Cultural District. This methodological approach is reliant on the underlying assumption the physical erasure is tied to cultural erasure as introduced by Tchoukaleyska (2015) which I discussed in my review of literature. Further, I look at the presentation of the cultural heritage within the Design Standards and Guidelines to assess how this culture is being repackaged or repurposed (Zukin 1995) as a mechanism to attract more residents and thus increase the economic vitality of the district.

Drawing from Brown-Saracino (2017) by utilizing both quantitative and qualitative methods, it is my aim that my micro-sociological analysis of gentrification within the Five Points District differentiates itself in the findings from other studies of

gentrification. In the next section, I will present the various findings that have emerged in my study.

Findings

Just at a glance from the Five Points Neighborhood, it is clear that the district fits many criteria of what I've outlined as neighborhood that has experienced urban renewal. As I noted in the previous section, by building a composite measure specific to the nature of the Five Points Neighborhood and Historic Cultural District, I'm able to analyze in what exact manner the Five Points Neighborhood has changed. Below I present the various graphs and tables that comprise my composite measure of urban renewal in both the Five Points Historic Cultural District and the larger Five Points Neighborhood. On the qualitative side of this study, I present the strategies in place to protect the cultural character of the Five Points Historic Cultural District as outlined in the design standards and guidelines document.

Figure 1 shows all of my standardized variable measurements for urban renewal on the same axis within the full Five Points Neighborhood. All dollar measurements have been adjusted for inflation using the consumer price index. Additionally, Table 1 shows the numbers for urban renewal before they were standardized.

Figure 1: Comprising Standardized Measures of Urban Renewal in the Five Points Neighborhood

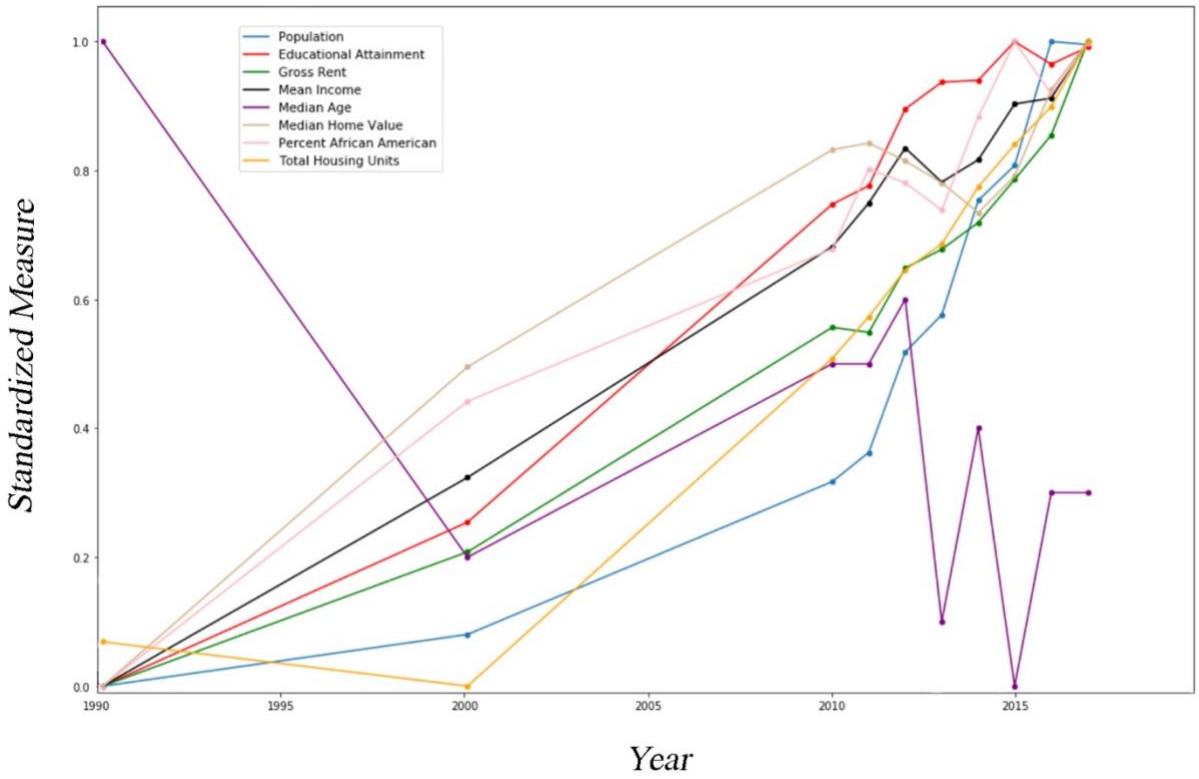


Table 1: Urban Renewal Measures in the Five Points Neighborhood

Year	Population	Educational Attainment	Median Gross Rent (Dollars)	Median Household Income (Dollars)	Median Age	Median Home Value (Dollars)	Percent African American	Total Housing Units
1990	8,115	8.1%	$480	$17,994	31.3	$103,230	38.8%	3,931
2000	8,775	18.8%	$695	$34,030	32.1	$233,718	26.3%	3,572
2010	10,727	39.7%	$1,055	$51,767	31.8	$322,464	19.6%	6,230
2011	11,101	40.9%	$1,047	$55,126	31.8	$325,233	16.1%	6,568
2012	12,383	45.9%	$1,150	$59,349	31.7	$317,918	16.7%	6,947
2013	12,858	47.7%	$1,180	$56,731	32.2	$309,008	17.9%	7,158
2014	14,321	47.8%	$1,223	$58,444	31.9	$296,757	13.8%	7,620
2015	14,768	50.4%	$1,292	$62,736	32.3	$311,733	10.5%	7,964
2016	16,350	48.9%	$1,363	$63,183	32.0	$347,084	12.8%	8,271
2017	16,312	50.0%	$1,513	$67,531	32.0	$366,706	10.6%	8,799

You'll notice nearly all of my variables comprising urban renewal are 0 in 1990, meaning their minimum values across all of my years of measurement. This is true aside

from total housing units and median age. To no shock however, all of my variables which define urban renewal, aside from median age, show a relatively steady increase, expect for a few dips, up to 2017. Median age shows that the district was its oldest in 2015, and fluctuates with no discernable pattern.

Some interesting points that are reflected in Table 1 and not Figure 1 are the massive growth in many of the variables. Since 1990, the population has nearly doubled, educational attainment has increased from just 8% to 50%, median gross rent has increased by 215%, median household income has grown by 275%, median home value increased 255%, and there are now 123% more housing units within the neighborhood. Not to mention that the percent of African American residents in within the neighborhood has declined from 38.8% to 10.6%.

Let me now turn to my measurement of just the Five Points Historic Cultural District which spans just a few blocks and is encompassed by census tract 24.03 in Denver County. To understand how labeling this district in a way that allowed for cultural heritage and historic preservation, the comparison of urban renewal (and the variables that comprise this measurement) between this district and the larger Five Points Neighborhood will be central to understanding the implications of this designation. Figure 2 outlines all the measures for urban renewal just within census tract 24.03, nearly all of that area is designated the Five Points Historic Cultural District. Table 2 shows all my measurements prior to standardization.

Figure 2: Comprising Standardized Measures of Urban Renewal in the Five Points Historic Cultural District

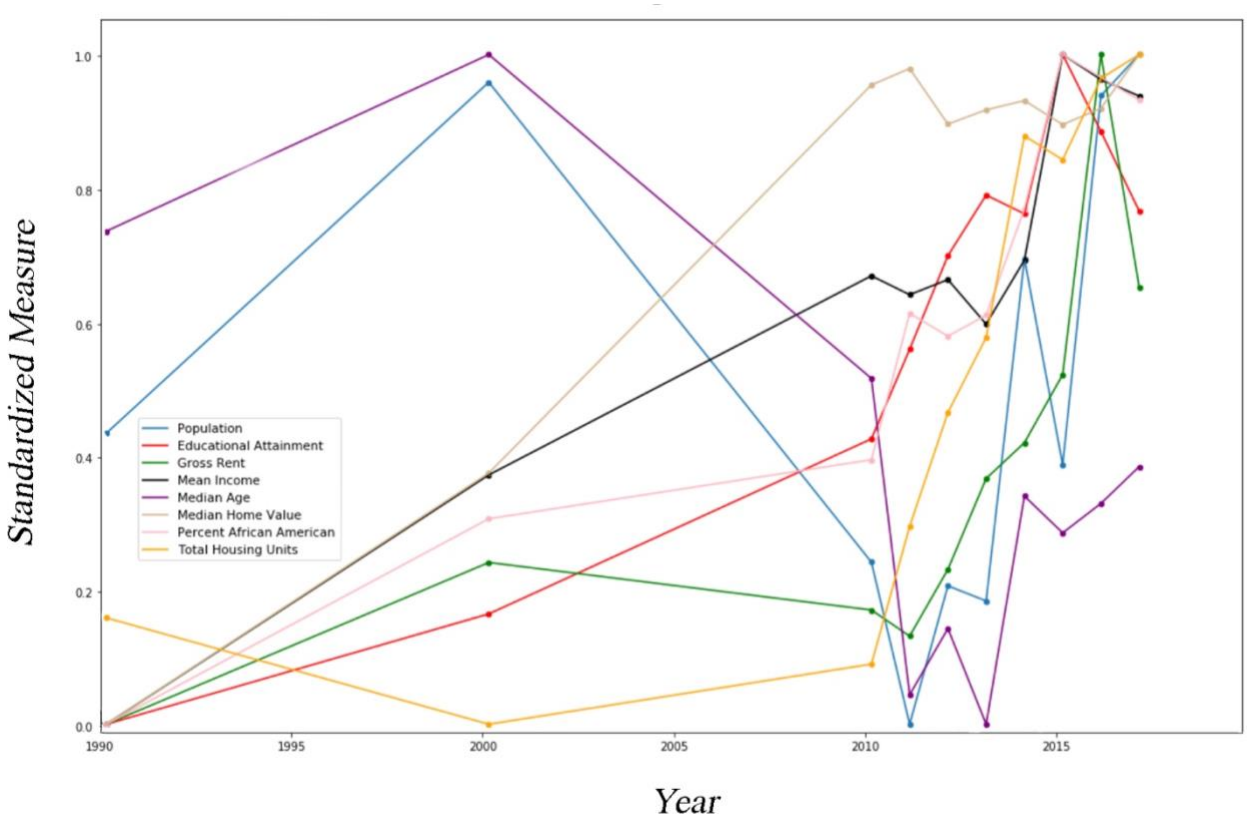


Table 2: Urban Renewal Measures in the Five Points Historic Cultural District

Year	Population	Educational Attainment	Median Gross Rent (Dollars)	Median Household Income (Dollars)	Median Age	Median Home Value (Dollars)	Percent African American	Total Housing Units
1990	3,206	9.2%	$390	$14,522	32.0	$106,583	45.4%	1,831
2000	3,650	15.8%	$625	$26,003	29.6	$199,985	34.6%	1,746
2010	3,043	26.4%	$556	$35,170	34.0	$344,314	31.5%	1,794
2011	2,838	31.7%	$518	$34,302	38.3	$350,398	23.8%	1,904
2012	3,013	37.4%	$615	$34,995	37.4	$329,739	25.0%	1,995
2013	2,994	41.0%	$747	$32,947	38.7	$335,041	23.9%	2,055
2014	3,427	39.9%	$799	$35,896	35.6	$338,476	18.3%	2,216
2015	3,166	49.5%	$898	$45,358	36.1	$329,586	10.2%	2,197
2016	3,633	44.8%	$1,363	$44,211	35.7	$335,609	11.4%	2,262
2017	3,685	40.1%	$1,025	$43,447	35.2	$355,600	12.6%	2,281

Similar to Table 1, Table 2 illustrates growth in most variables, but not quite to the degree Table 1 shown. Since 1990 population has only increased by 14%, educational attainment has grown from 9.2% to 40.1%, median gross rent has grown 162%, median

household income has increased 199%, median home value has grown 234%, and total housing units has only increased 25%. Median home value is the only one of my measurements which is consistent with the growth in the Five Points Neighborhood (as demonstrated by Table 1). Interestingly enough, the percent of African American residents has declined to a larger degree in the Five Points Historic Cultural District than the entire Five Points Neighborhood, despite the district still housing more African American residents (albeit only by 2%).

Both Figures 1 and 2 show trends of increasing urban renewal measurements, however the rate of change increases drastically in several variables in Figure 2 around 2010/2011, where Figure 1 shows a steady increase over the period in question. Variables such as total housing units, educational attainment, gross rent, total population, and percent African American, all rapidly increase within the period of 2011-2013. As opposed to Figure 1, the entire Five Points Neighborhood, which shows a steady increase in nearly all variables since 1990. This dramatic increase in Figure 2 can most likely be attributed to the revitalization attempts and various city strategies put in place around this time, one of those being the Historic Cultural District designation and the Design Standards and Guidelines document.

Another interesting element of Figure 2 is that population is at its minimum in the year 2011, declining since 2000. Population in the Five Points Historic Cultural District is lowest the same years when these revitalization plans were starting to be implemented. Gross rent is the only other variable (excluding median age) which declines in the period total population is also declining; most likely gross rent is being forced down by the

market as demand for housing in this area is rapidly declining due to a shirking population. Interestingly enough, within the entire Five Points Neighborhood (Figure 1) this change in population is not present, nor is the decline in gross rent, in fact the population grows significantly from 2000 to 2011.

Similarly, in both Figure 1 and Figure 2, effects from the 2008 recession are clear in most monetary variables, however Figure 2 exaggerates the recession's effects to a larger degree. Median home value is the most apparent variable that show the effects of the recession, displaying periods of decline in both graphs. However, within Figure 2, mean income also plateaus to a certain point over this period. I thought this necessary to shed light on as a cause for skewing some of the data within this time period. This plateau or decline may not necessarily be due to developments within the Five Points Neighborhood or Historic Cultural District.

Combining all of the variable measures yields the measure of urban renewal as shown in Figures 3 and Figure 4 below. Figure 3 is the urban renewal measurement for the entire Five Points Neighborhood whereas Figure 4 shows urban renewal just within the Five Points Historic Cultural District.

Figure 3: Urban Renewal in the Five Points Neighborhood

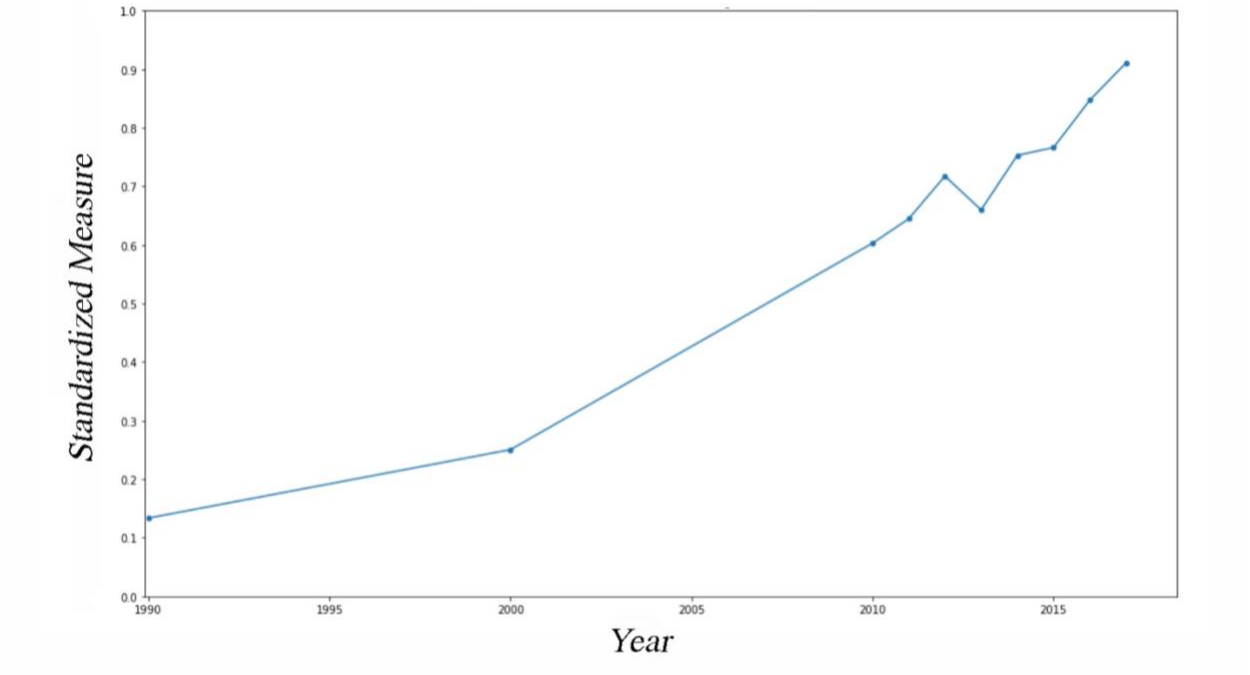
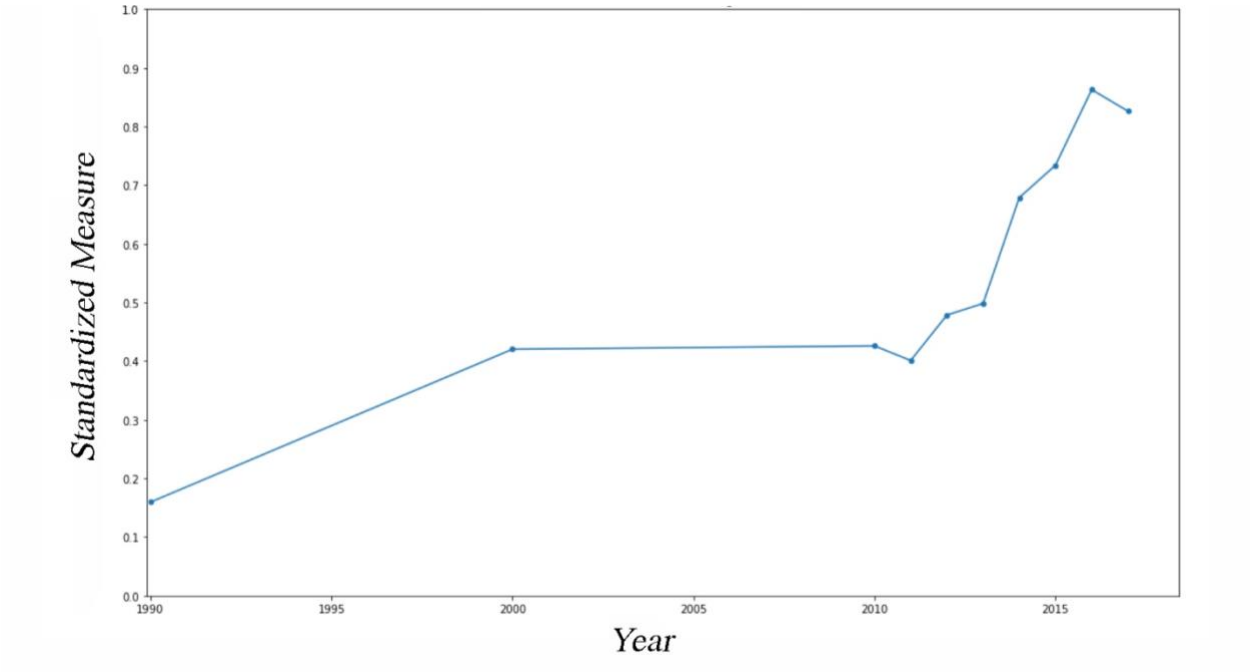


Figure 4: Urban Renewal in the Five Points Neighborhood



The combined composite urban renewal measure follows similar trends as to both Figures 1 and 2. The entire Five Points Neighborhood shows a constant increase across the time period measured, whereas the Five Points Historic Cultural District experiences some urban renewal from 1990-2000, from here on however, urban renewal does not increase until 2012. It was around this time that this section of Five Points began to receive more attention for revitalization attempts by the city via labeling mechanisms – denoting the district of historical and cultural importance in favor of preservation similar to UNESCO World Heritage Sites. Similar to UNESCO World Heritage Sites, it is evident that the Five Points Historic Cultural District experienced rapid urban renewal and economic growth after these the designation of Historic Cultural District was made, and design guidelines were implemented. Specifically, for 2013 to 2014, urban renewal increased 35.8% – the largest interval of increase of urban renewal within a year not only in the Five Points Historic Cultural District, but the entire neighborhood. This rapid increase of urban renewal is largely in part to revitalization efforts and investment from city officials from rebranding this section of Five Points into what it is known as today. I'll discuss the exact specifications of these revitalization plans later in this section.

In order to see the how the implementation of the revitalization attempts on this section of Five Points more clearly, I've split my composite measure into its two components and plotted them below in Figure 5 and Figure 6. The two components of my urban renewal measure being economic growth, and demographic change. That is to say, demographic change away from what the demographics of the district was previously, as

I elaborated on in the previous section. Figure 5 represents the Five Points Neighborhood and Figure 6 shows just the Five Points Historic Cultural District.

Figure 5: Components of Urban Renewal in the Five Points Neighborhood

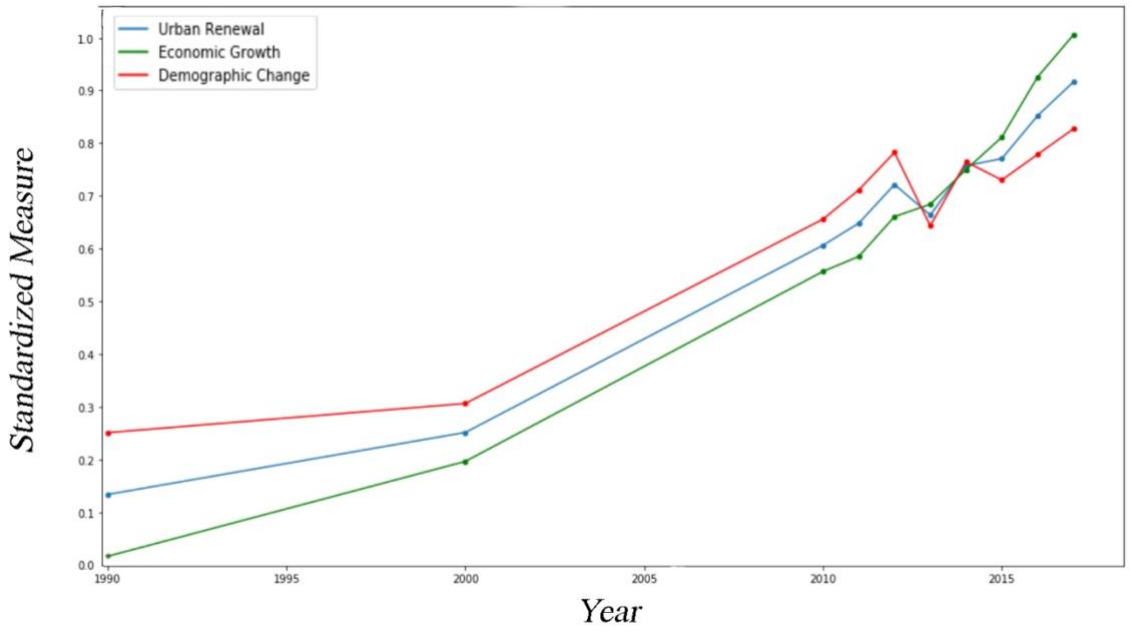
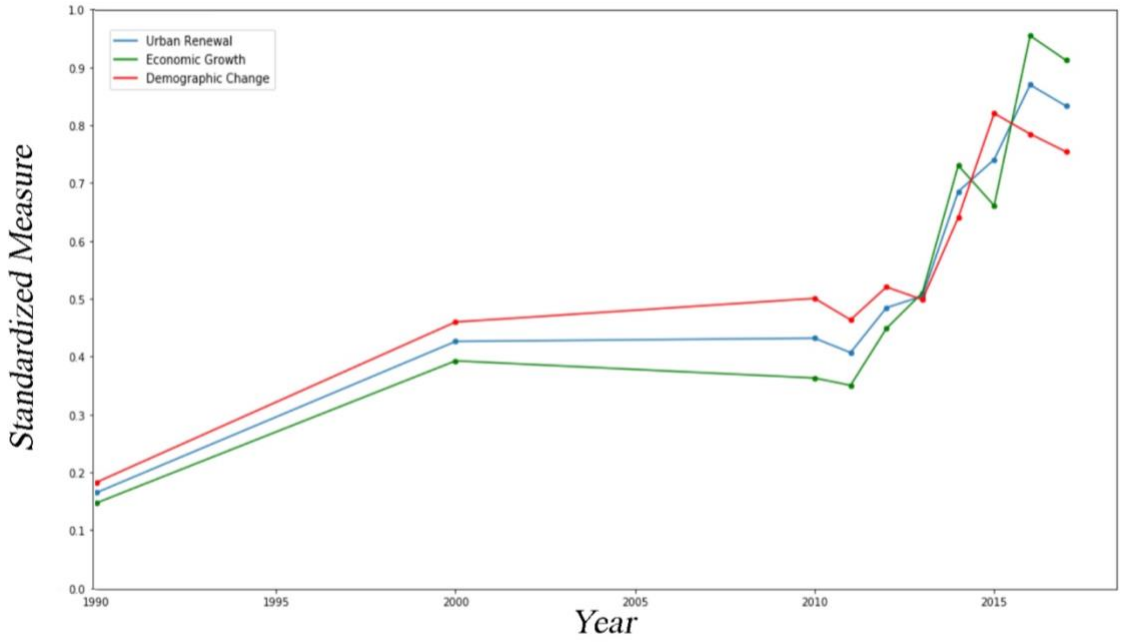


Figure 6: Components of Urban Renewal in the Five Points Historic Cultural District



Again, similar trends are apparent for the rate of change of both areas in question; the Five Points Neighborhood shows continual increase in both comprising measures while the Five Points Historic Cultural District experiences rapid urban renewal measurements around 2011-2013. Presenting urban renewal in its two comprising measures reveals how much economic or demographic components are driving urban renewal within the respective Five Points areas. In Figure 5, the fluctuations in urban renewal within the Five Points Neighborhood from 2012-2015 can be attributed to demographic factors, and not economic ones. Whereas in Figure 6, showing these measurements in just the Historic Cultural District, economic and demographic factors are both nearly equally responsible for contributing to upward growth in urban renewal. This suggests that these revitalization attempts by the city caused not only economic, but demographic change within the Five Points Historic Cultural District. At least until the year 2016 and onwards, where urban renewal (and both its comprising components) begin to decrease. It is unclear if this declining trend is the start of the overall deterioration of the Five Points Historic Cultural District, or just merely a hiccup – data from future years is required to conclude anything definitive.

The main conclusion presented by these figures is that urban renewal increases within the Five Points Historic Cultural District coincided with the time period when revitalization attempts by the city were being implemented. Based on the studies I introduced in the review of literature, it's no surprise that designating an urban district of historical or cultural value and putting forth policies which aim to preserve that character increase the economic development within that area. D'Eramo (2014) and Avieli (2015)

both found that the label of the UNESCO World Heritage Site acted as a way for tourist-oriented businesses to infiltrate the district, detracting from the cultural character this label initially planned to protect. Turning to the Five Points Historical Cultural District and the policies that came along with this label, the increase in urban renewal suggests that the district is growing in economic terms, but also a shift in demographic of residents. As the demographic component of the composite measure urban renewal is quantifying, the racial makeup and SES are changing within the section of the Five Points Historic Cultural District. This change can be viewed as an act of displacement of less affluent residents who do not possess the necessary wealth to live in this section of Five Points. From 2012 to 2016, median gross rent increased 122% while median house value has remained fairly level in this district since 2010. Median house value only increased 2% from 2012 to 2016, while median gross rent skyrocketed. One explanation for this phenomenon is that more individuals are looking to live in this district, yet no individuals want to invest in homes to live there long-term. This would explain why the market price to rent is soaring, as demand for renting is increasing. While demand for buying a house is relatively low, as making an investment of this magnitude is concerning for an area with an economically depressed past. This phenomenon holds true for the entire Five Points Neighborhood as well. Median gross rent continued to climb while median home value declined from 2010 until 2016. Again, the 2008 recession may have had a disproportionate effect on deflating home values as opposed to rent, however it is unlikely that the recession is solely responsible for this phenomenon.

Moreover, this phenomenon suggests that the city's revitalization attempts on the Five Points Historic Cultural District have been successful in attracting a new demographic of people to live short term in this District. The city has been successful in repackaging Five Points' cultural heritage to appeal to a new, more affluent segment of people. However, as I mentioned previously, this new segment of individuals moving into the Five Points Historic Cultural District is not a younger generation, as the variable median age suggests. As demonstrated by both variables of educational attainment and median household income, people moving into the Five Points District are more affluent than previous residents. In order to understand how the city has managed to repackage Five Points' cultural heritage and present it in a way that attracts this new demographic of individuals moving into this district, let me turn to analyze the policies and implications of those policies that the City of Denver has deployed within recent years.

First let me give a brief timeline of how the City of Denver has rebranded the Five Points District. In 2002, Denver City Council voted to have this district renamed a "Historic District." This label did not have much substance as it did not put in any strategies for revitalization and merely protected a few buildings which displayed historic significance. Plans with detailed documentation for renewal in the Five Points District did not appear until 2009 with the implementation of the Five Points Marketplace Initiative. In 2011 this strategy was revised to the Five Points Marketplace Vision, and two years later it was revised to the Five Points Business District Vision Plan Implementation & Revitalization Strategy. However in 2015, the most recent iteration of this plan, and the one that carries the most substance, is the policy that came along when

Five Points was designated a "Historic Cultural District." Along with this label, the Denver City Council approved the enforcement of a document titled "Five Points Historic Cultural District Design Standards and Guidelines." In this document, an outline is presented for how city officials best plan to preserve Five Points' culture; for simplicity sake I will refer to this document as the 'Design Standards and Guidelines.' Throughout the second half of this findings section, I will analyze the ways in which the City views the cultural heritage within Five Points and how to they present the best preservation technique in regards to the cultural heritage within the Five Points District. In Zukin's (1995) terminology, this can be viewed as how the city plans to repackage the cultural heritage within the Five Points community to a changing demographic. The Design Standards and Guidelines document relies on the physical appearance of the District, and the contributing historic amenities within the district to preserve the cultural heritage of the Five Points District. Thus my analysis will be situated in Jacobs' (1961) theoretical framework and Tchoukaleyska's (2005) findings on place identity construction within urban districts. This document was published by city officials and several outside committee members who were involved in the development of Five Points District. Throughout my analysis of this document and the preservation strategies presented, I will refer to the group of city officials and members who published this document as 'the Committee.' Further, the Committee refers the period when Five Points was gaining jazz significance in the early to mid 20th century as 'the period of significance,' they define it from 1920 to 1964.

First, I'd like to focus on the vision and intent of this plan's implementation on the Five Points District. The substance for the vision of the district is as follows:

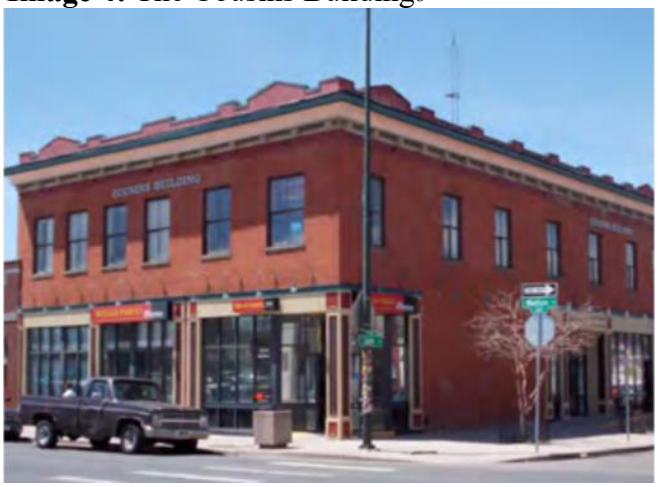
> Five Points Historic Cultural District (Five Points) will be the reinvigorated heartbeat of northeast Denver, with its cultural and historical memories intact. This bustling main street reactivates its most historic buildings as the district's centerpiece and revitalizes the corridor. Redevelopment will be sensitively added to support the commercial hub and promote the area as a mixed-use, residential, entertainment, and business district. (P. 2)

Tchoukaleyska's (2005) analysis of districts points out the use of memory and historical narratives in eliciting a sense of identity within a district. In the Five Points' vision statement, the Committee seems to have a clear grasp of the use of memories in guiding the development of this district. However, there is no mention of the African American roots of the District. The Committee attempts to maintain the identity of the District through the use of the preservation of the physical – preserving historic landmarks and structures within this district that bolster significant architectural style or had some deep connection with the community when Five Points rose to fame. Currently nine building comprise what the Committee calls "contributing buildings" which act as historic landmarks to model the district and revitalization around. All of these buildings were built or gained cultural prominence in the period of significance. Many served the needs of the African American community within the Five Points District, whether that was providing affordable housing or consisting of African American management that catered exclusively to the segregated Five Points community. These buildings include the Cousins Building (an all African American financial institution), Radio Drugs (a prominent pharmacy for residents of Five Points in the period of significance), Fire

Station #3 (Denver's first all African American Fire company), and of course the Rossonian Hotel – the centerpiece of the District which still sits vacant to this day. All of the "Contributing Buildings" feature historic architecture of the period of significance. Many commonalities include a red brick exterior, large storefront windows on the ground floor, decorative cornices and punched openings on the upper floors.

Image 3: The Rossonian Hotel[7]

Image 4: The Cousins Building[8]



The Committee places rigid development restrictions on these contributing buildings allowing little to no modification to the exterior of the building to preserve the architectural style and character from the period of significance. However, developments to structures after 1964 (after the end of the period of significance) are less strictly enforced. When considering developments in this district, the Committee refers to character-defining features of the Five Points District, considering how this new development will aid or detract from these character-defining features. The Committee presents character-defining features for commercial buildings, residential properties,

signs and culture. They are sixteen of these features in total for commercial businesses. Some of the most notable features include architectural style, material, transparency and windows, mass and form, land use, lot sizes and shapes, and streetscape elements. For the sake of concerning my research to the preservation of the physical appearance by evoking memories from the period of significance as Tchoukaleyska's (2005) studied, I will hone in on how the Committee presents architectural detail as a guide for developers. The Committee defines architectural detail as:

> Horizontal banding and articulation that is often projecting is common over first floor commercial buildings. Strong articulated roof parapets, typically at least three-feet or more in height with a projecting cornice and/ or articulated cut-out shapes, are also common. Vertical pilasters are common on buildings over 50-feet in length. Projecting awnings are common for shop entries. Bulkheads ranging in height from 18 to 24 inches are common for storefront bases, and architectural downlighting is commonly integrated into buildings. (P. 23)

Further, the Committee calls for the use of exterior brick (as presented in the materials character-defining feature), and the use of large storefront windows (transparency and windows character-defining feature), and for buildings not to exceed 75 feet (mass and form character-defining feature). All of these elements thoroughly encapsulate not only the historic architecture from the period of significance, but also include the diversity of amenities within the district, as presented through the land use character-defining feature. In Jacobs' (1961) theoretical concept of the self-destruction of diversity, the use of this character-defining feature can be seen as a key component to the vitality of a district. By advocating for developers to aid in the diversity of a district, this acts to impede the cycle of the self-destruction of diversity.

Residential character-defining features follow roughly the same themes presented in commercial properties, but specifically focus on the architectural appearance and size of the property. For sign character-defining features, these suggest that signs appear as a similar style as those present within the period of significance – neon illumination, art motifs and vibrant shapes, typically constructed of metal and aluminum. However, the crux of the preservation of the Five Points character-defining features lies in the culture defining features.

The Committee presents culture character-defining features as including only four elements: commercial corridor, jazz, culture and today. These features recognize the historic cultural elements within the Five Points District, but also recognize that this district is within a rapidly developing city and that the district cannot be an exact replica of Five Points from the period of significance. As opposed to UNESCO World Heritage Sites which attempted to preserve their cultural heritage as a static representation from each site's historic period. The commercial corridor character-defining feature demonstrates how this district was known for its African American businesses serving a segregated community and advocates for continued preservation of African American centric businesses that serve an entire diverse Denver community. The jazz character-defining feature expresses the historic musical roots within the Five Points District as I have outlined earlier in this thesis. This is still preserved by the committee which puts on two jazz festivals such as the Juneteenth and JazzFest in hopes of compensating for the lack of as many jazz venues housed in this district as there were during period of significance.

Image 5: An Advertisement for the Five Points Jazz Festival, commonly referred to as JazzFest[9]

The culture character-defining feature conveys how celebrations around jazz and African American pride still occur to this day, noting how institutions within the Five Points District still embody and participate in African American social justice. The Blair-Caldwell African American library is an example of one of these institutions, housing exhibits on the historic African American roots of this community and famous African American figures who were brought up in Five Points. Another example of these buildings is Atlas Drug, the only white-owned drugstore within the district that welcomed African Americans. Lastly, the Committee acknowledges the changing nature of urban districts by including the character-defining feature which they call 'today.' This speaks to how this district still celebrates its African American and jazz centric past, while recognizing that new development is imperative to the Five Points District's vitality. The UNESCO World Heritage Site studies that I have reviewed (D'Eramo 2014, Avieli

2015), point to the static effect UNESCO has on their sites – cultural heritage is presented as if it is in a museum. This is one of the reasons that tourism overtakes the site and distorts the cultural heritage within the site. Therefore, the Five Points District is diverging from where UNESCO World Heritage Sites fail with these culture character-defining features by recognizing the drawbacks of putting a static hold on a district in favor of preservation.

The following sections of the Design Standards and Guidelines go into depth about how renovations of contributing buildings, non-contributing buildings (post-1964 construction), and main street buildings (non-contributing buildings pre-1964 on Welton Street) should be conducted. Essentially the criteria revolve around five core principles: protection, rehabilitation, cultural identity, vitality and sustainability. These principles are strictly enforced for contributing buildings, but more flexibility is given for non-contributing and main street buildings. Protection, rehabilitation and sustainability are fairly intuitive when thinking about how to best preserve aged buildings – fundamentally these principles are in place to ensure that buildings are kept in good condition and that adequate updates are installed to accommodate different commercial uses of those buildings. Moreover, these three principles are in place to ensure that these buildings' appearance are still aligned with the architecture from the period of significance. Some examples of applications of these principles would include restoring altered windows and doorways to historic dimensions, repairing masonry to avoid future damage, and replacing other features of the building that may have gotten damaged or removed overtime. The principles of cultural identity and vitality however are crucial to preserving

the sense of place and promoting continued economic growth that the Committee is attempting to uphold. In more general terms, the Committee is most concerned with "the ability to interpret the historic significance of the original building" (P. 34). Vitality is essential as this refers backs to character-defining feature of today – promoting diverse amenities and continued growth within the district.

One strategy that the Committee outlines to preserve the appearance of historic buildings, but still allowing inevitable redevelopment to buildings is façadism. Put simply façadism is the practice of "preserving the front façade of a buildings and allowing new development toward the rear…aesthetics of Main Street Character Buildings are preserved, higher density is allowed, and total demolition is avoided" (P. 47). This method reconciles the pressure of growth within an area while still allowing the appearance, and thus cultural character of buildings to be upheld. Within Jacobs' (1961) framework this can be seen maintaining the need for aged buildings, while promoting increased diversity and mixed use (many types of businesses could tailor the space to fit their needs). These are ultimately both important aspects when considering the growth and development of a district.

The Design Standards and Guidelines document then presents findings from several case studies on how additions or redevelopments on contributing buildings either adhere to or deviate from the five core principles and the character-defining features of the District. These findings primarily reiterate what I've already elaborated on in the past few paragraphs; the aim of these findings is to guide developers on how to carry out construction on buildings within the district by giving concrete examples of how previous

changes were done. The next few sections of the Design Standards and Guidelines document frames, to great specificity, of how new developments will effect streetscape elements. In favor of succinctness, these guidelines predominantly advocate for pedestrian friendly design – encouraging large sidewalks, areas for trees or other plants and suitable street lights. However, the most relevant component for this study included in streetscape elements is promotion of public art. The Design Guidelines and Standards endorse the creation and protection of public art as a way to "commemorate individuals, events, music, eras, and cultural epochs that are significant to Five Points' past, present, and future" (P. 88). The critical aspect of how the committee frames public art in this section is that this public art is integrated with the historic and cultural aspects of Five Points. This connects back to Tchoukaleyska's (2005) concept of the interconnectedness of physical representations of cultural heritage and the preservation of that same heritage. However, the medium which it is being represented has changed, instead of a building or group of people, the representation of cultural heritage can also be seen through art which shows a more literal depiction of the period of significance.

Image 6: A mural of Charles Mingus, a famous jazz musician, in Five Points[10]

For any new construction developments, additions, or renovations to structures within the Five Points District the Committee meets to review proposals by the developer that outlines, the exact changes that will occur. Without delving into too many bureaucratic details, the Committee bases their decision to approve a project upon the various elements I have outlined above: adherence to character-defining features, the five core principles, and the overall impact of one's ability to interpret the historic significance for contributing buildings. The approval process also consists of a public hearing for members of the larger community to voice their potential concerns or endorsements of future projects.

With these vast and particular regulations put forth by the Design Standards and Guidelines, let me turn to present the statistics on the various businesses currently within the Five Points Historic Cultural District. Jazz venues comprised a large component of businesses within the Five Points District during the period of significance, today they are far less prevalent. Jazz bars within Five Points have experienced troubles within the past decade, some of which even closing their doors permanently. Perhaps this speaks to a declining trend in live jazz demand, or the declining use of jazz as a social mechanism to interact with others. Within the Five Points Historic Cultural District, there exists only four business that act as venues for jazz musicians to play regularly – about 5% of all businesses within this area. Most business within this district are restaurants or coffee shops (16.25%), retail stores (11.25%), or a business which offer health or fitness services (7.5%), however a wide variety of amenities exist within the district. These include entertainment (such as Roxy Theater), a church (Central Baptist Church), schools

such as Tubman Hillard Global Academy, apartment complexes, software and marketing companies, as well as Deep Rock Waters – a bottled water distributor. There are many diverse of businesses within the Five Points Historic Cultural District – however the availability of live jazz performances is lacking compared to the period of significance. This runs counter to Jacobs' (1961) concept of the self-destruction of diversity – clearly the Five Points District has found a way to prevent this cycle from taking full effect through the Design Standards and Guidelines.

To account for limited jazz venues within the Five Points District currently, let me turn to a crucial mechanism of the cultural heritage preservation perpetuated by the institutions within Five Points and city officials: jazz festivals. Currently there are only two jazz festivals put on annually: JazzFest and Juneteenth. These festivals, held in the months of May and June respectively, not only showcase many jazz artists which perform in businesses around the District, but also screen films which pay tribute to past jazz legends. These festivals act in a manner to maintain Five Points' jazz roots by offsetting the lack of jazz venues. Moreover, in Zukin's (1995) terminology, these festivals can be seen as a way of repackaging the cultural heritage of Five Points to make jazz more accessible to a wider audience. However, while this cultural heritage is being repackaged, it is not being presented in a way that the City of Denver can directly profit from like other institutions (Disney World) presented in Zukin's (1995) theory as the festivals are free to attend. The implications of this application of Zukin's (1996) framework will be discussed further in the next section.

These findings that I have presented here show that both Five Points Neighborhood and Historic Cultural District have changed immensely since 1990; however, city officials and the Committee impose restrictions on development within the district in hopes of preserving the historic cultural heritage of the Five Points District. They aim to accomplish this through the use of the Design Guidelines and Standards – asserting that a physical representation from the period of significance translates to cultural retention. In this next section I will discuss aspects of my findings in tandem, focusing on how the increase in urban renewal and the variety of strategies put forth in the design standards can be understood through the theoretical framework I have built.

Discussion

The Five Points Historic Cultural District and neighborhood have certainly grown since 1990. As my measure of urban renewal shows, both the Five Points Neighborhood and district have been trending upward for economic growth measurements, as well as a movement away from the previous demographic that resided in both the Five Points District and neighborhood. However, the difference that emerged here was the point at which change, both economically and demographically, began. In the Five Points Neighborhood this change has been a steady increase in urban renewal since 1990, however for the Five Points Historic Cultural District, this rapid increase in urban renewal occurred around 2011. Economic growth within this district was bound to happen to a certain degree; Denver was growing at a fast pace and economic success was bound to spill over into surrounding areas (Tabachnik 2018). However, we cannot attribute all of this economic growth to simply spillover as the Five Points District experienced swift urban renewal much quicker than the entire Five Points Neighborhood. This suggests that another force impacted the economic growth of the Five Points District. Not so coincidentally, it was during the time when the Five Points District experienced rapid urban renewal (2011-2012) that the city became heavily involved in promoting this district as one which had significant historic and cultural value and thus needed to be protected.

The City began enforcing its first initial plans of Design Guidelines and Standards for the Five Points District around 2009. Eventually this spawned the formation of a committee comprised of city officials and involved individuals who produced the

eventual Design Standards and Guidelines documents that I analyzed above. Clearly, the Design Standards and Guidelines had an effect of stimulating increased urban renewal – both economic growth and demographic turnover in the Five Points Historic Cultural District. However, the overwhelming forces of economic growth have not led to the Five Points District to become monotonous in nature as Jacobs (1961) predicted with the self-destruction of diversity. While it is true that the dominant form of business amenity is no longer jazz clubs and venues, as was the case during the period of significance, the district still holds a very tangible connection to its past cultural heritage.

The Five Points District still holds connections to its past African American community and an emphasis on jazz culture that became salient during the period of significance. This can be seen through buildings such as the Blair-Caldwell African American Research Library and the preservation of business that hold African American significance such as Fire Station #3, the Rossonian, along with others contributing buildings outlined in the Design Standards and Guidelines document. Additionally, the preservation, and encouragement of street art and murals further reminds residents and visitors of Five Points' historic roots. The Five Points District has been able to maintain a sense of place instilled during the period of significance by ensuring architectural consistency and other physical representations of cultural heritage. As Tchoukaleyska (2015) theorized, cultural erasure is tied with urban erasure – remove or change part of an urban district which remind individuals of cultural heritage and the memories attached to that place and cultural heritage are lost.

Remembrance is a visual phenomenon for Tchoukaleyska (2015), urban elements associated with cultural heritage are imperative if you want to instill a sense of place based of past cultural heritage. By invoking residents and visitors to acknowledge the past heritage of the Five Points District via associating urban elements to the period of significance of the Five Points District, this effectively creates a shared communal sense of place and gives the Five Points District an identity based on cultural heritage to develop around. Therefore, a movement away from the architectural style of the Five Points District would remind visitors and residents to recognize the heritage and the sense of place associated with this district. By being able to ensure a district does not deviate from too large of a degree of its historic architectural style, a sense of place and identity is created and cultural heritage is preserved through remembrance. Remembrance does not have to be exclusively architectural style, many public art within the Five Points District makes reference to or even displays iconic jazz legends which once graced this district. This is a much more literal representation of the cultural heritage from the period of significance, but still serves the same purpose of invoking residents and visitors to acknowledge the cultural heritage of the District. This phenomenon is also seen with the two jazz festivals performed in the District every May and June. These festivals act as a way to celebrate past cultural heritage, by quite literally performing jazz and screening films of jazz legends who once visited the district. Visitors, residents, and anyone who stumbles across this festival is reminded of Five Points' cultural heritage and jazz significance.

To substantiate this point, we can use Jain's (2004) classification of non-places and concrete places to show that Five Points has been able to weather economic pressures and retain a link to its cultural heritage. As Jain (2004) discussed, the pressures of increased economic activity (as a result of the disembedding forces of globalization) force a place to develop into a non-place – one in which people cannot build a relationship and a place which does not bear an identity. However, my findings of suggest that while yes, this place is experiencing increased economic activity, the Five Points District still bears an identity. With the consistency of architectural style and other representations of cultural heritage acting as a mechanism of remembrance of the once prominent African American community and jazz significance, the Five Points District is certainly a place that has clear and distinct links to its cultural heritage. However, this raises the issue of how closely a representation of an identity can translate to an authentic identity. Based off my findings of the changing demographics, the Five Points District is composed of radically different residents than it was during the 1990s or even the period of significance. The African American population now only composes 12.6% of total residents in the District, down from 45.4% in 1990. Therefore, I would conclude that the representation of an identity can be presented, but it must be embodied by the current residents. I think it is paramount to address how my findings show how a wealthier, non-African American population is occupying the Five Points District. The simple fact of the matter is that these residents hold little connection to the past cultural heritage and cannot retain the immaterial aspects of the cultural heritage.

Therefore, the Five Points District should be considered a concrete place to use Jain's (2004) terms. However, this is not to say that this district does not possess elements of a non-place, Jain (2004) presents non-places and concrete places as two extremes of a spectrum. Jain (2004) notes how non-places are can be thought of as imagined areas – one "reshaped according to certain images" (Jain 2004:54). The Five Points District was reshaped around images from the period of significance. The Design Standards and Guidelines enforces new developments to mimic the architectural style from the period of significance, the Committee even encourages developers to rely on old photographs of their buildings when conducting exterior renovations (P. 35). However, in Jain's (2004:54) theory, imagined localities lead to the creation of non-places because they "attract and bind capital, investments and visitors," which sets in motion Jacobs' (1961) cycle of self-sorting by expense and eventually the self-destruction of diversity. We can say a few things about the Five Points District in regard to determining its classification in Jain's (2004) terminology. Firstly, the Five Points District has been built around images and representations from the period of significance, a similarity of non-places. Secondly, it has attracted more investment and a larger residential population, which suggests that economic pressures have forced the district to expand and develop, also a trait of non-places. Thirdly however, the Five Points District still holds distinct cultural connections to the period of significance – the defining feature of concrete places. Therefore, I would define the Five Points District as a concrete place, but one that is under constant pressure to devolve into a non-place.

Within non-places, franchises and businesses will seek to capitalize on the cultural heritage the district was shaped around as a means to profit. Evidence for heritagization (Poria and Ashworth 2009) exists as the Five Points Design Standards and Guidelines document shows ways in which the cultural heritage of Five Points is being used as a commodity aimed at achieving a goal. This goal being the vision statement defined within the Design Standards and Guidelines document – to revitalize the district with cultural and historic memories still preserved. UNESCO World Heritage Sites also used cultural heritage as a resource in a similar manner, however economic growth was a product when the means to preserve cultural heritage were implemented. Unlike UNESCO World Heritage Sites, tourism-oriented businesses are not as prevalent in the Five Points District. My findings suggest that the Five Points District has undertook strategies to better preserve cultural heritage than UNESCO World Heritage Sites.

As D'Eramo (2014) and Avieli (2015) astutely noted, UNESCO World Heritage Sites open the door for tourism-oriented businesses and franchises, nudging out small businesses who held connections to that cultural heritage. Compared to the Five Points District which is still home to local businesses with connections to the period of significance (Fire Station #3, Cousins Buildings, and other contributing buildings), even the Rossonian sits vacant to this day. If the Five Points District was being infiltrated by franchises as is the case in UNESCO World Heritage Sites, surely the Rossonian – a grand, centerpiece of the district, would be occupied by a franchise of some sort that could afford the overhead costs. Since my findings show that economic activity within the Five Points District has increased since 1990, this strongly suggests that the manner

in which the cultural heritage is being preserved differs between the Five Points District and UNESCO World Heritage Sites.

Along the lines of heritagization (Poria and Ashworth 2009), Zukin (1995) presents Disneyfication as a way to understand the use the cultural heritage of the Five Points District by the City of Denver and the Five Points District Committee. The primary goal of cultural heritage in a place which exhibits Disneyfication is to repackage and present cultural heritage to visitors in an easily consumable manner to generate profit. With my findings that I have presented, I cannot explicitly say that the Five Points District exhibits Disneyfication. While the Five Points District was reshaped around heritage from the period of significance, it is not clear what separates simulating economic growth for revitalization purposes and Disneyfication, where its intent is more aimed at profiting from cultural heritage. An argument can be made that city officials, by way of enforcing the Design Standards and Guidelines, are repackaging cultural heritage from the period of significance in order attract a more affluent residents to live in Five Points. Within the perspective of Disneyfication, this would allow the City to profit more from tax revenues from increased development within the Five Points District. While jazz festivals might suggest that the city of Denver is presenting Five Points in a manner which is easy to consume – the festival is free to attend and showcases plenty of events all afternoon, it remains unclear from the evidence I have gather whether the City is presenting cultural heritage in a manner which favors consumerism. I would conclude Disneyfication is not occurring within the Five Points District, at least not to the full extent Zukin (1995) presents the concept.

Disneyfication's ultimate goal is to profit from culture, where cultural heritage within Five Points is being repacked to revitalize the District. There is no single institution profiting from repacking the cultural heritage of Five Points – yet the cultural heritage is being presented more as a celebration of that heritage, to construct an identity and create a sense of place. An African American community which becomes a wildly successful and famous jazz district after being segregated to a neighborhood of Denver shows the cooperation and perseverance of individuals within the Five Points District during the early 20th century. Let me be frank in making this distinction between the case of the Five Points District and Disneyfication. The Five Points District has repackaged its cultural heritage and made it easily accessible to a wider audience, however unlike Disneyfication, Five Points is repacking cultural heritage in order to construct an identity and sense of place. As opposed to Disneyfication, which specifies that cultural heritage is repackaged and made easily accessible in order to generate profit. This element of profit generation does directly exist in the Five Points District, and therefore it cannot be equated to Disneyfication in the manner that Zukin (1995) theorized.

However, backlashes from Disneyfication and heritagization are still present in the Five Points District. The rapid economic growth within the District has caused more affluent residents to push out the African American population. This presents struggles to how to preserve a historic African American community and heritage with a narrow African American residential population. However, through strategies presented by the Design Standards and Guidelines document, an identity based on cultural heritage was preserved.

Was the Five Points District committee successful in revitalizing the Five Points District through enforcing a cohesion of architectural style, public art and jazz festivals? Yes. Can this growth around the period of significance be viewed as reshaping or repackaging cultural heritage as theorized by Jain (2004) and Zukin (1995)? Also yes. But can this process be equated to Disneyfication? My findings would suggest that while Five Points presents cultural heritage in a polished manner (such as jazz festivals), the profitability element of Disneyfication does not exist. Jazz festivals are free to attend, so is the Blair-Caldwell African American Research library (which can be seen as exemplifying the historic African American community). The City is using cultural heritage as a social resource to grow the district by celebrating the district's past, while also protecting significant contributing buildings which demonstrate clear connections to cultural heritage. Further by enforcing that the architectural style of new developments must remain consistent with contributing buildings, the linkage to past cultural heritage becomes more salient. Residents and visitors are surrounded by urban architectural elements that force them to acknowledge the cultural heritage of the district, in turn making the district possess a communal sense of place built around its cultural heritage.

Through the consistency of the architectural style and the use of jazz festivals, the Five Points District is able to present an identity that simultaneously pays homage to the period of significance, but also allows for continued development. This continued development is done through consistency in architectural style as well as other techniques such as facadism outlined in the Design Standards and Guidelines document. However, all this is not to say that this district has not developed away from its past heritage in

some manner or another. As I mentioned previously, African Americans now comprise a small segment of residents and the overall socioeconomic status of residents within both the Five Points Neighborhood and Historic Cultural District has increased. It is clear that a more affluent demographic is beginning to reside in the Five Points District and African American residents are no longer living within Five Points. This begs the question to what extent can an affluent, white demographic maintain a culture instilled by segregated African Americans of the early 20th century? The City certainly attempts to maintain cultural heritage with jazz festivals and the urban elements mentioned in the Design Standards and Guidelines. While they are successful in invoking residents and visitors to acknowledge the districts past and historic upcoming – the fact of the matter is the district is no longer and will probably never be a famous jazz district to the extent it once was. However, by reminding residents and visitors of cultural heritage via representations of cultural heritage as Tchoukaleyska (2015) theorized, the unique ethos of Five Points from the period of significance is preserved. I believe that the City recognizes that Five Points will never regain its premier jazz prestige and preserving the cultural heritage of Five Points via remembrance is the next best option. A multitude of factors are likely preventing the Five Points District from regaining its previous premier jazz status, yet aside from the low African American residential population, my findings present little evidence on this matter. A likely explanation is that jazz is not a prominent or as widely enjoyed live as it was during the period of significance. There exist few jazz venues within the Five Points District, the City utilizes the two summer jazz festivals as a way to maintain connections to jazz roots.

Going back to the change in demographics that was shown by my measure of urban renewal, this likely suggests that African American residents were forced out of both the Five Points District and the Five Points Neighborhood because they were self-sorted by expense (Jacobs 1961). Higher socioeconomic status of residents have moved into the district, as demonstrated by both an increase in educational attainment and median income. While a change in the amenities reflects this change, contributing buildings still stand that hold a strong connection to cultural heritage from the period of significance. When I say that amenities in the Five Points District reflect a higher socioeconomic status, I'm referring to yoga studios, marketing and software companies and upscale restaurants and coffee shops, all of which cater towards a middle class, white lifestyle. Businesses and residents within the Five Points District will probably continue to be self-sorted by expense as long as the district is thriving in an economic sense. However, the Five Points District has not seen the full effects of the self-destruction of diversity as predicted by Jacobs (1961); I would not classify the district as monotonous. While Five Points District's most prevalent amenity is shopping or upscale restaurants, (accounting for 22.5% of all businesses) there are a variety of other businesses available, including those of which who have a clear connection to the historic African American community. One example of this is Cousins Investing, housed in the Cousins buildings and acted as the first all African American financial institution. Not so surprisingly, most of these businesses which have distinct connections to cultural heritage are housed within contributing buildings and are under various protections outlined in the Design Standards and Guidelines document. The Five Points District allows for new development, as long

as it matches the architectural style from the period of significance. This means that businesses, aside from those who have connections to cultural heritage housed in contributing buildings, within the Five Points District are not immune to being self-sorted by expense. As Jacobs (1961) predicted a district experiencing economic growth will start the self-destruction of diversity until the district becomes homogenous in residents and business amenities. The residents of the Five Points District are certainly trending towards a higher socioeconomic status – suggesting homogeneity in this population. Additionally, the increase in economic indicators that I've measured and the current makeup of businesses within the Five Points District suggests that this district is evolving in a manner somewhat consistent with Jacobs' (1961) theoretical predictions. However, by ensuring contributing buildings are protected, architectural style is cohesive throughout the district, and representations of cultural heritage are presented, any person who visits the Five Points District is reminded of Five Points' cultural heritage. These strategies cause a communally constructed identity based off of cultural heritage to be associated to with the Five Points District. While these strategies are aimed at repackaging cultural heritage, Five Points differs in its intent as the City of Denver is not directly concerned with the generation of profit. The communal identity and sense of place that these strategies give the Five Points District have been proven to overcome, at least to some extent, the devolution into a homogenous district as predicted by Jacobs (1961).

Has the Five Points District gentrified by a conventional definition? Absolutely. African American residential populations have drastically decreased and new residents

moving in are from a much higher socioeconomic status. Businesses that cater to a more affluent demographic have moved into Five Points District and more will probably continue to move in and sort existing buildings by their expense (Jacobs 1961). Yet, the City of Denver and the Five Points District Committee have found ways to preserve a sense of place and identity based around cultural heritage in the face of economic growth. Throughout this thesis I have shown how the Five Points District has changed comparatively to the wider Five Points Neighborhood. I have outlined the various strategies presented by the city aimed at maintaining the cultural heritage within the district. While these strategies largely rely on the presentation of physical representations of cultural heritage (architectural styles, jazz murals), these representations are able to produce a communal sense of place and district identity as I have argued through the use of Tchoukaleyska's (2015) findings. Gentrification by a traditional definition is nearly inevitable within any prosperous district. However, what this study of the Five Points District has shown is that strategies exist which allow a place to experience urban renewal and still retain a sense of place and identity based on cultural heritage despite the district experiencing rapid residential population change. The City of Denver has found strategies which allow for the preservation of the essence of a district, but still encourage urban renewal. Most would think that preservation of heritage and urban renewal are in opposition, however by preserving representations of cultural heritage that have clear and tangible connections to the period of significance, these evoke memories and force residents and visitors to acknowledge the district's historic past.

Endnotes

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