ST. PAUL’S UNIVERSITY AVENUE:
BEFORE THE CENTRAL CORRIDOR

Created by the students and faculty of the Transportation Geography Senior Seminar and the Urban Social Geography courses in the Geography Department at Macalester College, Spring 2011
There are many individuals and organizations we would like to thank for their immeasurably valuable help in the process of constructing this Atlas. The Atlas was created by the students and faculty of two Geography courses at Macalester College: the *Transportation Geography Senior Seminar*, taught by Professor Laura Smith, and *Urban Social Geography*, taught by Professor Daniel Trudeau. This project represents an opportunity for students to collaborate with residents, local business owners, organizations, and political leaders on issues relevant to the St. Paul community. A project of this scale and scope could not be completed without the invaluable assistance and support of Macalester College, its faculty, as well as numerous community members and organizations.

From Macalester College we would first like to thank Paul Schadewald, Associate Director, and the Civic Engagement Center for encouraging and fostering community engagement, as well as providing funds to participate in several field trips and community meetings. We would like to extend our sincerest thanks to Birgit Muehlenhaus, our Geographic Information Systems (GIS) Laboratory Instructor, for her cartographic and GIS expertise. A special thanks is due to James Christenson, Mellon research assistant for the two courses, who formatted eighteen different chapters, numerous cover pages, and assorted other components into an impressive final document, and who provided the stunning photographs found throughout. We would also like to thank Tess Carley for assisting in map production. Our thanks go to Tom Welna and the High Winds Fund for financial support in printing the final Atlas, as well as the Mellon Foundation, whose Curricular Pathways Course Proposal grant allowed for the purchase of data that were central to several of the chapters in this Atlas. Finally, we would like to thank Laura Kigin, Geography Department Coordinator, for her assistance in organizing and facilitating interactions with community members, as well as providing sustenance in times of need.

The projects that comprise this Atlas involved collaboration with a range of community members and organizations. We would like to thank Allen Lovejoy, Principal Planner from the City of St. Paul Planning and Economic Development department for introducing us to the Central Corridor and providing a perspective from which to initiate our projects. Our thanks also go to the following individuals and organizations: Greg Finzell, Executive Director of the Rondo Community Land Trust; Melvin Carter III, Ward 1 Councilmember of St. Paul; Dan Scott, St. Paul Area Chamber of Commerce; Jim Segal, owner of Ax-Man Surplus; Kunrath Lam, owner of Cheng Heng Restaurant; JillHenricksen, Executive Director of the Greater Frogtown CDC; Erik Hare (erikhare.wordpress.com); Russ Stark, Ward 4 Councilmember of St. Paul; Adam Maleitzke, Program Director of the U-PLAN Community Planning Studio; Linda Windsor, former director of the University Avenue Betterment Association; Peter Myers of Myers Communications Group; Damone Pressley of the Aurora-Saint Anthony Neighborhood Development Corporation; the St. Paul Police Department, Vice Unit; Breaking Free; Dan Hylton, Research Manager at HousingLink; Alicia Vap,
Project Manager, Station and Streetscape Design of the Central Corridor Light Rail Transit; Carol Swenson, Executive Director of the District Councils Collaborative of Saint Paul and Minneapolis; and Central Corridor artists Foster Willey, Andrea Myklebust, Stanton Sears, Catherine Widgery, Janet Lofquist, Roberto Delgado, Seitu Jones, and Nancy Blum.

Our sincere gratitude and thanks to these individuals and organizations for providing the time, energy, and resources that allowed for the creation of this Atlas. Thank you.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Instructors</th>
<th>Transportation Geography Senior Seminar</th>
<th>Urban Social Geography</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Laura Smith</td>
<td>Daniel Trudeau</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eric Robinson</td>
<td>Joe Rasmussen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Christenson</td>
<td>James Christenson</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jillian Benson</td>
<td>Lauren Dutkiewicz</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Christenson</td>
<td>Jesse Horwitz</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cory Copeland</td>
<td>Emma Kalish</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maya Fehrs</td>
<td>Dan Otte</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jill Goforth</td>
<td>Bo Scarim</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lily Gordon-Koven</td>
<td>Adam Van der Sluis</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Troy Groenke</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ainsley Judge</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corey Koscielniak</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nolan Levenson</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mikey Perkins</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Katie Purdham</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adam Van der Sluis</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarah Ziegenhorn</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Students                           |                                        |
|------------------------------------|                                        |
| James Christenson                  |                                        |
| Nolan Levenson                     |                                        |
| Mikey Perkins                      |                                        |
| Katie Purdham                      |                                        |
| Adam Van der Sluis                 |                                        |
| Sarah Ziegenhorn                   |                                        |
# Table of Contents

## Map Index

- i

## Reference Maps

- iii

## Introduction

- 1

## Section I: The Built Environment

- Chapter One: Initiating an Era of Development on the Central Corridor: A Cross-Examination of Urban Design Plans with the Form of University Avenue Prior to Light Rail Installation
  - by James Christenson and Mikey Perkins
  - 3

## Section II: Economic Impacts of the Built Environment

- Chapter Two: An Economic History: How Transportation Has Shaped the Economic History of University Avenue
  - by Jillian Benson
  - 37
- Chapter Three: Businesses and Consumers: Sales, Expenditures, and Opportunities for the Future
  - by Nolan Levenson
  - 49
- Chapter Four: Nighttime: Informal Economies and Street Prostitution
  - by Sarah Ziegenhorn and Corey Koscielniak
  - 80
- Chapter Five: Dallas to the Twin Cities: A Quantitative Analysis of Land Value Change from Light Rail Construction
  - by Cory Copeland
  - 100

## Section III: Social Impacts of the Built Environment

- Chapter Six: Central Corridor Subsidized Housing: Exploring Existing Patterns
  - by Lily Gordon-Koven
  - 117
- Chapter Seven: Exploring the Relationship among Transportation, Urban Form and Crime
  - by Jill Goforth
  - 144
Chapter Eight: Evaluating Light Rail Transit as a Tool for Place-Making
by Ainsley Judge

Chapter Nine: Public Art at Transit Stations
by Maya Fehrs

SECTION IV: TRANSPORTATION AND ACCESSIBILITY ALONG UNIVERSITY AVENUE

Chapter Ten: The Pedestrian Environment
by Katie Purdham

Chapter Eleven: Gravity Modeling of Commuting along University Avenue Post-Light Rail Construction
by Adam Van der Sluis

Chapter Twelve: LRT Traffic Impacts
by Troy Groenke

SECTION V: GENTRIFICATION AND THE CENTRAL CORRIDOR

by Bo Scarim

Chapter Fourteen: Stays for Us & Susceptibility to Displacement in Rondo
by Dan Otte

Chapter Fifteen: Where are the Gaps?
by Adam Van der Sluis

Chapter Sixteen: Gentrification’s Possible Effects on the Central Corridor Nonprofit Sector
by Emma Kalish

Chapter Seventeen: Brownfields: Utilizing Untapped Potential along University Avenue
by Lauren Dutkiewicz

Chapter Eighteen: University Parking: The True Value of a Parking Space
by Jesse Horwitz

CONCLUSION
Central Corridor: Twin Cities Metropolitan Area

Central Corridor: St. Paul, Minn.

Central Corridor LRT Station Areas

Central Corridor Neighborhoods

Fairview Station Area

Snelling Station Area

Hamline Station Area

Lexington Station Area

Victoria Station Area

Dale Station Area

Western Station Area

Rice Station Area

University Avenue Block Groups

Overall Retail Sales, Consumer Expenditures, and Opportunity Gap

Retail Sales by Order

Consumer Expenditures by Order

Low-Order Business Sector: Overall Retail Sales, Consumer Expenditures, and Opportunity Gap

Medium-Order Business Sector: Overall Retail Sales, Consumer Expenditures, and Opportunity Gap

High-Order Business Sector: Overall Retail Sales, Consumer Expenditures, and Opportunity Gap

Consumer Expenditures Per Capita: Low-Order, Medium-Order, High-Order, Overall

Specific Business Sector Sales: Liquor Store, Food Service, and Motor Vehicle and Parts Dealership

1999 Income by Census Block Group on University Avenue

2010 Popular Crime Arrests by Neighborhood

2010 Prostitution Arrests on University

Land Value in the Minneapolis-Saint Paul Central Corridor in 2010

Affordable Rental Units in Saint Paul, Minn.

Underserved Block Groups

Affordable Rent Based on Income

Average Household Size

Median Household Income

Median Income Under $35,000

Median Income $35,000 - $50,000

Median Income $50,000 - $100,000

Median Income above $100,000

White Population

Non-White Population

Black Population

Hmong Population

Hispanic Population

Only English Spoken at Home

Spanish Spoken in the Home

Asian Language Spoken in the Home

Theft Along University Avenue 1937, 1971

Theft Along University Avenue 1981, 1991

Theft Along University Avenue 2001

Robbery Along University Avenue 1937, 1971

Robbery Along University Avenue 1981, 1991

Robbery Along University Avenue 2001

Aggravated Assault Along University Avenue 1937, 1971

Aggravated Assault Along University Avenue 1981, 1991

Aggravated Assault Along University Avenue 2001

Rape Along University Avenue 1937, 1971

Rape Along University Avenue 1981, 1991

Rape Along University Avenue 2001
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Map Title</th>
<th>Page Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rape Along University Avenue 2001</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burglary Along University Avenue 1937, 1981</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burglary Along University Avenue 1991, 2001</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tax-Exempt Civic Institutions</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neighborhood Tenure by Property Sale Date</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Types of Station Art Along Central Corridor</td>
<td>196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sound Pollution Distribution</td>
<td>238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Corridor Population Density, 2010 Estimate</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Corridor Racial Diversity: Section 1</td>
<td>251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Corridor Racial Diversity: Section 2</td>
<td>251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Corridor Racial Diversity: Section 3</td>
<td>251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residential Parcels, by Occupancy Status, near Rondo Area</td>
<td>258</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Corridor LRT Stations</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University Avenue Light Rail Corridor</td>
<td>265</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rent Gaps Along University Avenue</td>
<td>267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Potential Brownfield Sites in the Central Corridor</td>
<td>279</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Corridor Property Values</td>
<td>280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Potential for Brownfield Redevelopment</td>
<td>281</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Highlighted Brownfield Redevelopment Potential</td>
<td>282</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
REFERENCE MAP 1

Central Corridor
Twin Cities Metropolitan Area

Nolan Levenson
Sources: ESRI, MetroGIS
Projection: NAD83 UTM Zone 15N
REFERENCE MAP 2

Central Corridor, Saint Paul, Minn.

*The Study Area includes all block groups within a one mile radius of the Central Corridor light rail line.

Cartographer: Lily Gordon-Kowen, April, 2011
Source: MetroGIS, ESRI 2310, US Census 2000
Projection: UTM 15N NAD83
Central Corridor Neighborhoods, Saint Paul, Minn.

- Central Corridor LRT
- Lake or River
- 1/4 Mile Radius
- Park
- Block Group
- City Boundary

Cartographer: Lily Gordon-Koven, April, 2011
Projection: UTM 15N NAD83

- The Study Area includes all block groups within a one mile radius of the Central Corridor light rail line.
INTRODUCTION

The Macalester College Department of Geography takes great pride in a long tradition of civic engagement work in courses and seminars. Some of the most influential and enduring civic engagement projects have resulted in community atlases, such as the Grand Avenue studies produced by Professor David Lanegran’s seminars in the 1980s, or the Payne-Arcade atlas in 1998.

The neighborhoods around University Avenue – known as the “Central Corridor” – are poised to transform in dramatic ways through the introduction of Light Rail Transit (LRT). This year represents a unique time in the Twin Cities’ transportation history as construction began on the Central Corridor LRT along University Avenue between downtown St. Paul, the University of Minnesota, and downtown Minneapolis. This provided an opportune time to document and analyze the Avenue as an automobile-focused corridor. In a few years, students of another Geography Department seminar will revisit this research and study the effects of converting the Avenue to a transit-based corridor. The focus of our atlas is to address the question: What will the transition from an automobile-focused to a transit-based system mean for the urban economic geography and social diversity of the Avenue?

Two Geography classes participated in the making of this study: the Transportation Geography Senior Seminar, taught by Professor Laura Smith, and Urban Social Geography, taught by Professor Daniel Trudeau. Students used a variety of methods, including Geographic Information Systems (GIS) and qualitative techniques, to investigate the economic and social state of the Avenue. The authors researched the Central Corridor using literary resources as well as through fieldwork, generally conducted through personal observations and interviews. Additionally, there were numerous opportunities throughout the semester for all students to engage with community members, business owners, and political officials who had interest in or knowledge of the University Avenue Light Rail Project.

The students from Professor Laura Smith’s Transportation Geography seminar, in fulfilling their Geography capstone requirement, conducted an original, independent research project on a topic of their choosing that was relevant to University Avenue and the Central Corridor. The six students from Professor Dan Trudeau’s Urban Social Geography class focused specifically on the potential for gentrification, one of the preeminent concerns of residents who live along the corridor.

All chapters of the atlas are meant to act largely as a baseline study; most of the chapters include recommendations about what should be analyzed going forward in order to observe changes as they occur during and after light rail construction. The atlas is organized into five sections, the first four including work done by students from the Transportation Geography seminar, followed by a section discussing gentrification along the Corridor completed by the Urban Social Geography class. The section themes progress as follows: I. The Built Environment; II. Economic Impacts of the Built Environment; III. Social Impacts of the Built Environment; IV. Transportation and Accessibility along University Avenue; V. Gentrification and the Central Corridor.