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THE FACE OF MALONE AN AREA OF TRANSITION IN LINCOLN, NEBRASKA

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THE FACE OF MALONE
An Area of Transition in Lincoln, Nebraska

LINCOLN, NEBRASKA: SOCIO-ECONOMIC AREAS

Occasional Papers No. 2
Department of Geography
University of Nebraska
May 1972

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DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY
UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA
Lincoln, Nebraska

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Preface

Introduction

The Image of Malone -- David A. Montgomery 1

The Malone Area: Nonresidential Land Use -- Frank A. Pratt 19

Socio-Economic Profiles of the Malone Area -- Rodney W. Schulling 37

The Residential Characteristics of the Malone Area -- Boniface N. Madubom 72

The Impact of University Expansion on the Malone Area -- Darshan S. Kang 90
PREFACE

This report concerns Malone, a problem area of Lincoln, Nebraska, that is undergoing considerable change as a result of external influences from the city and the university. In 1971, a graduate Seminar in Urban Geography devoted a semester to the spatial aspects of blight in cities and as a part of this course prepared short reports on specific aspects of Lincoln's example of a blighted zone. The point of departure for the field work was the conceptual framework of the transition zone as it was developed by Burgess in the 1920's and refined by others at a later time, especially Griffin and Preston in the 1960's. As background for the field work, the class discussed studies of this zone as it has developed in American cities, and supplemented these with talks by Gerald Henderson, Human Rights Officer of Lincoln, and Dr. George Underwood, Director of the City-County Health Department. The class also drew on work done by members of the School of Social Work and the Department of Sociology at the University of Nebraska. However, the field project approach was geographical as the students attempted to describe and explain certain spatial patterns that exist in the area. Therefore, maps included in the reports constitute foci for the research. The five reports included here are not intended as finished reports on the area but are discussion papers, utilized as part of a learning process in a graduate seminar. They also should serve to familiarize readers with work being done in the Department of Geography.

A brief word about data is pertinent. 1970 census information, when published, was utilized but detailed block data were not available at the time. The cut off for field work was mid 1971 so changes in the area since that time are not included.
The boundaries of what is called "Malone" are indefinite. Some research has been focused on the area bounded by Vine and R Streets and by 14th and 23rd Streets; the Malone Community Center is a focal point of this area and a sizable proportion of the population is black. However, for the purposes of geographic study the area was enlarged considerably. Problems of land acquisition by the University and city result in impacts upon a larger area. The problems of relocation of the Rock Island Railroad and of deterioration of housing also are best related to a larger region. Therefore, an area of approximately 55 blocks, from Q to Y Streets and from 19th to 26th Streets, was included. Preparatory mapping of this area had been carried out in 1970 by Kjartan Magnusson, a graduate student in geography. Although arguments may be presented that using Holdrege and 27th Streets as boundaries would have been even more valid, the included boundaries were retained to avoid the complications of land uses along those two arterials.

The editor wishes to express appreciation to various persons who met with the group during the course of study and who later provided data and suggestions regarding the research: Dr. George Underwood, Orville DeFrain, and George Conkling of the Lincoln-Lancaster County Health Department; Gerald Henderson, Human Rights Officer of Lincoln; members of the City Planning Department; and Professor Merlin Lawson of the Department of Geography. Initial mapping work by Kjartan Magnusson was an invaluable starting point. The final copy was typed by Mrs. Patricia Larsen. The editor is alone responsible for the direction of the project.

Department of Geography

Dean S. Rugg

May 1, 1972
A major problem area of American cities today is the so-called "zone of deterioration" which is adjacent to and often nearly surrounds the Central Business District (CBD). This zone may be more correctly called the zone-in-transition as it is marked by the mixture and instability of land uses. The nature of the zone has changed since 1950 as active concentric growth around an expanding and vigorous CBD has been replaced by uneven growth through assimilation and discard. Stagnation is now a characteristic of much of the zone as new commercial growth takes place in suburban areas. A primary factor in this change is increasing mobility as the automobile and truck increase the uprooting forces in the urban core. Preston and Griffin have examined this transition zone in detail, developing a model that breaks down the zones of assimilation and discard into active, inactive, and passive components. Detailed mapping in several cities confirms the mixture of land uses with large sectors in the zone devoted to land for retail sales, parking, public use, vacancy, used automotive sales, transportation, industry, wholesaling, and residential. The spatial aspects of this zone are complex. Residential land use is characterized by associated problems of deterioration, ghetto expansion, race, poverty, and crime.

Major attention was first brought to this problem area in the 1920's by an ecologist, Ernest Burgess, who was interested in trying to explain the spatial pattern of sociological phenomena—race, crime, low income,
disease, and social unrest—which exist within the city of Chicago. He found that a close correlation existed between these factors in a belt surrounding the Loop which he termed the "zone-in-transition" between commercial and residential areas. Burgess used this idea as a cornerstone to his concentric-theory of urban growth, which has become one of the conceptual frameworks for understanding the areal differentiation of the city.

The concepts of Burgess, Preston, and Griffin were used as starting points for study of Lincoln, Nebraska's chief blighted zone, known locally as the Malone Area. This area is located on the margins of the Central Business District and has been influenced by this area of commercial growth. However, even more pertinent to the pattern of Malone is the University of Nebraska located directly to the west. Growth of the university from a student body of about 8,000 in 1960 to 21,000 in 1971 has resulted in its physical expansion to the east into Malone, as movement in other directions is blocked by the CBD and railroads. In this sense the Malone Area is not typically a portion of the transition zone as conceptualized by Burgess, Preston, and Griffin. However, the transition zone concept provided a point of departure for the series of papers included in this volume. Here is an area near the core of the city that is characterized by mixed land uses, blight, and the presence of non-whites. It is an area in the process of change. As such Malone presents many faces. These papers attempt to examine the "Face of Malone." One broad question that seems to be important relates to whether or not the area can be considered a neighborhood, a slum, or a ghetto in a spatial sense.
THE IMAGE OF MALONE
David A. Montgomery

INTRODUCTION

Geography, the science of spatial organization, has long utilized the regional study as a basic unit of research. By its title, this report on the Malone Area may seem another such presentation, and in truth it was originally so conceived. As the author grew more familiar with the area, however, the realization soon dawned that such an objective approach would be woefully inadequate to interpret the full dimensions of the Malone Area. For Malone, as any other distinctive spatial unit, exists as more than a collection of locations and distances. It exists strongly as a concept—partially dependent upon its geographic elements, partially divorced from them, and partially transcending them. It is this concept, or image, which is revealed only through a subjective treatment as outlined below.

Before beginning this discussion, a brief semantic note might be in order. Throughout this paper the term "image" will be used in the sense outlined by Kevin Lynch (1960). In other words, an image is here taken to be the subjective visual impression of an area resulting from the associations among certain visual elements within the area as perceived by the individual. It follows therefore that the image presented here is necessarily that determined by the author. Each individual, in becoming acquainted with the Malone Area, will form a subtly different image based upon his own perception of these elements and their associations. Such is the inherent
drawback to any subjective interpretation. Thus each individual image is neither more nor less valid than that presented here, and each is unique.

There is, however, one method of analysis which may be employed in order to interject a common ground into these diverse images. This is the method outlined by Lynch (1960, 47) utilizing five elements of the landscape as the basic image elements. These elements and their geographic equivalents are as follows:

1. Paths - circulation routes
2. Edges - visual barriers, usually linear
3. Landmarks - orientation points, visually prominent
4. Nodes - points of circulation, convergence, and/or generation
5. Districts - sub-regions

Although these elements appear to be readily identifiable features, care must be taken that a consistent viewpoint is maintained. A busy highway, for example, will appear as a path to a driver, but will seem an edge to a pedestrian. A large cathedral may be more important as a landmark than as a node, while the opposite might be true for a small neighborhood church. The use of these elements, however, insures something of a common bond to the several subjective images, and greatly aids in lending stability to this nebulous undertaking.

Lynch's five points, however useful they be, must yet be supplemented if the image we obtain is to be a geographic one. The objective of a Lynch image is to establish the relationships between the visual units within an area so that they may be utilized aesthetically in the overall planning of the area. Such is not the aim of the geographer. Rather, he hopes to
obtain an image of an area which can be integrated with known facts and processes so that the total associations of phenomena within a given area might be known. For these purposes, certain other features of the landscape assume an importance as image elements, to wit:

1. The physical features of the landscape - e.g., terrain, vegetation, etc.

2. The cultural features of the landscape - e.g., housing conditions, housing style, density of structures, visible population characteristics (race, age, mobility, density), personal interaction, and mobility.

The geographer is much more at home with these elements, and it is the integration of these with the Lynch elements which will produce a geographic image of Malone.

Only one method presents itself as suitable for an undertaking such as this--a walking survey. One must enter this area relatively free from preconceived notions and expectations, for only then can a true image be formed. The author felt compelled to visit the study area five different times, under differing conditions of weather, time of day, and season, in order to isolate those impressions which seemed to be a function of a particular set of circumstances, as well as those which appeared during each visit. It is the latter impressions which have gone into the compilation of this report.

Let us then commence our appraisal of the elements which combine to produce the image of Malone. As the Lynch elements are the best defined and most familiar, they will be discussed first.
THE LYNCH ELEMENTS

The paths of the Malone Area are all streets. Of course, in a literal sense every street is a path, but the term is here used to denote a major circulation route or artery. Vine Street is the major path, bisecting the area horizontally. (See map of Image Elements) It is a path both from the auto and pedestrian points of view, and provides the major points of access into and out of the area. Secondary paths are mainly in the northwest section of this area, extending in one case to the northeast. Twenty-second Street is the principal north-south street, but functions as a true path only north of Vine Street where it gives access to Whittier School. Twenty-First Street north of Vine Street is a primary entrance to the Cushman plant, while W Street from Twenty-First to Twenty-Sixth serves as an outlet for both Cushman and Whittier School. In the South, R Street may be considered a marginal path, for its traffic burden is certainly not as great as those already mentioned.

Only two true edges are to be found within the Malone Area. One, strangely enough, is Vine Street which may easily be considered an edge as well as a path for a number of reasons. Although not a limited access highway, it does carry a heavy traffic burden and is difficult to cross. Yet it carries a large amount of pedestrian traffic as well. At Twenty-Second Street it passes through a vast open area which emphasizes its role as a path, but near Twenty-Fourth Street its sides are banked by walls, reinforcing its image as an edge. Thus the ambiguous Vine Street may be considered a path as well as an edge. The only other edge to be found is the railroad track which runs horizontally across the very northern part of
MALONE AREA: IMAGE ELEMENTS
the study area. (See map of Image Elements) Although not heavily used, the track is set on a small embankment surrounded by a cleared space, definitely separating visually the structures on either side of it.

Landmarks are somewhat more ubiquitous. The most prominent is Whittier School. It dominates the central part of the study area through its size, through the relative emptiness of the surrounding land, and through the effectiveness of the night-lighting employed on the building. Equally obvious is the Cushman plant, conspicuous for its size and the number and homogeneity of its buildings. Other landmarks are much less conspicuous, but nevertheless are prominent within their particular area. First of these is the Acacia Fraternity House. It may attribute its visibility mainly to the architectural style it employs, and to its situation on Vine Street, both of which give it visual dominance over the other fraternity structures on the same block. The Malone Center gains recognition for its size primarily, as it is not particularly prominent visually. The large red-brick church building on Twenty-Fifth Street forms perhaps the weakest visual landmark in the Malone Area, conspicuous primarily because of the homogeneous dullness of its surroundings.

There are four principal nodes within the study area. The intersection of Vine Street and Twenty-Second Street is formed by the intersection of the two paths at this point. Significantly, this is the location of the only traffic light within the entire study area. A second node is also formed by the crossing of two paths, namely Twenty-First Street and W Street. The latter street dead-ends just west of this intersection, forming a loading station for trucks serving the Cushman plant. In addition, there is a
large amount of employee traffic past this spot. The other two nodes are actually buildings--Whittier School and the Malone Center--so designated in view of the large amount of traffic generated by each and the diversity of direction taken by that traffic.

The last of the Lynch elements, the district, is somewhat more complex. Lynch based his studies upon entire cities, not areas within them, and a district was meant to designate a fairly uniform sub-region of the city. Since the area with which we are dealing might well be itself labeled a district in Lynch terminology, the promulgation of districts within it becomes somewhat risky. All that can be said with certainty is that the northwest corner of the study area, containing the Cushman plant and various other manufacturing firms, seems distinct from the remaining area in function and character, and might well be labeled a district in the sense--if not strict definition---of the Lynch term.

From these elements alone, our image of Malone is skeletal at best. We can envision a network of fairly regular paths with a significant thickening in the northern and western portion, and with a dominant horizontal central path. These connect a fragmentary group of nodes and landmarks clustered near the central portion, while the northern extremity is barred by a prominent edge. As a form of visual shorthand, this diagram tells the planner a good deal; it tells the geographer next to nothing. Let us therefore peruse the second set of image elements in hope of finding an arrangement more familiar to our eyes.
THE GEOGRAPHIC ELEMENTS

Turning first to the physical landscape, nothing exciting greets our eyes. Much of the area lies within the bottomland of Antelope Creek and almost no prominent heights or slopes are evident. To the west and east of the area, the land rises to low terraces. Vegetation exists most noticeably in the form of planted trees, more copious in the southern part of Malone. In short, we would have to conclude that site elements play little role in shaping the image of Malone.

Cultural elements, however, prove to be highly significant in determining something of the character of this region. Although other papers in this group will cover these topics in much more detail, a brief sketch now will suffice to break down the cultural landscape into image elements.

Basic to an understanding of this area is the matter of race. Although the Negro element is an important one throughout the Malone area, it seems to hold a majority position only in the southwest segment of the study area. Its influence is felt least in the southeast quadrant. The influence of other minority groups is negligible within this part of Lincoln.

Housing conditions are a highly visible element of the landscape, and contribute a great deal toward the formation of an image. (see map of Geographic Elements). The houses of this area, with very few exceptions, differ little in basic style. The vast majority were constructed within the period 1910-1930 and show little variation from the basic middle-class pattern prominent during those days. Housing quality, however, runs the gamut from good to dilapidated, with reasonably well-defined clustering. The largest and most infamous is the southwest quadrant of the study area,
MALONE AREA: GEOGRAPHIC ELEMENTS

Residential Area: High
Residential Area: Medium
Residential Area: Low

Institutional Areas
Commercial & Industrial Areas

Open Area
composed largely of deteriorating or dilapidated dwellings in various stages of disrepair. It is this area, easily the most neglected and abused in the study zone, which forms much of the popular image of Malone as a whole. Yet an adjacent area to the east, fully as large, is one of well-kept yards, painted fences, and general good grooming, and forms a second distinct housing region. A third, something of a residuum, is located in the north-east corner of the area, and marks a middle zone. A great variety of housing conditions are to be found in this section, the majority being well-kept but with enough shabby units to lower the overall level. A fourth area of newly constructed apartment houses is in the process of forming along and adjacent to the central and eastern portions of Vine Street. The newness of these structures and the distinctiveness of their style set this area off as a marginal image region—one currently consolidating. Related to this new area, but separated from it, is a small island of housing of good quality which appears at the very top of the map of Geographic Elements. This indicates another apartment complex and does not reflect the housing in its immediate area.

At this point the author felt the need for some finer-gauge measure of the landscape. The material so far covered presents an excellent view of the image-areas as defined by our criteria, but did not offer enough refinement to enable the author to come to any conclusions concerning the interpretation of the image. Consequently, two additional cultural factors were decided upon as likely to furnish information of the desired character. First, the presence or absence of small luxuries in a deteriorating structure, showing some concern by the inhabitant for its appearance,
possibly in the face of poverty or physical inability to effect needed re­pairs. Second, the presence or absence of non-commercial personal contacts among the population should indicate something about the feelings of the inhabitants toward their neighborhood, as well as their sense of identifi­cation with their surroundings.

The information pertaining to the first query is incorporated in the map of Geographic Elements and the results are gratifying. Again and again, particularly in the most run-down section of the area, evidence could be found pointing to a concern by the inhabitants for the condition of their houses. New mailboxes, ornate initialed door screens, new gates, new porch railings were in abundant supply, giving an indication of people try­ing to better their surroundings in whatever ways they could. More, perhaps, than the housing condition itself, this element exerts a strong influence on the image we are so slowly forming.

A reconnaissance study of personal contacts also produced an en­lightening picture. People who have little interest in their community or their home, or those who do not know their neighbors, seem likely to spend little time outside their houses and less still in non-commercial personal contacts. On the contrary, active people interested in their neighborhood and the appearance of their property, and happy in the company of neighbors, will be inclined to spend much more time outdoors engaged in such contacts. We may assume that it is this latter group which may be more highly motivated to improve their community. By far the most active area for such communication, both by adults and by children, is the northeast quadrant of the area, seen as the middle-range housing
area. Here, almost daily, children were to be seen playing in groups, and adults engaged in mutual salutation and conversation while going about outdoor tasks. The southeast quadrant contained a few instances of such communication, mostly oldsters engaged in front-porch gossip, with no children in evidence. The southwest sector, by way of contrast, showed the smallest number of contacts, even of children; although this area contains three playgrounds, the author can honestly state he never saw a single child near any of them! This area, so desperately needing "yard work, had the fewest people in the yards at any task.

THE IMAGE AREAS

But the time has now come to jury-rig many of our findings into some semblance of order. As a preliminary step toward the development of an image of Malone, a series of image-areas, displayed on the accompanying map, has been employed in an attempt to isolate somewhat the eight principal elements which go into the construction of the final image. They will be presented in order of their relative strength.

Probably the strongest image-area is that surrounding the Cushman plant and extending along the railroad tracks for several blocks to the east. This basically industrial sector, dominated by Cushman itself, is so fundamentally distinct in character from the remainder of Malone that it stands out as the sharpest and clearest element of the landscape.

Next would come that small area surrounding Whittier School. The mass of this building, its centrality, the openness of the adjacent land, and its function as a significant traffic generator all contribute toward the strength of this image-area.
Third in the power of its image, strangely enough, is the vast area immediately west of Whittier School composed primarily of vacant lots, large and small, and large tracts of open land belonging to Cushman and the university. The contrast of this open land with the nearby bulk of Whittier School and the powerful influence of Cushman produces a potent image force all its own. This emptiness seems to form something of a natural vacuum, open to the expansion of adjacent image areas and to forceful external influences such as the University.

The already-discussed southwest section (minus the extreme southwest corner) forms the fourth image-area. Its image is one of decay mingled with hope, of a dark past and ever-so-slightly optimistic future. The transcendent gloom of the physical conditions in this area is partly offset by the small signs of concern evident, and one must be careful not to be so overpowered by the oppressive physical landscape that he fails to notice the hopeful modification so prevalent under closer examination.

The fifth image-area is formed by the genteel southeast section, inhabited mainly by the elderly and characterized by well-manicured lawns and homes, and a kind of quiet restfulness which seems to hang over this area.

The newest image area, as previously stated, is in the process of formation along Vine Street, where new apartment and fraternity houses are rapidly replacing old residential units. The strength of this area is not yet great, but if the process of renewal continues here at near its present pace, it could dramatically alter the image of the central part of Malone.
A much weaker, but much more significant image-area, is the north-
east corner. The picture here is one of heterogeneity -- of house condition,
of race, of age. There is a considerable degree of contact among the resi-
dents of this sector, and a large amount of internal circulation. This
area gives strength to the whole image fabric, for if any part of Malone
may be considered a neighborhood, it is this quadrant.

By far the weakest of the image-areas is that occupying the extreme
southwest corner of the map. This is an area of mixed commercial and indus-
trial land uses, with some poor-grade residential units. Yet again the
importance of this area outweighs its image strength, for this expanding
zone may well represent the invasion of the Malone area by Lincoln's true
transition zone, a concept to be discussed more thoroughly in a succeeding
section.

THE IMAGE

The elements are now laid bare before our gaze. There seems
nothing left but to attempt to coordinate them as best we can and reveal
at least the image of Malone. Let the point be made clear, however, that
this image is not something which can be easily mapped. Rather, the map
of the eight image-areas must be used as the basis for a little mental
juggling before an image can truly appear.

What, then is the image of Malone? First, it is an image of
Black. The Negro element, while not an actual majority within this area,
is visually dominant. This one fact alone would serve to set Malone off
from most of the rest of Lincoln. But there is more; it is an image of
Old as well; Old, not only in the sense of time-aged, but meaning used-up,
drained, shabby. The very spark of life seems to have fled Malone. It is an image of Empty. The many vacant lots, like toothless gaps, reinforce the feeling gathered from the third image-area. Even the vast bulk of Whittier School and Cushman only serve to contrast themselves with the surrounding emptiness. Yet strangely it is an image of Revival. The community-like atmosphere of the northeast, the steady stream of visitors to the Malone center, the futuristic new playgrounds, the new apartment buildings—all these things join with the fore-mentioned signs of hope among the Malone-dwellers to fashion a counter-image. The struggle of this new image to overcome the older and more solidly-entrenched images may well provide the Malone area with a vitality and response it has lacked for years. In the near future, the image of Malone we see today could be drastically altered.

But in discovering this image of Malone, we have inadvertently discovered a number of things Malone is not. First, it is by no stretch of the imagination a ghetto. The small Negro percentage of the population and the relative low density and condition of structures conspire against this epithet. That it is a true slum is equally in doubt, for many of the same reasons—we must remember here that even the worst conditions in a small Midwestern city are likely to be favorable in comparison to those of larger cities further East. In this field, Malone can claim little beyond a condition of definite decay.

We can also declare that Malone is not a transition zone, but evidence for that point of view is not truthfully the province of this paper. However, it is our province to decide that Malone is not a real neighborhood.
It lacks internal circulation to a remarkable degree. Few Malone residents work at Cushman, for instance, and Whittier School draws only a limited age group. Other than these, there is simply nothing to pull residents in any direction but outside of Malone. Within the study area are no elementary schools, food stores, drug stores, restaurants, bars, theatres, or indeed any other attraction, or necessity of life. Rather, these functions along the rim of the Malone Area act as potent centrifugal forces, drawing the residents of the area in numerous outward directions, with few or no countering centripetal forces. Cohesion is achieved solely by promimity and common boundary, not by internal organization. Consequently, there is very little personal communication among residents of the greater part of the area.

Primary circulation routes direct traffic either through or out of the area.

In short, under a constant and discriminating analysis, there seems to be little basis for the concept of a separate Malone Area. Yet the concept exists, and exists strongly. It may well be that, after everything else is stripped inexorably away, we shall determine that the only cohesive factor present here is the Image itself. Without such a strong image, it is doubtful if the Malone area would have retained its identity, rightly or wrongly, as it has through all the years.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


THE MALONE AREA: NONRESIDENTIAL LAND USE
Frank A. Pratt

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study is to analyze geographically a particular neighborhood area within Lincoln, Nebraska. This neighborhood, known locally as the Malone Area, is a problem area of the city due to the changes in land use that are taking place. The emphasis in this study will be on nonresidential land use.

A questionnaire survey of the businesses, churches, schools, and community center was conducted. The results of the survey comprise the core of this study and are used to show the Malone Area as it is today and what prognosis can be made regarding its future.

The locations of the businesses in the area (see map of Commercial and Industrial Land) form distinctive patterns and reflect the mode of transportation once necessary for their trade. The oldest businesses are located in the northwestern portion of the area within a block on either side of X street. These businesses include one of light manufacturing, three of contract construction, and eight of retail supply. All are served by a railroad siding. The remaining businesses are auto or truck oriented and are located on or near arterials in the southwest portion of the area.

The Malone Area is suspected of being within the zone of land-
use transition in Lincoln and, therefore, Preston's land use study (1966) lends itself well as a framework for this study. Work by Murphy and Vance (1954) was also considered, but Preston's work was selected since it is more detailed for the zone as well as being more current.

The Malone Area limits for this study were defined through work performed in 1970 by Kjartan Magnusson, a University of Nebraska graduate student in geography. An area of seven by eight blocks, or 6,250,000 square feet is included. It is located six blocks east and two blocks north of the peak value intersection at 13th and O streets in the Central Business District of Lincoln.

The Negro population of the city has been concentrated in this area of Lincoln. The earliest black residents built small single-story frame homes and found employment through the local hotels and railroads. Employment in other businesses and the expansion of the University of Nebraska into Malone's western perimeter have influenced the recent relocation of many blacks in other areas of Lincoln.

LOCATION AND SPATIAL ASPECTS

External pressures are changing the land use pattern within the study area. The effects of the university's expansion can be noted on the map of Vacant Land. Note the solid contiguous pattern developing between W street on the north to R street on the south. That portion north of Vine street is terminated on 22nd street by Whittier Junior High (shown on map of Public and Semi-public Land). The area south of Vine street has some vacancy continuing across 22nd street to 23rd. The reason for limited expansion beyond 23rd street can be seen by comparing the lot sizes on
either side of that street. The smaller lots west of 23rd street support smaller single-family dwellings which, due to age, have deteriorated or become dilapidated and, therefore, are subject to purchase for land acquisition.

A second external pressure is being brought upon these homeowners and businessmen by the city of Lincoln. A proposed diagonal access to the northeast part of the city is to be built between 20th and 22nd streets from Q street on the south through to Y street on the north. The map of Vacant Land shows this proposed route. The immediate purchase of all of the land necessary for this road is not possible due to the lack of funds available in the city treasury. The relocation of Cushman Motors is the most conspicuous aspect of the problem.

The noticeable absence of retail food stores, service stations, offices, financial centers, or new clothing outlets within the Malone Area indicates a lack of internal attraction for residents. All of these nonresidential land uses are located immediately outside of the study area. The primary cohesive influence for the remaining residents is the church. (see map of Public and semi-public Land) This was revealed in a survey of the churches and through a discussion with Gerald Henderson, Human Rights Officer of the City Planning Department.

**TYPES OF LAND USE**

The Malone Area contains two basic types of land use, residential and nonresidential. Together they represent 5,275,544 square feet of land surface area. The difference between the total area of 6,250,000 square feet and the 5,275,544 square feet figure is comprised of sidewalks,
alleys, streets, and railroad right-of-ways. All calculations for the percentages listed were based on the 5,275,544 figure. The map of Residential Land includes 50.8 percent of the total land use. Notably, this land use is located in the eastern half of the study area.

The nonresidential land use area comprises almost half of the Malone Area (49.2 per cent). The two major types of such land use are commercial-industrial (20.87 per cent) and vacant land (21.16 per cent). A third component is public and semi-public land (7.17 per cent). The distribution of these uses is shown on the maps and indicates the predominance of these land uses in the western portion of the area. One business (Cushman Motors) and one institution (Whittier Junior High School) dominate the northwestern and north central portions of the area. (see table of Non-residential Land Use) Cushman Motors, a firm manufacturing small vehicles, accounts for over one-half of the total commercial-industrial land use category. The remaining commercial-industrial land is occupied

### NON-RESIDENTIAL LAND USE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TYPE OF LAND USE</th>
<th>NUMBER OF ENTERPRISES</th>
<th>LAND USE</th>
<th>TOTALS</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Commercial-Industrial</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retail Supply</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>297,100</td>
<td>5.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>27,000</td>
<td>0.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>166,500</td>
<td>3.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Light Mfg.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>610,225</td>
<td>11.56</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semi-Public</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Whittier School</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>243,250</td>
<td>4.62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Center</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15,625</td>
<td>0.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Churches</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>56,875</td>
<td>1.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Playgrounds</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>62,500</td>
<td>1.19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vacant Land</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>1,116,624</td>
<td>378,250</td>
<td>7.17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Lumber yard-3, Car dealers-3, Cabinet shop-1, Used furniture-1, Locker plant-1, Sheet metal shop-1, Scrap metal yard-1.

Automotive repair-4, Barber shop-1.
by 19 firms engaged in retail sales, services, and construction.

The 11 retail supply businesses are located in the southwest portion of Malone except for a lumber yard that is found near Cushman to the north. In this southwest cluster are found two lumber yards, three used-car dealers, a used furniture dealer, a cabinet shop, a locker plant, a sheet metal shop, and a scrap metal yard. These businesses depend mostly on street traffic although the lumber yards use the railroad.

The services--primarily automotive repair--are located exclusively on the southern edge of the study area on or between Q and R streets. Q street is a one-way arterial carrying traffic toward the CBD. Only one new car dealer was located within the Malone Area, and he relocated near the CBD in late 1971. The location of these repair services near the main arterial of Q street, two blocks south of the study area, cannot be discounted.

The construction category--comprising mostly contract firms--is located exclusively on the northern fringe of the study area adjacent to, and served by, the Missouri Pacific railroad. These firms (see table of Land Use) receive over one half of their goods via rail and, therefore, make use of railroad sidings more than any other land use group.

The largest category in terms of area is light manufacturing which comprises only one firm--Cushman Motors.¹ This firm manufactures small vehicles and includes over one half of the total area of commercial and industrial land in Malone. Transportation of raw materials for the company has

¹Owing to the establishment of an arbitrary northern boundary for the Malone Area at Y street, a few commercial and industrial establishments are not included in this study although they are a part of these land use categories.
shifted in part from rail to truck, and this is also true for distribution of the finished product. This industry employs over 700 people and is the largest source of jobs within the study area. As is the case with the other businesses, the employees are drawn from areas outside of the Malone Area. Question No. 6 of the questionnaire (see Appendix) supports this statement. The original factors contributing to the location of Cushman Motors are not known except that the original assembly area is included in the present complex.

Vacant lots comprise 21.16 per cent of the total land use within the study area. (see map of Vacant Land) Such land is included in this study since it is typical of the transition presently occurring within the Malone Area. As homes are razed some land is put into use, especially for new apartments, but most of it remains vacant, apparently intended for future University use or as the site of the proposed Northeast Diagonal.

Public and Semi-Public Land Uses were studied to determine their part in the Malone Area. (see map of Public and Semi-Public Land) Collectively this type of land use comprises 7.17 per cent of the area with Whittier School occupying about two-thirds of the total space. Whittier Junior High is the only school within the Malone Area drawing students from within the area and outside as well. This school plus the churches are the primary catalysts within the area which attract people from outside. The Missouri Pacific railroad serves as a boundary for elementary students: those students residing south of it attend Elliott Elementary School, located outside Malone on 24th street, four blocks south of Q street; those children living north of the tracks attend Clinton Elementary School, also
located outside the Malone Area four blocks north of Y street and three blocks east of 26th street. The student enrollment of Whittier Junior High School has declined in recent years and reports exist that it may be phased out in the future. The students of the Malone Area attend Lincoln High School, located seven blocks south of Q street on 22nd street. The student population of the Malone Area, therefore, is forced to leave the area daily. This situation possibly can be viewed as a negative aspect, contributing to the instability of the area in general.

The Malone Community Center provides the socio-cultural functions for many residents within the study area plus residents from those areas adjacent to the northern boundary. However, this Center lies in the path of the proposed Northeast Diagonal mentioned earlier. (see map of Vacant Land) The city will soon have to choose whether to continue land acquisitions and relocate the community center or to abandon the project.

Playgrounds also comprise public land use and account for .0119 per cent of the land use area. The three playgrounds presently located in the Malone Area have been constructed within the last five years on land owned by either the city or the university. However, they are poorly located for use by residents within the area. (compare the playgrounds shown on the map of Public and Semi-Public Land with the map of Residential Land) Furthermore, if the proposed diagonal is constructed, it will sever the playgrounds from the majority of the residents in the area. Justifying the money allocated for the construction of these playgrounds might well be questioned if the expense is to be lost by construction of the diagonal.

Churches are included as a semi-public land use and comprise
less than one per cent of the area. (see map of Public and Semi-Public Land)

No churches are located north of Vine street within the Malone Area. Most of them have been located at their present sites for more than 20 years. (see Question No. 6 of Appendix) The churches act as a limited cohesive influence upon the Malone Area since congregations are, for the most part, made up of people located outside of the boundaries of this study. (see Question No. 3 of Appendix)

CONCLUSION

The Malone Area is unquestionably a zone of land use in transition due to the many physical changes presently occurring there. The number of single-family units is declining whereas the number of commercial-industrial units is stabilizing at its present level. A labor force once attributed to the Malone Area no longer plays a role in the attraction of business. The gradual dispersion of the black population throughout the city has had some affect on the Malone Area; in many cases, houses occupied by these people are being razed, permitting the land to be used as new multi-family housing or to remain vacant until used by the university for its expansion or by the city for the proposed diagonal.

Another conclusion drawn by this study indicates that local businesses are not going to leave voluntarily. These businesses appreciate their location with respect to their market or service area and are not inclined to abandon their sites. Question No. 1 of the survey shows that 15 of the 20 businesses have been located at their present address for more than 11 years.

The future of Malone will be decided by its largest land area
occupant—Cushman Motors. If Cushman leaves the area it will herald the approach of either the University or the city. Either of these two outside forces can, upon entering, drastically change over one-third of the total Malone Area or that portion west of 22nd street.

The prevalent attitude on the part of residents of the area appears to be caution mixed with optimism.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


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Murphy, Raymond E. and Vance, James E. Jr., "Delimiting the CBD," Economic Geography, 30 (1954), 189-222.


APPENDIX

Questionnaire for Businesses of Malone Area

How many years has this business been located at its present address?  
2 1-5, 3 6-10, 5 11-15, 1 16-20, 9 21 or more.  
If less than 10 years please list former address outside 2 NA 1.  

Which describes the ownership of this building (s) and/or land?  
12 owned, 7 lease or rent.  
If lease or rent is marked please list the owner's name and address  
local 4, out of state 2, NA 1.  

What type of transportation does this business require?  If more than  
one type is marked please check the approximate percentage. The  
columns headed by IN and OUT refer to goods or services.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IN</th>
<th>OUT</th>
<th>Pedestrian</th>
<th>1-20%</th>
<th>21-40%</th>
<th>41-60%</th>
<th>61-80%</th>
<th>81-100%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1 2</td>
<td>1 1</td>
<td>______</td>
<td>______</td>
<td>______</td>
<td>______</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>______</td>
<td>______</td>
<td>______</td>
<td>3 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2 1</td>
<td>1 2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9 10</td>
<td>______</td>
<td>______</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1 1</td>
<td>1 1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>______</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>______</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>______</td>
<td>______</td>
<td>______</td>
<td>______</td>
<td>______</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

How many people are employed at this business address?  
8 1-5, 4 6-10, 3 11-20, 3 21-50, 2 51 or more.  

What factor(s) influenced the location of this business in this area?  
5 railroad  
7 nearness to Lincoln's business district  
2 nearness to labor force  
14 other (please explain) location 11, zoning 1, low rent 1, NA 1.
What percentage (estimated) of the total labor force resides within the areas outlined?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A.</th>
<th>B.</th>
<th>C.</th>
<th>D.</th>
<th>E.</th>
<th>F.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-20%</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21-40%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41-60%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61-80%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81-100%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

What is the nature of this business. What product or service does it provide? Mfg. Retail supply-service 11+5=16. Construction 3.

Comments regarding the above questions.
NA 15, Zone change 1, Product promotion 1.

Do you want a copy of the results of this questionnaire? Yes No.
Address ____________________________
____________________________
____________________________
____________________________

-XIII-
Questionnaire for Churches of the Malone Area

What generalizations can be made regarding the membership of your congregation since 1951?

4 continuous increase, 1 increase, stabilize, decrease,
1 stabilize, decrease, ___ continuous decrease,
2 other (please explain) new since 1951 2.

Can you relate the generalization checked above to migration of the residents either into or out of the area bounded by 19th to 26th and Q to Y? 2 Yes 5 No. NA 1.

What percent of the congregation lives within the area bounded by 19th to 26th and Q to Y?

1 1-20%, 3 21-40%, 4 41-60%, 1 61-80%, 8 81-100%. NA 1.

Does your congregation plan to relocate the church building?

2 Yes 5 No. If yes, when? 2 1-5 years, 6 6-10 years, 1 unknown.

Comments regarding the above questions.

New location 9-6-70, to relocate within study area, new congregation since 1962.

Do you want a copy of the results of this questionnaire? 6 Yes 2 No.

Address ____________________________________
_________________________________________________________________
_________________________________________________________________
_________________________________________________________________

-XIV-
Socio-economic profiles of the Malone area
Rodney W. Schulling

Introduction

The purpose of this report is to analyze geographically the socio-economic characteristics of a portion of Lincoln, Nebraska known locally as the Malone Area. The area is bounded on the south by Q street, on the north by Y street, on the west by 19th street, and on the east by 26th street. The fact that Census Tract 7 corresponds quite closely to this area facilitates the use of available data.  

This analysis of socio-economic characteristics in Malone is carried out by asking three questions:

1) Is the Malone Area a community, a neighborhood area, or neither?
2) Is the Malone Area a slum?
3) Is the Malone Area a ghetto?

In searching for the answers to these questions, many of the important socio-economic characteristics of the area will be touched upon.

General Information

The section constitutes a general introduction to the population of the Malone Area. More specific population information is presented in

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\(^1\) Census Tract 7 is bounded on the west by the Rock Island Railroad, on the north by the Missouri Pacific Railroad, on the east by 27th street, and on the south by Q street.
subsequent sections. The statistics used in this paper, unless otherwise indicated, were derived from U. S. Census data for 1960 and 1970.

In 1970, there were 1,932 people living in the Malone Area as compared with 3,332 for 1960. The map of Population Distribution for 1960 and 1970 shows the pattern by enumeration districts within Census Tract 7 for 1960 and 1970. It is noted that population decline occurred in all districts but that the greatest percentage of decline is found in the west--E. D. 79.

A graph of Population Characteristics of the Malone Area for 1970 is shown and compared with the Lincoln-Lancaster County population graph for 1970 showing the same characteristics. It will be noted that the Lincoln population structure is more "pyramidal." Both populations show decided "bulges" in the 15 - 24 age group. This group is proportionately much greater in Malone than in the SMSA, however, since it represents about 33.8 per cent of the total population of the area. Also the male/female ratio in this age group is much higher in Malone as compared with Lincoln. Such a situation may reflect students (predominately males) living off campus in the Malone Area.

Another group that is perhaps over-represented in Malone as compared to the SMSA is that composed of persons 65 years old and over, who comprise about 14.0 per cent of the area population. This is the second largest group so that together with 15-24 year-olds they comprise close to half (about 47.8 per cent) of the Malone Area's total population. As would be expected, women are better represented in this age group in both Malone and the SMSA.

Another comparison which cannot escape notice is the very much
MALONE AREA: POPULATION DISTRIBUTION, 1960 AND 1970

1970 Population

Scale in Feet

9
MALONE AREA:
POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS, 1960

MALE AGE FEMALE

Non white

White

Negro

White and other Non white

MALONE AREA:
POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS, 1970

MALE AGE FEMALE
larger proportion of Negroes in Malone as compared with the County. This
is the subject of one of the later sections.

In summary, the population of the Malone Area is characterized
by large groups of adolescents or young adults and elderly persons, with
the former being by far the most numerous and representing slightly over a
third of the total population of the Area. Negroes are greatly over-
represented in the population as compared to their proportion in the popula-
tion of the SMSA.

IS THE MALONE AREA A COMMUNITY, A NEIGHBORHOOD,
OR NEITHER?

A crucial problem in answering this question—as it will be in
answering similar questions in later sections of this study—is the defini-
tion of terms. In this case the terms "community" and "neighborhood" are
involved. It appears that these terms often are used synonymously and fre-
quently with little regard for a "tight" definition. Most people use the
word "neighborhood" in their day-to-day conversation but are probably
referring to a variety of spatial units ranging from the block on which
they live to an unbounded area which they identify as their intimate
residential area.

For present purposes, it has been decided that this terminol-
yogy refers to phenomena which are most properly described in sociological
terms, although the context is certainly areal. Therefore, a reputable
standard of common sociological usage was sought and Theodorson and Theodor-
son's A Modern Dictionary of Sociology was chosen. (1969) The sociologi-
cally preferred definition, then, of the term "community" according to this
A concentrated settlement of people in a limited territorial area, within which they satisfy many of their daily needs through a system of interdependent relationships. A community is a self-conscious social unit and a focus of group identification. Although a community forms a local geographic and economic unit, providing many of the primary goods and services for its inhabitants, it is not necessarily a political entity, as it is not necessarily contained within or defined by legal boundaries, such as those of a city or town. Community also implies a certain identification of the inhabitants with the geographic area, and with each other, a feeling of sharing common interests and goals, a certain amount of mutual cooperation, and an awareness of the existence of the community in both its inhabitants and those in the surrounding area. For this reason a metropolitan area, which forms an economic and ecological unit is not necessarily on that basis alone a community. On the other hand, a suburb, which is not economically independent, may, if it meets the criteria given above, be regarded as a community. (Theodorson, 1969, 63-64)

The preferred definition of "neighborhood" is:

A small territorial unit, usually a subdivision of a larger community, in which there is some sense of local unity or identity. Because the neighborhood is small, contacts are face to face, and many relationships tend to be primary, that is, close and enduring. However, according to this definition, a neighborhood also includes families that have little if any interaction with each other. The neighborhood usually provides essential services for the local residents. (Theodorson, 273)

Can, then the Malone Area as herein defined be considered either a neighborhood or a community, or possibly both? Intuitively it seems that the size of the study area precludes its consideration as one neighborhood unit as it hardly seems "small" enough to be bound together by face to face relationships. The population is racially heterogeneous with over 30 per cent of its population non-white, and, furthermore, apparently has been segregated or at least racially sorted as indicated by the maps Malone Racial Distribution-1970 and Malone Ghettolet-1960. Finally, the area is deficient in even low-order "necessity" goods and services, i.e., there is
no elementary school, and many other "basic" goods and services such as grocery stores are lacking.

On the other hand, there is a junior high school in the area and there is also a used-clothing distribution center and a store dealing in miscellaneous used articles. There are playgrounds and, significantly, there are churches. (see map of Elements of the Malone Neighborhood)

Gerald Henderson, Lincoln Human Rights Officer, has stated that Malone has been a stable "neighborhood" in the past. He described this "neighborhood" as cohesive around the churches of the area. To pursue this point, a list of the churches along with an estimated percentage of the membership of each who in 1971 lived in the area is presented:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHURCH NAME</th>
<th>Estimate % of Members Living in Malone Area</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. St. John Baptist Church</td>
<td>21 - 40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Angelic Temple Church of God in Christ (store-front church)</td>
<td>61 - 80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Bethel Apostolic Church</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Christ Temple Church (interdenominational)</td>
<td>1 - 20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Allen Chapel</td>
<td>21 - 40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Newman United Methodist</td>
<td>21 - 40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Unidentified church at 23rd &amp; T Sts.</td>
<td>1 - 20%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Information provided by survey of Frank Pratt.

1This and subsequent information associated with his name came from several interviews with Gerald Henderson.

2The area referred to here lies between 19th and 26th Streets and between Q and Y Streets.
From this table it can be seen that only the Angelic Church (store-front) seems to draw more than one-half of its members from the study area. Perhaps the percentages have been lowered by the exodus of former residents of the area (resulting from land acquisition policies) who still return to their old churches. Certainly churches can be foci of neighborhood or perhaps community relationships but it is apparent that not all of the Malone churches can be closely identified with local residents.

The study area, or perhaps an area approximating it, has acquired the names "Malone" and "T Town" at some time in its history. Such names seemingly imply local and outside recognition of the existence of a community. The social heart of the area is the Malone Community Center, a settlement house first built in 1941 at 20th and U Streets and now located on T Street between 20th and 22nd Streets. Services offered by the Center include not only a day-care facility and educational programs for age groups from kindergarten to young adult but also a Black Culture library. The presence of such a facility is an important indicator of community identity.

Testimony to at least some identification with a part of this area is given by the following quotations from residents contacted by a group from the School of Social Work at the University of Nebraska in the course of a research project in the area (Altemeyer, et al., 1968):2

An elderly couple: "Our friends and ties were there."

An unidentified source: "We won't go if we don't have to. This is our home . . . When you've lived next to someone for fifteen years, if you move, you're not neighbors anymore. It changes."

1 Interview with Mrs. Frieda Knott, Secretary, Malone Community Center.
2 The Malone Area for this project was bounded by 19th and 23rd Streets, and R and W Streets.
Another unidentified source: "To me, this is an original neighborhood. It's kind of hard to leave. My relatives live here..." (the respondent goes on to note the changes occurring saying that it's like a different neighborhood.)

There is also—or at least there recently has been—an organization known as the Malone Area Neighborhood Council, "which is composed of representatives of the Malone Area interested in community betterment." (Altemeyer, 1968, 59)

In balance, then, on the basis of this tentative investigation, there are indications here of the existence of certain community relationships within the study area. The total area, however, as defined arbitrarily in this study, would not seem to have characteristics consistent with the above definition of a community. It seems probable—and there is some subjective evidence to this effect—that there is a neighborhood or perhaps several neighborhoods within this area, though no attempt has been made here to outline them. However, the study area as such can apparently not be considered as one neighborhood unit.

IS THE MALONE AREA A SLUM?

The stimulus for this question is in part the obvious deterioration one sees in the Malone Area, particularly in the western portion. There appears to be also a prevalent impression among Lincolnites that if the city has a slum, this is it. According to the following report, however, this state of affairs has not always characterized the area (Altemeyer, 1968, 53):

... Its (the Malone Area's) origin goes back to the earliest residential developments of the city. It was once an attractive area with well-kept and painted houses, flower gardens, picket fences, friendly neighbors, and represented a most fashionable
residential area. Now it has become an area that some residents themselves consider deteriorated and no longer a desirable residential area.

A word of caution is appropriate here against generalizing the worst conditions of the area for the entire area, since even a cursory look reveals that conditions in the western part of the area are much worse than in the eastern. Eric Hoiberg, in his Master's thesis dealing with social stratification patterns in Lincoln, asserts that social status is a continuous phenomenon that is not amenable to strict regionalization with definite boundaries between the various strata (Hoiberg, 1969). The application of this observation here is that social characteristics of the Malone Area should not be assumed to be homogeneous in nature.

So it seems the Malone Area has seen better days, but that perhaps a certain portion is in worse condition than the rest. If this is true, perhaps the question asked above should be modified by adding "or might part of the Malone Area be a slum?"

What is a Slum?

"Slum" is one of those terms that is vaguely defined as it is difficult to find words to fit all variations of this phenomenon. As John Seeley has observed, a slum condition is defined relative to a particular society's values and is dependent upon the relative wealth of the "haves" and the relative poverty of the "have-nots". (Seeley, 1970, 2)

A definition of a slum offered by the Lincoln City and Lancaster County Planning Department is as follows ("A Neighborhood Analysis of Lincoln, Nebraska, 1968, 2):

A slum implies an extreme condition of blight in which housing and general physical environment are so deteriorated as to constitute a menace to health, safety, and morals of the inhabitants of the area.
This definition requires an understanding of the term "blight," which is defined by Webster as "... anything that destroys, prevents growth, etc. a person or thing that withers the hopes or ambitions of another person" since the slum condition is a relative one, any decision as to whether an area is a slum or not would tend to be rather subjective.

Queen and Carpenter (1953, 170) provide a geographical orientation to the term slum:

Surrounding the central Business District of the typical American city is a zone of deterioration. Its existence is due primarily to the expansion of commerce and industry and secondarily to the slowing down of this expansion.

The Malone Area is of course on the edge of Lincoln's CBD and the process of deterioration seems to fit the general pattern described by Queen and Carpenter (1953, 105):

If the period between the first invasion of an old residential district and its complete occupation by commerce and industry is not too long, this general procedure (a former owner holding on to and renting property he hopes to sell for business or industry use) serves a useful purpose for both landlord and tenant. But if the growth of the city is slower than was anticipated, or if the developing sub-centers absorb some of the expansion which might otherwise have occurred near the Central Business District, then the delay may be very great. When the time runs to twenty, thirty, or forty years, deterioration becomes quite marked.

This process seems quite plausible in the case of Malone but we shall look at some more specific characteristics of a blighted-slum area before we decide if the Malone Area, or some part of it, is either blighted or a slum.

The general procedure in this analysis will be to measure the Malone Area against a set of characteristics of a blighted area as presented in Queen and Carpenter's book, The American City, and supplemented by other characteristics and data as given in the report issued by the City-County Planning
Since another part of this overall study deals specifically with housing conditions, only brief reference is made to the physical characteristics of blight, which focus for the most part on the conditions of housing in the area.

The City-County Planning Department study referred to above lists three physical characteristics of a blighted "neighborhood" (their term): (1) poor housing, (2) overcrowded living conditions, and (3) inadequate public facilities. A map of housing conditions in a separate study in this same publication illustrates the poor quality housing in the area west of 23rd Street. However, a program of housing demolition exists which will remove some of the poor structures, and there has been some new construction of apartment buildings and fraternity houses. The new structures going up in the area provide an indication of trends there.

The second characteristic of blight is overcrowding. The Planning Department study refers to the presence of small lots in the area, a condition which is peculiar to the area west of 23rd Street. Small lots might encourage such densities but the changes through demolition may negate the effects. Census data illustrate reduced densities for in 1970, only 5.7 per cent of the occupied housing units of the area had more than one person per room as compared with 12.9 per cent in 1960. The recent figure does not seem to be unusually high since the 1960 figure for the city as a whole was 7.3 per cent. These observations lead one to believe that the Malone Area probably is not seriously overcrowded.

The third factor in blight is inadequate public facilities. The Planning Department study of 1968 ("A Neighborhood Analysis") rated only two
community facilities--storm sewers and incompatible land uses--as being "very significant" deficiencies in the Malone Area. The lack of an elementary school and other facilities often associated with a neighborhood might be considered as contributing to the inadequacy of the area in this regard. An early assumption of planning philosophy was that the physical environment has an almost deterministic influence over social behaviour, i.e., a poor environment breeds social problems and a pleasant environment reduces them. However, the City-County Planning Department has stated ("A Neighborhood Analysis," 1968, 14):

It cannot be said that blighted areas are the cause of our social problems. The clearance of such areas have not, in the past, eradicated social problems. Similarly, a low economic characteristic in a neighborhood does not in itself constitute or cause blight.

Balance this statement with the following opinion (Schorr, 1970, 725):

The following effects may spring from poor housing: a perception of one's self that leads to pessimism and passivity, stress to which the individual cannot adapt, poor health, and a state of dissatisfaction; pleasure in company but not in solitude, cynicism about people and organizations; a high degree of sexual stimulation without legitimate outlet, and difficulty in household management and child rearing; and relationships that tend to spread out in the neighborhood rather than deeply into the family. Most of these effects, in turn, place obstacles in the path of improving one's financial circumstances.

Whether or not physical and social blight are causally related, the two together do seem to characterize slum or blighted conditions; therefore, it is logical to ask if the Malone Area exhibits a pattern of socio-economic characteristics that conforms to what Queen and Carpenter describe as a blighted-slum area.

**Economic Characteristics**

The Malone Area is not a typical absentee-landlord slum--if, indeed it is a slum. In 1970, 28.3 per cent of the housing units of the area were owner-occupied while the figure for 1960 was 39.7 per cent. It also appears that
the Malone Area has not represented a speculative market. The mean value of all owner-occupied and vacant-for-sale units in 1970 was about $6,878, which is rather low. The mean-monthly contract rent for all renter-occupied units (except those involving no cost rent) was $85+; however, this figure is distorted upwards a bit by 32 units out of a total of 456 renter occupied units renting for between $200 and $299 and 13 units renting for $150 - $199. The modal class accounting for 162 units was $60 - $79 per month and units renting for between $40 and $79 per month accounted for 275 of the total renter-occupied units, or well over half of them. Most of the property in the area, therefore, is not bringing high rent, a pattern which conforms somewhat to that of a blighted area. It is significant, however, that there are high-rent units in the area--apparently new apartments--as all of the units renting for $150 or more are in Enumeration District 78 where new apartment buildings have been constructed. This represents either an anomaly or indicates a transition in the use of the area.

A second economic characteristic has to do with income. In 1959, the median family income for the Malone Area was $4,003 per annum compared to $5,798 for the SMSA. A 1968 study (Altemeyer, et al., 15) showed that a sample of persons drawn from the area between 19th and 23rd and R and Vine Streets had the following income characteristics:

Government programs ............... 11 persons (20 per cent of the sample)
Less than $2,000 per year ............. 5 persons (or 10 per cent)
$2,100 to $5,000 per year ............. 22 persons (or 40 per cent)
$5,100 to $10,000 per year ............. 10 persons (or 19 per cent)
Income not revealed ................. 6 persons (or 11 per cent)
Families and individuals on relief are characteristic of blighted areas. Presumably some of those on "government programs" above would fall into this category. In 1960, Census Tract 7 had the highest rate of welfare recipients in the city with 139.4 families per 1,000 on relief compared to a rate of 31.9/1,000 for the city. The Malone Area also had the highest rate of unemployment in the city in 1960 with 6.83 per cent of the area's labor force out of work as compared to 3.46 per cent for the city ("A Neighborhood Analysis," 1968, Appendices C-1 and C-2). Low income is often reflected in poor property maintenance which will contribute to blight.

**Demographic Characteristics**

Blighted areas often exhibit patterns of declining population. This pattern may be due to demolition, but more often, according to Queen and Carpenter, it results from centrifugal flight for other reasons. While it is true that the population of Malone dropped drastically between 1960 and 1970 -- from 3,332 to 1,932 -- this is probably explained more by an intensified land acquisition program (by both city and university) than by centrifugal flight alone. Henderson's characterization of the area as a stable neighborhood with a rather high rate of home ownership seems to negate the latter explanation. Were the planned development of the area to be delayed seriously or called off, this acquisition program might well be a major cause of serious blight as it is driving out the inhabitants and disrupting the stability of the area.

The population density of a blighted area is supposed to be high but as we have seen earlier this is not the case in Malone.
Another demographic characteristic of blighted areas is heterogeneity of population. This probably applies to the Malone Area taken as a whole with its relatively large Negro segment in a predominantly white area. Negroes, however, predominate in the area of E.D. 79 only.

The population of Malone is rather mobile. The following table showing a high number of people moving into buildings in the area during the most recent period might indicate such mobility:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PERIOD</th>
<th>NUMBER OF PRESENTLY OCCUPIED UNITS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1958-1960</td>
<td>483</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954-1957</td>
<td>188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940-1953</td>
<td>313</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1939 or earlier</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


However, the table also indicates a fairly large proportion of the structures have been occupied by the same residents since 1939 or earlier.

In opposition to this view of a slum as an area of high mobility and transience is an article by Marc Fried and Peggy Gleicher (1970, 742-743) which indicates that slum people do not like to relocate for two major reasons:

On the one hand, the residential area is the region in which a vast and interlocking set of social networks is localized. And, on the other, the physical area has considerable meaning as an extension of home, in which various parts are delineated and structured on the basis of a sense of belonging.

There is evidence from the relocation study carried out in 1968 by graduate students from the School of Social Work that this identification with the area exists. (see section above dealing with the "neighborhood" question)
Queen and Carpenter (1953, 174) attribute the following age-sex-marital status characteristics to residents of blighted areas:

... a high sex ratio (many more males than females); a small percentage of children; many old men but a predominance of young unmarried adults.

It is possible to compare this situation with that of Malone. In 1970, there were 1,032 males of all ages and 900 females in the area - certainly not a high sex ratio. Only 18% per cent of the population was 14 years old or younger as compared to something over 25 per cent for the county, so that children are somewhat under-represented in the area. Judging from the graphs of Population Characteristics from 1960 and 1970, old men seem to be less over-represented in the area now than in the past. Finally, 41% per cent of the population over the age of 14 had never been married; this figure is not restricted to "young" adults and it does not include those divorced, widowed or separated, but should give an indication—together with the Malone Area population graph for 1970, which shows a bulge in the 15-24 age group—that there may be a tendency in the area toward a predominance of young unmarried adults. ¹

High morbidity and mortality rates are characteristics of urban blighted areas with the incidence of tuberculosis and venereal disease especially high according to the Lincoln-Lancaster County Health Department. The infant mortality rate in the area during the 1960-64 period was a high 45/1000 declining to 24/1000 during the 1964-68 period, indicating an improvement in the situation. Venereal disease also seems to have been a problem in the area while in 1960 the Malone Area had the second highest incidence of tuberculosis in the city.

¹The large number of young unmarried adults may be partially a result of university students living in the area.
**Social Characteristics**

The following table compiled from 1970 census data categorizes the residents of the Malone Area by type of household—all persons who occupy a housing unit—and non-household relationship, and compares the Malone Data with that for the Lincoln Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HOUSEHOLD RELATIONSHIP</th>
<th>NO. OF PERSONS</th>
<th>PER CENT OF POPULATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>MALONE</strong></td>
<td><strong>SMSA</strong></td>
<td><strong>MALONE</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Head of husband/wife household</td>
<td>277</td>
<td>(37,484)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Family male head of household other than husband</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Wife of head of household</td>
<td>277</td>
<td>36,682</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Family female head of household</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>3,442</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Other relative of head of household</td>
<td>576</td>
<td>60,842</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Non-relative of head of household (includes roomers, boarders, or lodgers)</td>
<td>253</td>
<td>4,566</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Primary male (head of household living alone or with non-relatives only)</td>
<td>193</td>
<td>(12,986)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Primary female</td>
<td>151</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Inmate of an institution, i.e. a place where care or custody is provided*</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>2,874</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Others in group quarters (includes rooming houses, college dorms, etc., residents are not household members)</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>9,096</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTALS</strong></td>
<td><strong>1,932</strong></td>
<td><strong>167,972</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*These institution inmates are all in E.D. 80 and are probably all residents of the rest home in that district.*
Large numbers of detached individuals are characteristic of blighted areas. Perhaps all those persons in categories 6 through 10 in the above table could be classified as "detached" individuals as they were all living with non-relatives. In all of these categories except the tenth—"others in group quarters"—the Malone Area was over-represented relative to the SMSA. The sum of these five categories represented 36.58 per cent of the area's population compared with 17.56 per cent for the SMSA.

Families in blighted areas are typically fewer in number and Negro families are usually small and often broken. White families have few or no children, divorce and desertion are common, and both husband and wife often work. Some of this is indicated in the Malone Area by the table, e.g., there are relatively fewer family male household heads and wives of heads, but twice the SMSA average percentage of households with family female heads. In 1970, there were 154 divorced or separated persons in Malone representing 7+ per cent of the population.

Queen and Carpenter (1953, 176) describe the "types" of people to be found in the typical blighted area as follows:

The human types represented in the blighted area have been suggested in naming some of the occupations; they include day laborers, domestic servants, clerks, waitresses, artists, young men and women who are just starting out for themselves, perennial failures, those who have seen better days, hoboes (men who wander and work), bums (men who neither wander nor work), Bohemians (people who 'like to wear bow ties and expose themselves to temptation'), prostitutes, drug addicts, homosexuals, 'ward healers,' old residents in the city, and recent arrivals from rural America or Europe.

It shall be left to the reader and his personal acquaintance with the area to decide if this description applies at all to the Malone Area.

Queen and Carpenter mention gangs thriving in blighted areas. Gang activity is not well known in the Malone Area, if there is any at all, but the area is very small as compared to the slums of the large cities. However, a
newspaper report (Lincoln Journal, April 28, 1969) indicates crime is prevalent in this part of the city. This report is concerned with violent crime of four types -- murder, aggravated assault, robbery, and rape -- committed within 10 districts used by the City Police Department during the years 1964 through 1968. The district which includes the Malone Area was No. 4 and was bounded by Superior Street, R Street, 17th Street, and 33rd Street. District Four led in all four of the crime categories as follows: murders - 36 per cent or 4 of the 11 that occurred during the study period; aggravated assault - 25.2 per cent or 110 of the 437 total instances; robbery - 24.3 per cent or 18 of 74; and rape - 27.3 per cent or 24 of 88 cases. Combined with district 5, which is essentially Lincoln's CBD bounded by R Street-K Street-9th and 33rd streets, the two districts account for 45 per cent of all murders, 47 per cent of all aggravated assaults, 45.9 per cent of all robberies, and 50.1 per cent of all rapes which occurred in the city during the study period. Of course these figures are for a period in the 1960's and the situation now may be different.

In 1960, of all people in Census Tract 7 that were 25 years of age and older, 59.2 per cent or 1,069 persons had not completed high school, thereby ranking the area 4th highest in this category in the city ("A Neighborhood Analysis," Appendix C-1).

Finally, Queen and Carpenter define three types of local institutions characteristic of blighted areas: older ones such as churches or schools, spontaneous ones such as second-hand stores, and those which are designed to combat the problems, such as missions. Of these three types, only a few are represented in the Malone Area, specifically churches, junior high school, second-hand store, used-clothing distribution center, and the Malone
Queen and Carpenter (1953, 178) conclude their discussion of the characteristics of blight with a comment on social disorganization that is present in a blighted area—"The essence of the disorganization is that there is no 'consensus,' the people do not have common goals nor have they learned to work together." The City-County Planning Department in a study of neighborhoods, (1968, 41) indicates,  

... that while the people of the Malone Area have the desire to improve their neighborhood conditions, socially and economically they have limited capability with which to do it alone ...  

This report also states that Lincoln has no slums as such although some neighborhoods or parts of neighborhoods suffer blight.

One concludes that the Malone Area is not a slum in the traditional and extreme sense of the word. Perhaps it is too small or is located in a city that is too small to really develop a slum as such. One might characterize it as possessing some signs of blight. It is interesting to note that Eric Hoiberg (1969) mapped Lincoln's social stratification pattern using an isoline technique consistent with his view that social class is a continuous phenomenon, and in so doing he drew one of his isolines generally north-south through the approximate center of the Malone Area as defined here with the higher values of social class to the east of the line and lower values to the west. The writer agrees with this characterization as he feels it accurately reflects the more seriously blighted conditions in the west side of the Malone Area as against the better conditions to the east.
IS THE MALONE AREA A Ghetto?

The map Racial Distribution, Lincoln SMSA for 1970 shows that Census Tract 7 has by far the highest proportion (27.79 per cent) of Negroes in its population of any of the census tracts in the Lincoln SMSA with the exception of the State Penitentiary. The tract includes 537 Negroes or 24.24 per cent of the total 2,432 Negro residents of Lancaster County. At that, this figure represents a decline from 1960 when 1,125 Negroes lived in the Malone Area (Census Tract 7), representing 44.3 per cent of the county's total Negro population and accounting for 33.76 per cent of the population of Malone. Therefore, slightly more than a quarter of the Malone population was black in 1970.

What exactly constitutes a ghetto? Traditionally the term 'ghetto' was used to refer to the area of cities which housed the Jewish community and to which they were more or less restricted. More recently, however, it has taken on a more general meaning. Webster's New World Dictionary of the American Language (1964) gives the following as an alternate definition, "any section of a city in which many members of some national or racial group live, or to which they are restricted." Anthony Downs, in his book Urban Problems and Prospects (1970, 27), defines a ghetto as follows:

Historically, the word 'ghetto' meant an area in which a certain identifiable group was compelled to live. The word retains this meaning of geographic constraint, but now refers to two different kinds of constraining forces. In its racial sense, a ghetto is an area to which members of an ethnic minority, particularly Negroes, are residentially restricted by social, economic, and physical pressures from the rest of society. In this meaning, a ghetto can contain wealthy and middle-income residents as well as poor ones. In its economic sense, a ghetto is an area in which poor people are compelled to live because they cannot afford better accommodatations. In this meaning, a ghetto contains mainly poor people regardless of color.
LINCOLN: RACIAL DISTRIBUTION, 1960

Less than 1% Negro
1.0 - 1.9%
2.0% - 24.9%
25.0% and over
Not Considered

Proportion of SMSA Negro = 1.63%
Finally, Harold Rose, in his paper "The Origin and Pattern of Development of Urban Black Social Areas" (1969, 327) says that a ghetto, "... represents a social area or community occupied chiefly by persons of a single race and somewhat similar subcultural characteristics."

All of these definitions indicate that a ghetto can be defined at least in part on the basis of chief occupancy by a single race or ethnic group. Some would add the existence of some kind of constraint placed upon that group to remain there, and Rose states they should be of somewhat similar subcultural characteristics. With these common points of definition in mind, the Malone Area is examined as to whether or not it fits.

Looking at the map of Racial Distribution for 1970 (Census Tract 7) it is evident that Enumeration District 79 in 1970 had by far the greatest proportion of Negroes; in fact, they made up 71.2 per cent of the total population of that district. In looking at the distribution of Negroes by blocks within the area, it is necessary to resort to the 1960 census and be content to plot percentage of non-white occupants of housing units. The map entitled "The Malone Ghettolet - 1960" illustrates that Enumeration District 79 was also the core area of the non-white population in that year.

Rose distinguishes between a Northern and a Southern ghetto-forming pattern. In the South, land is set aside for Negro housing while in the North the black population replaces a white one in an area. Without definite historical information to verify that the latter is what happened in the Malone Area, it seems fairly safe to assume that it was. In the North, Rose suggests that the boundaries of the ghetto can be described by those blocks with a minimum of 40 per cent Negro households. This has been approximated on "The Malone Ghettolet - 1960," as indicated by a dashed line. It can be seen that the boundary so drawn runs generally along 23rd Street with some interruption.
The dashed lines indicate ways of smoothing out the boundary without stretching the rule very far. If data were available, this boundary could be superimposed on the 1970 E.D. pattern to refine the suggested ghetto outline for that year.

Therefore, part of the Malone Area conforms approximately to the criteria established by Rose. He says that the ghetto is often in a less desirable part of the city. The Malone Area qualifies in this case as well. Rose indicates, however, that a ghetto need not be also a slum or blighted area and that physical conditions cannot be used to delineate its boundaries. He states that poverty is not the basic factor explaining the existence of ghettos, but rather that Negroes are just "given" the poorer areas in town, which explains why residential quality is so often low in ghettos. The Malone "ghetto" is in the most blighted part of the Malone Area. The Northern ghetto usually has a transition zone between it and its neighbors composed of an area with 20-40 per cent Negro households, but the transition zone in the Malone Area appears to be more often 1-20 per cent. Black institutions are usually at the ghetto core and in Malone's case we find the Community Center right in the center. There are also churches in the area which probably serve the Negro community. On the other hand, the ghetto is supposed to be continually expanding, but we see a drastic decrease in the Negro population of Malone between 1960 and 1970. Rose also says the ghetto is stratified by income, resembles the community at large in internal structure, and notes other socio-cultural characteristics that one is not in a position to evaluate in the case of the Malone Area. Some of his criteria are probably more apropos of larger ghettos. Perhaps the term "ghettolet," which Rose introduces, would fit the Malone situation better.
The University expansion program calls for the acquisition of land as far as the Northeast Radial which is proposed to run essentially parallel to 22nd Street. This means that the acquisition that is going on is changing the area that might be considered a ghetto. Most of the displaced residents are moving to the east, some of them only as far as they need to for now. Black and white populations are declining sharply. The two Racial Distribution maps of Lincoln for 1960 and 1970 show that the percentage of Negroes in the populations of other census tracts is increasing. The Negro population of E.D.'s 77 and 78 (in Census Tract 7) is also increasing. (see map of housing occupancy by race)

One concludes that there is a "ghettolet" in the western part of the Malone Area. This pattern was most apparent in 1960 and, although it is still evident, seems to be changing as a result of the current land acquisition program. As a result, ghetto residents appear to be moving not only east into the areas of Enumeration Districts 77 and 78, but also to other parts of the city.

TRANSITION AND PROSPECTS

There is little doubt that the Malone Area as a zone-of-transition within Lincoln is undergoing profound changes. The University of Nebraska plans to acquire land in this area up to the proposed site of the Northeast Radial and the City of Lincoln will want additional land for the radial if and when its construction is approved. Meanwhile, the rate of land acquisition and the general possibility of a Radial are having effects on the present actions and future plans of the people of the area. People are moving away in anticipation that the land on which they live will be required for one or the other of these projects.

Land acquisition is already working to weaken elements which contribute
MALONE AREA:
PERCENTAGE NEGRO/NON WHITE HOUSING OCCUPANCY, 1960 AND 1970

69.0

23.5

28.5

11.8

15.9

4.6

19.9

% Non-white Occupied Housing Units 1960.
% Negro Occupied Housing Units 1970.
to the make-up of neighborhood characteristics. People are being uprooted and
the physical fibers of the neighborhood are being obliterated. Change of
land use could improve the physical conditions in the area by removing the
worst of the structures but demolition will probably not stop there. The ef-
facts of the changes on the population are startlingly clear through a compari-
on of the 1960 and 1970 population pyramids of the area. That for 1960 was
relatively "normal" whereas that for 1970 shows a tendency toward the unbal-
anced population typical of a blighted (and student) area, indicating that
changes in the area may actually be tending to deepen the blight—at least in
the interim. G. Henderson, Lincoln Human Rights Officer, stated that those
who can afford to move are doing so leaving those of poorer circumstances
behind. This also would tend to depress the area.

SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS

1. It is concluded that the Malone Area as defined here does not as a
whole represent either a community or neighborhood unit; however, there seems
to be evidence that there is a community or part of one within the area and
further that this might possibly be subdivided into neighborhoods.

2. The Malone Area, neither in part nor as a whole, is a slum, but is
blighted with the worse conditions existing in the west.

3. A distinct racial ghetto or ghettolet exists in the western part
of the Malone Area, but it is being destroyed and dispersed by the land
acquisition program now underway. The dispersal seems to have had the effect
of shrinking the ghetto while scattering its former residents more equitably
within the city.

4. The area defined for study here is not a homogeneous unit in any
way and probably should not be identified as such. Only the western part of
the area seems to be distinct in terms of social characteristics and that may only represent part of a larger whole.

5. The next few years will probably see a cycle of land acquisition, displacement, demolition, and eventual reconstruction. While the University will probably be no more disruptive with its new boundaries than it was with the old, a major thoroughfare such as the proposed Northeast Radial could have profound further effects on the area. Indeed, the present transition phase has already seen considerable change there.

6. The Malone Area—more precisely the western part of what has been referred to here as the Malone Area—might be called a blighted ghettolet community or part of one, which is being destroyed.
Altemeyer, Jean, Kimsey, Lawrence, McCain, Roger, and Miller, Max, The Experiences and Feelings of a Group of People in a Relocation Process (M.A. Research Project, School of Social Work, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Nebraska, May 1968).


U. S. Bureau of the Census. Lancaster County, Nebraska, First Count, Census Enumeration Districts, 1970. (computer run)


THE RESIDENTIAL CHARACTERISTICS
OF THE MALONE AREA
Boniface N. Madubom

INTRODUCTION

This study deals with the Malone area, an older district of Lincoln, Nebraska, bounded in the south by Q Street, on the north by Y Street, and on the west and east by 19th and 26th Streets, respectively. With the exception of a small portion between X and Y Streets, the whole area encompasses four census enumeration districts -- 77, 78, 79, and 80 -- and includes about 56 city blocks. Approximately one half of the area is used for residential purposes, and the characteristics of this housing represent the concern of this paper.

The information and data utilized in the study are taken mostly from the following sources:

U. S. Censuses for 1960 and 1970 (Population and Housing)
Lincoln City-Lancaster County Planning Department
Lincoln-Lancaster County Health Department
Field work by the writer

No interviews or questionnaires involving the residents of the area were carried out. The residents of this area have been subjected to many surveys of this type and therefore it was decided to avoid this approach. Furthermore, only the first count of the 1970 census was available, thereby limiting the data applicable to the study.
The main points emphasized in the study include residential characteristics such as quality of housing units, intensity of occupancy, value of units, types of house structure and their spatial distribution, areal housing differences between the four enumeration districts, and comparisons between the area and the rest of the city. Also stressed are some of the forces which influence the residential conditions of the Malone area. Some speculative comments, based on evaluations of data, are also made about prospects for the future.

RESIDENTIAL PATTERN

The accompanying map of Condition of Residential Structures clearly illustrates the distribution of the residential sections of Malone. The northwestern and southwestern sections have fewer residential land uses owing to the fact that parts of these areas are used for industrial, commercial, or public purposes. An increasing amount of vacant land is also a feature of the land use. The following table illustrates the great decrease in the population and the consequent reduction in the number of housing units between 1960 and 1970.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1960</th>
<th>1970</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Population</td>
<td>3,332</td>
<td>1,932</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing Units</td>
<td>1,209</td>
<td>872</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Comparing these population and housing unit figures with that of the city of Lincoln further helps to explain the changes taking place in the Malone Area. Malone's population in 1960 was 2.23 per cent that of the city and in 1970 it decreased to 1.29 per cent; the percentage that the Malone housing units made up of the city units was 2.79 in 1960 compared to 1.63 in 1970. The fact that the Malone area is undergoing a rapid change in terms of residential units is made more apparent when one walks through the area and views not only cases of demolition of house units but also those unoccupied and unfit for habitation. Recent demolitions on 23rd and W is a typical example. The amount of vacant land is greatest in the west where the impact of an expanding university is felt.

This changing residential situation, therefore, makes the distribution of the remaining housing units very unequal, especially when the four enumeration districts are compared. (see map of Condition of Residential Structures) The greatest number of dwelling units is found in Enumeration District 80 which has 37.61 per cent of all the units in the Malone area. Enumeration District 78 comes second with 27.06 per cent while Enumeration Districts 77 and 79 have 19.05 per cent and 16.28 per cent of the units, respectively. The following table indicating the number and percentage of the dwelling units elucidates this point.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>77</td>
<td>166</td>
<td>19.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78</td>
<td>236</td>
<td>27.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>16.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>328</td>
<td>37.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Study of the map of Condition of Residential Structures by enumeration districts is revealing. Demolition of dwelling units in Enumeration Districts 78 and 79 and the use of land in these two sections of the Malone Area for industrial, commercial, and public purposes together account for the fewer number of units in these E.D.'s as compared to E.D. 80. In the latter, the houses are better maintained and less affected by demolition as compared with the other three enumeration districts. Some dwelling units in the area between Vine and W and 25th and 26th Streets in Enumeration District 77, have been demolished, and at the time of the study, many of the existing structures were no longer inhabited.

The type of structure, that is, single or multi-family, also varies widely by area as shown in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>E. D.</th>
<th>1 Unit</th>
<th>Per Cent</th>
<th>2+ Units</th>
<th>Per Cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>77</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>16  49</td>
<td>189</td>
<td>22  51</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The single-family dwelling units in the Malone Area are more concentrated in the southwest and northeast. Although the southeastern area, comprising mostly Enumeration District 80, has a good number of single-family units, it has more two-family and multiple-family dwelling units than the other three enumeration districts. The patterns of distribution of these dwelling units—single-family, two-family, and multiple-family—are illustrated in three maps of Housing Units. Only one rest home and one mobile dwelling unit are found in the Malone Area.

Apartment and fraternity houses, both completed and under construction,
MALONE AREA: SINGLE-FAMILY HOUSING UNITS

[Diagram of Malone Area showing single-family housing units with streets and addresses labeled.]
MALONE AREA: MULTI-FAMILY HOUSING UNITS

Scale in Feet

[Diagram showing streets and blocks in the Malone area with multi-family housing units indicated by symbols.]
are scattered in the central and the northeastern portions of the study area. (see map of New Apartment Houses) The residential character of this portion of Malone appears to be changing, especially through the impact of the University of Nebraska. The demolition of run-down structures and the replacement of some of them with new housing units has definitely increased the number of acceptable houses, even though many of fair or poor quality still exist.

QUALITY OF HOUSING UNITS

Through field work and personal observations, the buildings have been classified into three groups -- (a) good, (b) fair, and (c) poor. The criteria used in this rating include primarily the outside conditions of the buildings and the extent of maintenance of the yards. Generally, poor housing and poor yard maintenance go hand in hand, and vice versa. The mapping and the classification of the units, as illustrated in the map of Condition of Residential Structures, indicate that most of the poorer quality buildings are located in the southwestern and northeastern portions of the Malone Area.

The quality of housing units in terms of interior facilities, such as plumbing, toilets, and kitchen, is also of interest. The preliminary figures for the 1970 census show the distribution of all housing units by enumeration districts, and by the number with or without plumbing. The following table illustrates this distribution in the Malone Area.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>E. D.</th>
<th>No. with Plumbing</th>
<th>Per cent of all Housing Units in the Malone Area</th>
<th>No. without Plumbing</th>
<th>Per cent of all Housing Units in Malone Area</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>77</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>18.00</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78</td>
<td>218</td>
<td>25.00</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>2.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>15.71</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>314</td>
<td>36.02</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>94.73</td>
<td></td>
<td>5.27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This table shows also that Enumeration Districts 78 and 80 have the highest percentage of housing units with all plumbing facilities. They also have the highest number of houses without complete plumbing facilities. On the whole, however, there is a decrease in the number of houses lacking some plumbing facilities in 1970 as compared to the number in 1960 -- 8.86 per cent to 5.27 per cent respectively. This decrease could be the result of several factors. In the first place, there was probably more intensive supervision by the city's housing officers to see that facilities were installed in deficient houses. Secondly, there was a drastic decline in the number of housing units between 1960 and 1970 -- from 1,209 to 872. Many of the houses which were demolished within this period probably lacked the necessary facilities. At the time of this study, (1971), twenty-four houses either were under demolition or had been red-tagged and marked unfit for habitation.

Some of the houses were also deficient in other facilities such as bathrooms, toilets, or kitchens. The 1960 census report indicated that 18.86 per cent of the total dwelling units had no bathroom or possessed one that was shared by other inhabitants of the housing unit. In the 1970 report, 3.44 per cent of the flush toilets in the units were used by other people, while 3.44 per cent of the units also lacked kitchen facilities. These examples are good indications of the existence of poor quality housing in this area.

VALUE OF UNITS AND THEIR OCCUPANCE

The distribution of housing according to aggregate values provides further understanding of the Malone Area. The fact that 58.33 per cent of the houses are worth between $5,000.00 and $9,000.00 is a very good sign
that the units are not of the best quality. Since most of the units have existed for a good number of years, it is not surprising then that many have become run-down buildings, and, obviously, too costly to maintain or remodel. The number and percentage of these units by enumeration districts in terms of value are shown in the following table. The table also illustrates that many of the houses fall between $0 and $14,999.

Value and Percentages by Enumeration Districts of Houses Represented

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>E.D.</th>
<th>$0- $5,000- $10,000- $15,000- $20,000- $25,000- $35,000- $50,000+</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$5,000 $9,999 $14,999 $19,999 $24,999 $34,999 $49,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. %</td>
<td>No. %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77</td>
<td>2 6.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78</td>
<td>16 48.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79</td>
<td>3 9.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>12 36.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A second table shows other characteristics of housing including owner or renter, race, and vacancy.

All Dwelling Units by Type of Occupancy

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1960</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>1970</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1209</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>872</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total owner occupied</td>
<td>480</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>White owner occupied</td>
<td>247</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White owner occupied</td>
<td>388</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>Negro owner occupied</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-white owner occupied</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Other owner occupied</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total renter occupied</td>
<td>633</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>Total renter occupied</td>
<td>469</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White renter occupied</td>
<td>443</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>White renter occupied</td>
<td>346</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-white renter occupied</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Negro renter occupied</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vacant for sale</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Vacant for sale</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vacant for rent</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Vacant for rent</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vacant other</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Vacant other</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total percent occupied</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>Total percent occupied</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total percent not occupied</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Total percent not occupied</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Thus it is apparent that there are more renter-occupied than owner-occupied units. About 57 per cent of all the house units in 1960 were renter occupied. By 1970, the percentage was 66. During both periods, there were more owner and renter-occupied units among the whites than there were among the minority groups. A considerable amount of vacancy existed, both for rent and for sale.

The monthly contract rent for 1970 was higher than that of 1960. While no housing unit in 1960 (out of 633 total) had a monthly rent of $150+, thirteen units (out of 469 total) in 1970 had monthly rents of between $150 and $199. Thirty-two of the renter-occupied units in 1970 had monthly contract rents of between $200 and $299. Although some increases are the result of inflation, the rise in higher rental units is apparently a result of the new apartments which have been completed between 1960 and 1970.

**INTENSITY OF OCCUPATION OF THE UNITS**

The residential density varies considerably both among the owner- and renter-occupied units and also from one enumeration district to another. The density is higher among renter occupied units than among the owner occupied ones. Enumeration Districts 77 and 78 also have greater densities in rental units than do Districts 79 and 80. They have more persons per room -- 1.01+ -- than the other two. One probable reason for this is the concentration of the newer apartment houses in Enumeration Districts 77 and 78. For this reason, therefore, there will probably be more students and other renters sharing fewer rooms. This situation may also help to explain the reason for greater density among the renters than among the owners of the occupied units. The percentage of total owner-occupied units is 34.5 while that of total renter occupied is 65.5 per cent. The accompanying table helps to elucidate
this question of density and its distribution by enumeration districts.

Density of Occupation by Enumeration Districts-1970

**OWNER OCCUPIED**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>E. D.</th>
<th>Per cent of total dwelling units with 1 or less persons per room</th>
<th>Per cent of total dwelling units with 1.01+ persons per room</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>77</td>
<td>4.75</td>
<td>.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78</td>
<td>9.08</td>
<td>.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79</td>
<td>8.52</td>
<td>.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>11.17</td>
<td>.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>33.52</strong></td>
<td><strong>.98</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**RENTER OCCUPIED**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>E. D.</th>
<th>Per cent of total dwelling units with 1 or less persons per room</th>
<th>Per cent of total dwelling units with 1.01+ persons per room</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>77</td>
<td>14.11</td>
<td>1.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78</td>
<td>16.47</td>
<td>1.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79</td>
<td>6.70</td>
<td>.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>23.46</td>
<td>.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>60.74</strong></td>
<td><strong>4.76</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

FORCES WHICH INFLUENCE THE CONDITIONS OF THE RESIDENTIAL AREA OF MALONE

Many forces -- internal and external -- affect the residential pattern of the Malone Area. Some of these forces are more active than others. The University of Nebraska, as it expands eastwards, is one of the active agents. The city, with the projected North-East Radial, also will influence the residential conditions of the area. Since the operation of these two factors leads to instability in the area, one may ask whether or not there exists an alternative residential area for the occupants should the University purchase more land in the area and should the North-East Radial proceed as planned. These two factors, presumably, may have also caused certain residential property owners to fail in maintaining their property.

Another factor which one must not lose sight of while discussing the housing units in Malone as compared to other residential sections in the
city is that of time. Here two elements can be taken into consideration -- age of the structures in the area and age of residents. In determining when the house structures in the Malone Area were completed, one discovers that almost all of them -- 94.84 per cent -- were completed by 1939. Within the period of 1940-1949, 3.93 per cent of the houses were built. Between 1950 and 1960, only .33 per cent of the houses were completed while the percentage for 1961-1970 was .9 per cent. The increase in the number of apartment houses accounts for the greater percentage in 1960-1970 as compared to that of 1950-1960. The age of the structure helps to explain in part the poor housing conditions, especially when the lack of maintenance is considered.

A second element relating to time is the older age classification of most of the residents of the area. This element is related to other factors such as level of income, ability to work, etc. Without enough income, how feasible is it for people to maintain dwelling units of good quality? The 1960 census report did indicate the Malone Area as having an unemployed labor force of 6.7 per cent compared to 3.4 per cent for the city as a whole. The family median income for Malone inhabitants in the 1960 census was $4,003, as opposed to $6,032 for the city. The gaps between these figures could mean that certain other factors are also operative here.

Another force which may have some bearing on the residential characteristics of Malone is the question of the absentee landlord. This factor, coupled with the increase in demand for housing and in the number of renters, makes the question of residential quality more complex. This situation can be improved by better communication between the landlords and the renters on one hand and the city's housing officers on the other. Also, the strict enforcement of the housing code in the city is another positive measure that could be taken to help to maintain quality in residential areas.
SOME CONCLUSIONS CONCERNING THE RESIDENTIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF MALONE

Using the available data, some final remarks can be made about the Malone Area. The increase in the intensity of occupation, that is, the number of persons per room in the housing units means overcrowding. This situation may get worse since the density is greater among renters, and the area's nearness to the University and the city's Central Business District makes it attractive to student renters and other lower income people who work in this part of the city. The sharing of bathrooms and toilets and the lack of kitchen or complete plumbing facilities are all indications of poor quality of some of the house units. The number of vacant houses and the rate at which many of the houses are being demolished are also evidence of poor residential conditions. Signs reading "sold", "keep out--not fit for habitation", etc. are evident and the continued increase in the number of these signs does not speak well of the residential quality of this section of the city. The conversion of house units into two or more family units seems to be on the increase. The reason for this increase may be the rise in the number of renters or it may relate to the sharing of housing units with relatives or friends.

With these comments, it seems appropriate to raise the question as to whether or not the Malone Area qualifies as:

1. a ghetto area
2. a slum area
3. a blighted area
4. a zone of transition
   or simply to ask
5. whether the Malone Area in relation to the city of Lincoln?
A closer look at Malone's population and the residential pattern reveals that the Malone Area is not a ghetto. It does not have a predominant minority group which, most likely, would have qualified it as a ghetto area. Both the blacks and the people from other minority groups make up only 30 per cent of the population while the white group makes up 70 per cent. The variables which Charles Stokes (1962) used in his article—"A Theory of Slums"—are not totally applicable here. It is apparent that most of the inhabitants possess barriers in terms of income and ability which constitute impediments to the betterment of their economic conditions. On the other hand, however, the social barrier to opportunity as Stokes discussed it seems to be non-existent. The interaction between the residents of Malone and other sections of the city is quite conspicuous. The application of Stokes' theory here reveals that Malone is not a slum area. By the same token, D.W. Griffin's and R. E. Preston's "Zone of Transition" concept (1966) does not fit either, since most of the specifications they made in their work, are lacking in the Malone Area.

Whither then the Malone Area? A blighted residential area may suffice as the best term to describe the area at present. Also, it is one residential area in the city of Lincoln in the process of rapid change. If the current rate of house demolition continues, it is possible that most of the homes in the southwestern and northeastern sections of Malone will have a very short life-span. This means that there may be further drastic reductions of the present residential land-use unless some remedial action is taken.
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THE IMPACT OF UNIVERSITY EXPANSION ON THE MALONE AREA

Darshan S. Kang

The recent geographical expansion of the University of Nebraska has been dominantly to the east, thereby affecting what is known as the Malone Area. In order to make an analytical study of the growth of the University and its resultant impact on the Malone Area, an examination of certain variables is imperative. The preparation of this paper, therefore, involved collection and processing of data accompanied by a cartographic presentation of the spatial expansion of the City Campus.

SITE AND SITUATION

A look at the historical background of the selection of the present site of the University may be helpful in understanding the problem in its totality. This topic makes interesting reading and could be treated as a small study by itself. To start with, the choice was between Omaha and Nebraska City. However, after Lincoln was selected in the summer of 1867 as the site of the State Capital, the decision to locate the State University in the same city followed as a matter of course. The University of Nebraska was created by an act of the Legislature in 1869. Four square blocks, on the north edge of Lincoln, bounded by 10th and 12th Streets on the west and east and R and T Streets on the south and north (see map, University of Nebraska -- First Plan) were set aside for the University Campus. That the site was less than ideal became evident quite early and lead to criticism from several quarters. In 1919 Bullock (1919, 36) made the following comments, "The Commissioners who located and laid
UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA

FIRST PLAN

SCALE IN FEET
out the Capital city and set aside four blocks for the University Campus, must have selected the location of these four blocks when blindfolded. No good angels whispered to them of seats of learning set upon the hills. The gentle slopes of the Antelope Valley were ignored, and a site bordering on Salt Creek Valley and inevitably in the path of railroads, then imminent, was chosen."

Similarly, in 1969 Manley (1, 1969, 14), referring to this site, remarked, "No single decision made in the first hectic days of Lincoln's history occasioned so much later comment as the unfortunate location of the campus." No doubt the problems which the University is now facing in its expansion program lend a lot of support to these remarks. Another less conspicuous drawback to this site is that the northwestern part of the campus lies within the hundred year flood frequency zone of Salt Creek.

With respect to situation the Campus is quite some distance from the areal center of the State. Nevertheless it is favourably located when considered from the point of view of population distribution within the State since over one half of Nebraskans live in and around the cities of Lincoln and Omaha.

**AN URBAN CAMPUS**

Architects and urban planners in this country classify universities into metropolitan, urban, and pastoral campuses. Whereas the former two terms are well known the last one needs some explanation. At a pastoral campus the landscaping is very park-like. A profuse growth of dandelions and the presence of grazing cows are not uncommon features of this class of campus. The University of California campus at Davis and Tarkio College in Missouri are typical examples of this class. Although the University of Nebraska started as a pastoral campus, it now essentially is part of an urban setting. A
study of the role which the University is playing in the evolution of urban land use patterns, therefore, is very pertinent in this case.

STUDENT-SPACE RELATIONSHIP

On the basis of general observation, it is hypothesized that the size of student population provides a promotional base for spatial expansion of a University Campus. If this hypothesis is found tenable, the writer proposes to interpret the spatial expansion of the campus in response to the growth of student enrollment through time. The directional patterns of such an expansion provide insight into the 'town and gown' community relationships. (Meyerson, 1969, 6) In this context the Malone Area carries a special significance because the impact of University expansion has been felt there.

Raw data from University records showing changes in student enrollment and in the City Campus area in acres are collected for 102 years (1869-1970) and appended as an appendix to this paper. For a quantitative analysis these data are treated by making use of the following different techniques:

Graphic Representation

This technique is generally employed to determine patterns of similarities and differences in the rates of change of a certain phenomenon through time and space. In this case both sets of data are plotted against time to study pattern changes within each set and to compare those of one with the other. (see graphs of Student Registration and City Campus Land Holdings) It is observed that the student-time graph leads to the following conclusions:

1. For the period 1869-1916 student enrollment increased at nearly a constant rate.

2. From 1917 through 1952 student enrollment increased and decreased
UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA
NET STUDENT REGISTRATION
(SOURCE - UN. OF NEB.)
UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA
CITY CAMPUS IN LAND HOLDING
(SOURCE - UN. OF NEB.)
at variable rates.

3. The period 1953-1970 exhibited an increase in enrollment at an increasing rate.

The patterns for the area-time graph also illustrate tendencies parallel to those mentioned above.

1. The period 1869-1919 witnessed only a nominal increase in area, but the rate is almost constant.

2. The years 1920 through 1948 experienced an increase in area at a decreasing rate. In fact the increase in area during the years 1928 through 1943 was almost negligible. This can probably be attributed to the effects of the 'depression' and World War II.

3. For the period 1949 through 1970 the campus area increased at an increasing rate.

A comparison of the two graphs suggests the breakdown of these data into three sub-periods. Since the "breaks" in the pattern of the two variables do not always agree, median positions between the years were utilized. In the case where the difference comes to an even number of years, the lower year has been taken as a breaking point. For further treatment of data, the sub-periods break down to: 1869-1916, 1917-1950, 1951-1970.

Regressional Analysis

This tool is widely used in the testing of hypothesis as well as for prediction and planning purposes. The dependent variable of 'area' is regressed on the independent variable of 'student population to test the hypothesis stated earlier. This process involved four separate operations covering the total time span and three sub-periods. The results are repro-
duced below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Pearson Corr. Coeff. 'r'</th>
<th>Stand. Error of Estimate</th>
<th>Coeff. of Determination 'r^2'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1869-1970</td>
<td>0.912</td>
<td>21.677</td>
<td>0.831</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>1869-1917</td>
<td>0.588</td>
<td>1.706</td>
<td>0.345</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>1918-1950</td>
<td>0.391</td>
<td>17.528</td>
<td>0.152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>1951-1970</td>
<td>0.966</td>
<td>8.249</td>
<td>0.933</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In an ideal situation the coefficient of correlation should be 1 and the standard error of estimate should be zero. The coefficient of determination, on the other hand, tells what proportion of the variation in campus area could be accounted for by variations in the student enrollment. For the entire study period of 102 years (1869-1970), 83.17 per cent of the variation in the area of the Campus is due to linear relationship between the student population and the area. The remaining 16.83 per cent variation is due to other unexplained factors. A strong correlation coefficient of 0.912 coupled with high coefficient of determination (0.831) leads to the conclusion that the hypothesis regarding student population and campus area is acceptable. Increased student enrollment does promote the areal expansion of a campus.

**Scatter Diagrams**

Scatter diagrams are made to give graphic representation to regresional analysis and to facilitate the task of prediction. Of the four sets of regresional analysis studies relating number of students to university area, two pertaining to the sub-periods 1869-1917 and 1918-1950 can be ignored owing to reasons of low correlation coefficients. (see previous table) The choice, therefore, is between the period 1869-1970 and the sub-period 1951-1970. On the basis of 'r' and 's' values, preference should be given to the
sub-period 1951-1970 for use as a basis for future projection. There are, however, some shortcomings in this case. In the first place, it is just possible that full extent of land, commensurate with the requirements of 1970 student enrollment, might not yet have been acquired. Secondly, the sub-period of 20 years cannot be considered as representative as the entire period of 102 years. Thirdly, the difference between the 'r' values is not very significant. It may be argued that the sub-period 1951-1970 represents exclusively the trends in the recent past. Also, the question as to whether or not the trends for this sub-period are still continuing is very difficult to answer. Under these circumstances, it would be preferable to use the entire period of 1869-1970 as a basis for projection. For comparison sake, however, scatter diagrams have been prepared on the computer for both periods. (see scatter diagrams) The scatter diagram for the period 1869-1970 suggests that for every additional 1,000 students the University will require 10.6 acres of additional land.

PATTERN OF LAND ACQUISITION

Having verified the fact that the demand for land increases directly with the increase in student enrollment, it will be helpful to examine how this demand has been met spatially. In a theoretical situation the demand for land is expected to be fulfilled by concentric rings of land around the original campus nucleus. The spatial patterns of generation and movement of these concentric rings is very much analogous to the wave formations created by throwing a stone in a pool of still water. In the real world, this model situation is generally modified under the influence of external barriers. In the model this could be simulated by introducing artificial barriers in the expected path of the waves. Such has been the case with the City Campus
STANDARD ERROR OF ESTIMATE = 21.6511
CORRELATION COEFFICIENT = 0.9127
SLOPE OF REGRESSION LINE = 10.6479
Y-INTERCEPT = 0.8785

SLOPE = 21.6511
INTERCEPT = 0.8785

SOURCE: AGRI. U. IF N.
SCATTER DIAGRAM (1869-1970)
STANDARD ERROR OF ESTIMATE = 8.2499
CORRELATION COEFFICIENT = 0.9668
SLOPE OF REGRESSION LINE = 6.4676
Y-INTERCEPT = 73.7148

AREA IN ACRES

SCATTER DIAGRAM (1951-1970)
(SOURCE - ADM. OFFICE, U. OF N.J.)
where barriers of railroads, creek, and CBD exist.

A map and diagram illustrate the Patterns of Land Acquisition and the Expansion Trends of the University for the years 1869, 1915, 1930, 1945, 1960, 1970, and the proposed ultimate stage. A casual look at the map suggests that the patterns of growth are far from being concentric. Instead they are confined to a quarter segment to the northeast and east. This fact is also supported by the course described by the shifting area centroid through time. The initial direction of expansion to the north-west has changed through more than 90° to the northeast during the stages of campus expansion. These almost unidirectional expansion patterns have not emerged as a result of some planned scheme, but have been dictated by external barriers like the presence of the CBD in the south and the railroads on the west and north. The threat of floods in Salt Creek possibly could be another controlling factor.

An apparent characteristic of University policies of land acquisition is the purchase of scattered pieces rather than contiguous lots. The University has not utilized the provisions of eminent domain but instead has purchased the land when and where it has been offered for sale by the owners. However, individual owners apparently have also been approached in an attempt to persuade them to sell. Such an approach not only makes comprehensive planning on the part of University more difficult, but also is a source of dissatisfaction to the owners and tenants of the property. The position of the centroid for the ultimate proposed expansion of the campus area clearly shows the large extent of land that is still to be acquired. The east by north directional trend of the University outlined by earlier expansion is closely followed by later centroidal movement. This trend leads the University into the Malone Area, which unfortunately is inhabited by weak economic segments of the city.
UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA
EXPANSION TRENDS
THE RAILROADS AND THE CAMPUS

In the urban organization of space, railroads are monopolistic and permanent in nature. Preston (1966) has very appropriately classified railroads under non-transitional forms of land use. This permanent characteristic of land use can be illustrated by the railroad barrier to the east of the Lincoln campus. The University developed a plan as early as 1920 for relocating the Rock Island Railroad but the barrier remains. This example indicates the difficulties of changing railroad land use within a city.

In addition to being a permanent barrier to the expansion program of the university, the presence of a railroad is not conducive to an ideal academic atmosphere. The railroad obstructs a free flow of traffic and many man-hours are wasted while waiting at the railroad crossings. There are more than a dozen railroad level crossings in and around the City Campus. The Rock Island line is also a source of noise and air pollution. How to insulate the Campus against this disturbance is a problem in itself. The solution of this University-railroad conflict requires collective thinking and joint effort on the part of both parties.

The university in its expansion to the east must contend with the various land uses along the Rock Island Railroad. The large Cushman plant, which manufactures small vehicles, and several lumber yards dominate these uses. Although these firms do not make as much use of this railroad as they did in the past they represent more permanent aspects of the landscape than the residential areas which are gradually being cleared as they deteriorate and are purchased by University or city. A move of Cushman to another site in the Lincoln area has been the subject of rumor but no definite information on this is available.
George Berkeley (in Meyerson, 1969, 6-7) in commenting on the suitability of a site for a campus wrote:

Many things ought to be considered in the choice of a situation. It should be in good air; in a place where provisions are cheap and plenty; where there is no great trade, which might tempt the Readers or Fellows of the College to become merchants, to the neglect of their proper business; where there are neither riches nor luxury to divert or lessen their application, or to make them uneasy and dissatisfied with a homely frugal subsistence; lastly, where the inhabitants, if such a place may be found, are noted for innocence and simplicity of manners.

It is rather too late in the day to wish for creating such an environment at this Campus. There are, however, certain developments taking place which could be profitably utilized, both by the city and the University. While the CBD is expanding to the south into a "zone of active assimilation" it is also receding from the north leaving behind what is known as "zone of discard". (Griffin and Preston, 1966) Physically this zone of discard is bounded by Q and R streets. The University apparently possesses a plan to fill up this vacuum in such a manner that the area will emerge as a zone of fusion between commercial and academic functions. The major recommended land uses include housing, public services, commercial shops, social and religious organizations, and halls for the creative arts. Such land use will save this area from developing into a zone of deterioration as is often the case with the areas surrounding CBD's in American cities.

SPATIAL PROBLEMS ON THE CAMPUS

The Campus suffers from several inherent internal spatial problems. Two of the most apparent ones are circulation of traffic and the integration of spatial requirements for class-rooms, services, residence, and recreation. Less evident is the lack of married student housing.
The problem of traffic boils down to the fact that too many vehicles are permitted to have unrestricted movement within the campus. One of the faculty members made a statement that 10 to 20 per cent of his teaching time in a class is wasted because of interference caused by traffic noise. Although the University has already developed alternative plans (Comprehensive Campus Plan, 1967) to eliminate through traffic by making provision for alternate routes, no scheme, apparently, has been developed to confine parking lots to the periphery of the Campus. It would appear that no vehicles except those used for service should have ready access into the inner academic core of the Campus. This would also insure free flow of students from one class room to another without having to wait for traffic.

The total floor area of City Campus buildings, as of January, 1971, included 2,731,060 square feet. The table provides a functional breakdown for the use of this space.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Function</th>
<th>Floor Area in Square Feet</th>
<th>Percentage of total Floor Area (City Campus)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Teaching</td>
<td>1,043,017</td>
<td>38.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Housing</td>
<td>703,190</td>
<td>25.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing for married students</td>
<td>10,311</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Services &amp; Recreation</td>
<td>750,107</td>
<td>27.4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sports</td>
<td>98,135</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
<td>126,300</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>2,731,060</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source -- Business and Finance Office, U. of N.)

It is apparent that housing for married students is lacking. The comparative situation of Nebraska among the Big Eight Universities with respect to this housing is poor (Schaefer, 1970, 4):
Dwelling Units for Married Students at the Big Eight Universities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>University</th>
<th>Number of Dwelling Units for Married Students</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oklahoma</td>
<td>757</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iowa State</td>
<td>691</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oklahoma State</td>
<td>676</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kansas State</td>
<td>596</td>
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<tr>
<td>Colorado</td>
<td>510</td>
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<tr>
<td>Missouri</td>
<td>360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kansas</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nebraska</td>
<td>57 (Including 40 at the East Campus)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This table illustrates the unsatisfactory housing situation for married students at the University of Nebraska. Although dormitory space for single students is adequate, the trend is for many of these persons to seek private housing in groups, thereby increasing demand for a limited supply of units. According to the Comprehensive Campus Plan, a future University of 25,000 students should anticipate space for housing up to 50 per cent of the entire student body, excluding requirements for fraternities and sororities. With student enrollment at 20,810, single housing is available for about 5,300 students: the City Campus has facilities for 2,740 men and 2,560 women while East Campus has them for 118 men and 171 women. The remaining single students seek accommodation through other arrangements within the city at the expense of low income residents. Meyerson's analysis (1969, 7-8) of the attitude of various people involved in such a situation seems very appropriate. He writes:

Only to a limited extent are the frictions that arise between town and gown intellectual ones.... A main source of conflict arises in housing. Students seek inexpensive, anonymous, no-care, no-restrictions housing close to the bright lights, close to where the action is. They want rooming houses and modestly priced apartments as close to the University as possible.... The town is generally happy to profit from the housing demands of students and faculty, and yet at the same time deplores it. Townspeople resent student neglect of property and
resent noise and other behaviour which discourages people other than students from living in the area.... Many townspeople who own property close to the university, however, try to exploit the housing demand situation by charging as much as the market will bear, without improving or maintaining the property.... University officers may often be in the curious position of being unhappy with the deteriorating housing offered to students yet not being completely unhappy because of the University's potential future land expansion needs which would be stymied if new and maintained investments were made in its surrounding area.

THE CAMPUS AND THE MALONE AREA

Hemmed in between permanent land-uses such as the C.B.D., railroads, and the Salt Creek flood plain, the University is left with no option but to look to the east -- into the Malone Area -- for its expansion. The part of the Malone Area which is most affected by the University expansion program can be delimited as an area bounded by 19th, 23rd, R, and W Streets. Industrial land-use is significant in the north, whereas the southern part is predominantly residential. (see maps of Land Use)¹ Much of the land is now vacant as a result of University acquisition. In 1964, this area had 332 residential houses. Of these residential properties, the University in 1968 had already purchased 109 of them -- 89 directly, 12 through fraternity and sorority, and 8 through private developers. (Altemeyer, et al., 1968, 86) As of December 31, 1970, the remaining area to be acquired consisted of 34 properties. (see graph showing status of Land Acquisition) Eighteen out of a total of 21 properties required by fraternities and sororities have been purchased. This large scale acquisition of residential property had led to the relocation of many residents, a process that is universally resented by the people who have to undergo it. The community, as a whole, has to face a new set of socio-economic problems, and the Malone Area is no exception in this respect. Some of the important aspects of this process are discussed below.

¹ Maps in previous reports in this study.
62% PURCHASED DIRECTLY

24% STILL TO BE PURCHASED

14% PURCHASED THROUGH CITY AND FRATERNITIES

1970

UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA
STATUS OF LAND ACQUISITION
Price

The average price of all the land acquired by the University is stated to be $1.02 per square foot. This ranges from $0.50 per square foot for railroad land to $1.74 per square foot for residential lots. It is stated that this price compares favorably with those paid elsewhere in Lincoln. Prices are, however, going up with the passage of time.

Race

Whereas the survey by Altemeyer, et. al. (1968, 76-86) shows that the people who moved out were 77 per cent non-white and 23 per cent white, the University records give 58 per cent as whites and 42 per cent as non-white. In view of the discussions held in the Seminar on Urban Geography (1971) and as a result of information presented by other sources, the former statement seems to be closer to the actual situation. Altemeyer's report (1968, 30) also records that nearly one-third of the non-white respondents experienced discrimination as a factor in their relocation.

Legality

Certain points concerning the use of pressure by the University in acquiring land have also been raised. Out of the 109 properties purchased by the University, only 3 parties (2.8 per cent) preferred court action against the price paid, a number which is not significant. Five other court-cases involved either clearance of title or appeals against the decision of the lower court. The situation, however, is not as simple as made out by this analysis of court-cases because it is not the owner but the tenant who is most affected. Of late, University administrators have realized the hardship being imposed on the tenants and consequently agreed that after purchasing a house they will continue renting to the present tenants until they obtain new housing.
Purchase Schedule

The element of uncertainty created by the lack of any purchase schedule from the University is also very much resented. It is difficult for the University to predict rate and timing of buying, as this depends upon enrollment increases and availability of funds. These difficulties notwithstanding, some tentative schedule with respect to timing and the extent of area to be purchased should be forthcoming from the University authorities.

A MODEL

The impact of University expansion on the Malone Area is rather complex. Its magnitude and direction is the combined result of several forces. The situation is represented by a conceptual model drawn below:

```
+----------------+                  +----------------+
|                |                  |                |
|    THE UNIVERSITY    |                  |    THE MALONE AREA    |
|                |                  |                |
|   +      |                  |   +      |
|        +----------+                  +----------+        |
|                  |                  |                  |
|    THE REAL      |                  |    THE SOCIAL     |
|    DEALERS      |                  |    ORGANIZATIONS |
|                  |                  |                  |
|    +      |                  |   +      |
|        +----------+                  +----------+        |
|                  |                  |                  |
|    THE CITY     |                  |    THE CITY     |
|                  |                  |                  |
|   +      |                  |   +      |
|        +----------+                  +----------+        |
```

This model could be further developed for a quantitative socio-economic analysis of the problem in its totality. Each of these forces has a very definite constructive role to play in moulding the future of the Malone Area as such and the people who live there at the present time. The processes of relocation and rehabilitation are really very agonizing ones. However, these processes could be made less painful if the opposing forces work in harmony.

**Conclusion**

It is hypothesized and proved that student population does provide a promotional base for areal expansion of an educational institution. In the case of the City Campus, this expansion, though initially started in a north-westerly direction, has been predominantly to the east into the Malone Area -- a zone of deterioration. For some residents of Malone this expansion has been the cause of undesirable social and economic experiences. For Lincoln this expansion has been an indirect blessing in disguise because the overall city is being improved, although certain segments of the population may suffer.

Like other geographic phenomena, an urban organism also undergoes a life cycle. Decline and rejuvenation are essential stages in this cycle. The University in this case is an agent of rejuvenation working in a part of the city which has suffered deterioration. Griffin and Preston (1966) spatially designate such a part of the city as a "section of active assimilation." In its area of growth to the east, the University faces a zone of non-transition formed by railroad yards and permanent residences (Preston, 1966). Where these zones meet, a thin zone of social conflict is generated, which needs very careful handling to make the process of rejuvenation pleasant and acceptable to the community.
PERSONAL INTERVIEWS

e, Jean, President, League of Women Voters, 1614 N Street, Lincoln, Nebraska.

glson, Carl A., Special Consultant to the President, University of Nebraska.

dale, Lois, Office of the Registrar, University of Nebraska, Lincoln. Original Student Registration Files.

erson, Gerald, Lincoln City Planning Department, Lincoln, Nebraska.

one Community Center, 2030 T Street, Lincoln, Nebraska. Record Consultation.

ringen, Mary, Business and Finance Office, University of Nebraska, Lincoln. Consulted for maps and floor areas.

oda, Joseph, Archives Office, University of Nebraska, Lincoln.


11. Murphy, Robert, "The Expansion of the University of Nebraska," (Unpublished Term Paper, Department of Geography, University of Nebraska, 1966).


University of Nebraska, "Comprehensive Campus Plan" (New York: Caudil Rowlett Scott, Architects-Planners-Engineers, 1967).

APPENDIX

UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA: DATA ON STUDENT ENROLLMENT AND AREA FOR THE CITY CAMPUS IN THE YEARS 1869 - 1971

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>STUDENT ENROLLMENT</th>
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<tr>
<td>------</td>
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<td>1966</td>
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<td>1970</td>
<td>20810</td>
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</tr>
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Note:
Student enrollment means total number of students up to and including the year 1899. Thereafter it shows only net collegiate student enrollment for the Lincoln Campus alone.

Source:
University of Nebraska: Bulletins (Catalogue Issues), Financial Reports, and files with Mrs. Lois Dugdale, Office of the Registrar.