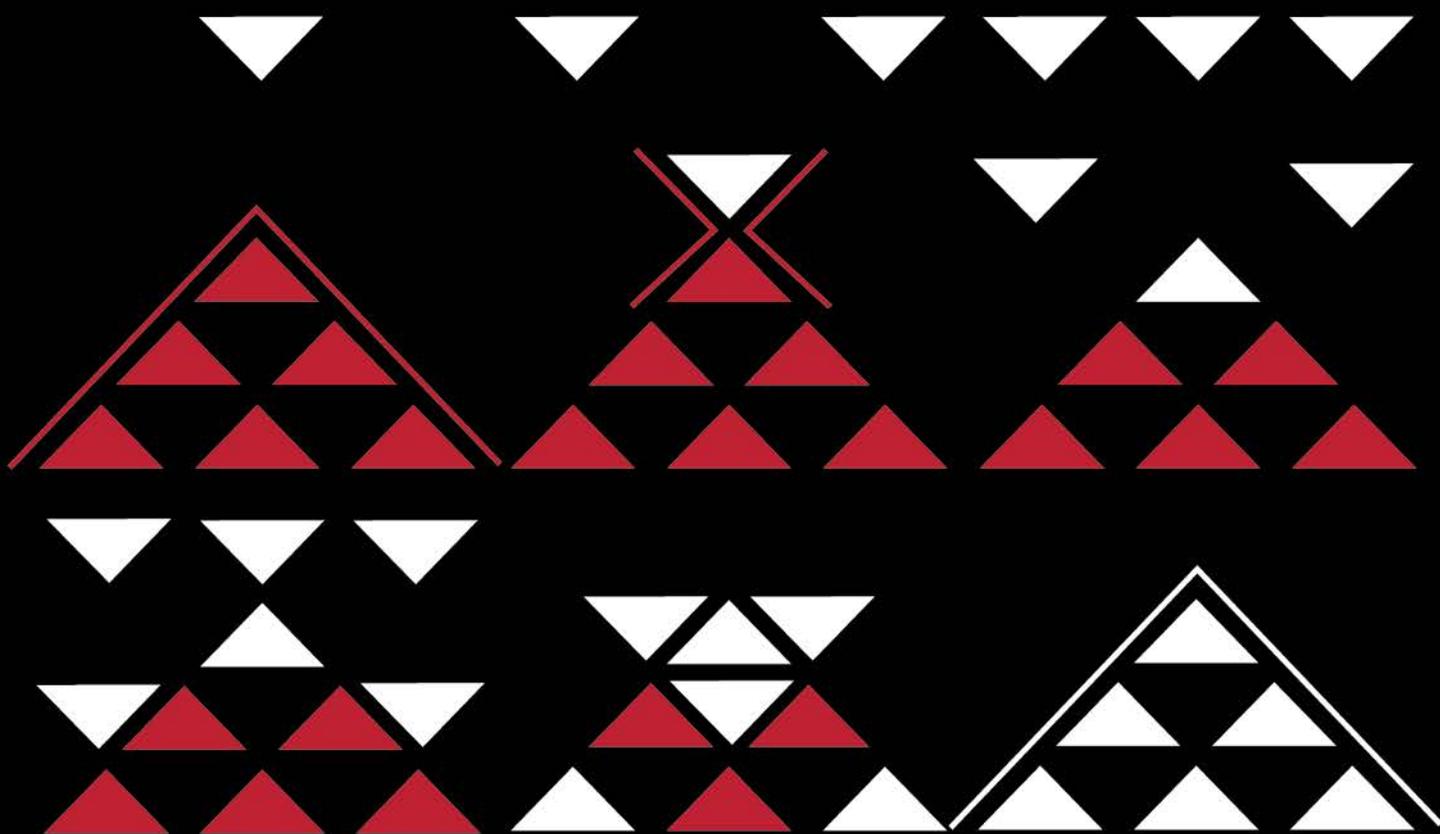


NOT IN THE PLAN



SILENCING COMMUNITIES OF COLOR IN AUSTIN'S PLANNING HISTORY

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Introduction

There has been considerable talk in Austin, as well as other cities, in regard to the race segregation problem. This problem cannot be solved legally under any zoning law known to us at present. Practically all attempts of such have been proven unconstitutional. -- 1928 City of Austin Master Plan

On March 2, 2018, Anthony Stephan House was killed by a bomb delivered to his home during the early hours in Austin, Texas, the first incident in a reign of terror during one of the city's most lucrative events, South by Southwest 2018. Initially, the Austin Police Department attributed the incident to House's supposed criminal background, a statement which later needed retraction. The diminishing of the tragedy of black death through slander of the victim, in House's case, is comparable to the 2007 fiasco in which the Austin Police Department falsely attributed a beating on Juneteenth to the black crowds in the celebration. The Austin chapter of the NAACP subsequently filed a complaint with the United States Department of Justice against the police department. It was not the first and was hardly the last.

To the rest of the nation, these events were shocking; to the citizens of color within the city of Austin, this was seen as almost routine, or at least more routine than those of the dominant narrative would like to admit. While this phenomenon of the criminalizing of black bodies is not unique to Austin, it is perhaps surprising in a city with a rosy reputation for progressive politics and a laid-back citizenry. Yeh the reality for citizens of color in Austin, particularly in the last three decades of unprecedented growth, is that of a pitched battle for recognition, dignity, and space. Despite the popularity of Austin, the population of color is rapidly shrinking, due to both a high cost of living and a history of planning practices that discourage the creation of large concentrations of marginalized populations.

There is a great deal of material being published about the city of Austin, Texas, namely because of the removal of shields put up by the marketing department. Many of the authors have done extensive studies and offer in-depth analysis of how the city has changed over the year. Because of the rising cost of living, many people are intrigued as to how a city that used to be considered a "haven" for people desiring to live alternative lifestyles could have ventured so far into the realm of unaffordable living and displacement. In truth, this city maintained a reputation that it never deserved because people wanted to believe that an area filled with tech jobs and musicians could only be equitable and just. In truth, the reputation of Austin--like many other liberal towns--was maintained by never speaking to the people of color residing there. We don't hear the stories of people who lost businesses and homes, were evicted or ran out of money, or watched

neighbors and friends leave. Austin's promoters are loud about what has worked in the city. They are largely silent on its failures and, more specifically, on who those failures have affected the most-communities of color.

Race is the issue of today, and when most people consider issues around race, they consider crime because of how people of color, especially Black people, have been relegated to criminal status without consent. Many planning texts mention offhandedly how segregation has affected people of color, but has offered no agency to them, suggesting that they passively sat by and allowed the process to work against them. Some go so far as to continue to pathologize those communities, intimating that they were all uneducated, disinterested in caring for their property, and only looking to make money off the real estate boom that swept the city when developers and realtors discovered that some of the property near downtown was located in East Austin.

The premise for this book began with simple questions: "Well, *did* communities of color have anything to say about these processes? Were they attending the meetings, and were they being active in their communities? Did they ever do anything to maintain their properties so that they could avoid being considered run down?" The research in response to these questions began with an exhibit at the George Washington Carver Museum and Cultural Center called "Juntos/ Together," which included a wave of political cartoons and news articles. Hours were spent at the Benson Latin American Collection and the Briscoe American History Center at the University of Texas at Austin, and then later with the Austin History Center, culminating with endless reviews of city meeting transcripts and meetings.

In short, the answers to those questions are all "Yes." Yes, communities of color spent years attempting to reclaim their agencies at city council meetings, only to be met with delay, studies and task forces. Yes, communities of color were attending meetings--whether their presence was acknowledged or not--and being increasingly active in their neighborhoods. Yes, of course the people who were largely called upon to build and maintain the city had pride in their homes despite lack of financing and limited resources. The idea that people sat idly by while their homes and coalitions were destroyed is laughable when faced with the actual evidence.

This book is an attempt to give the agency back to people of color within the city of Austin by recognizing their presence even within the city's own records. None of this history has been gleaned from conversations; in fact, much of it began with academic studies. Maps have been provided with data culled from the city and the census, and nowhere else. The point of this information is that even the government itself does not substantiate the claims of passivity, much to its own chagrin. The cultural destruction occurring within the city of Austin will only end

when the local government concedes to the reality that it chose which constituents to respect, and none of those were in the communities of color.

This publication contends that there is a relationship between the devaluing of marginalized people and the taking of their space. Specifically, our text gets into the mechanisms of both how and why East Austin, a historically undervalued area, became highly valued and sought after location for development as the population of the city boomed and its demographics radically shifted. Perception is key to property values, and perceptions about East Austin's residents have been used to define the narrative about space. In this text, we will explore how the dominant narrative, propagated by the powerful in both government and the private sector, sought to justify the segregation, disinvestment, coercion and over-policing, and finally, displacement of people of color and marginalized people. As planners attempted to remake urban space according to grand, city wide visions (urban renewal, model cities, and "smart growth") those neighborhoods with the resources and political clout to resist change, such as those in west Austin, remained relatively stable. By contrast, neighborhoods with less resources and citizens without direct access to power, such as the Eastern Crescent, bear the brunt of the experiments in urbanism and are targeted for development.

Importantly, we will also look at how citizens of this neighborhood fought these narratives that diminished their communities by forming activist groups and speaking out at public meetings. While we see that over and over again these concerns were not addressed, the record remains clear: people in marginalized communities know that a double-standard is in place when it comes to the protection of property, safety, and stability of citizens in Austin. While the traditional planning history rarely references their activism, their voices will be heard here.

Outline, Methods, and Findings

The built environment for the city of Austin is the consequence of a long history of ordinances and master plans. It also carries within it a history of community responses to these programs and their implementation. This publication looks at these two threads of city history, starting with the formal city initiatives in a *planning timeline* and tracking the response of East Austinites in an *activist timeline*.

Planning Timeline

The planning timeline, which is available in the appendix, is a compilation of actions taken by city staff and city government to pass or implement major plans (as well as resolutions, ordinances, and projects). It also includes dates for the passage of relevant state and federal programs or incentives that drive municipal conversations around urban planning policies.

The planning timeline begins with the federal regulation that allowed the 1928 Master Plan, which is often identified as the root cause of the city's racial segregation. Although the Plan makes its ambitions abundantly clear, segregation was also maintained through a series of federal and state housing regulations and urban renewal ordinances, which followed and continue into the present. In reality, many other factors, both preceding and following the Masterplan, built and reinforced the architecture of segregation in Austin; part of the purpose of this text is to show continually that displacement and segregation is not enforced through just one law, but through a series of smaller and sometimes very indirect measures. Thus, while the 1928 plan is an important milestone to discuss, current policy decisions for Austin must no longer blame the city's inequity on the 1928 Master Plan exclusively, but must take account of recent and presently active laws that enforce displacement through additional means. The timeline ends on December 31, 2017, almost exactly 90 years after the inception of the master plan.

To compile the timeline, public records were searched for ordinances that were related to three specific terms: "urban renewal", "revitalization", "smart growth" and "urban redevelopment". These terms coincide with broader national movements and trends in urban planning. They also represent powerful tools used deliberately to shape East Austin over decades. How they are marketed to citizens is often very different than the effects they ultimately have in communities, as the record shows.

Let's use Smart Growth as an example of a policy phenomenon widely discussed (and thus searchable) in public meetings. Because the first search for the term "smart growth" included references to a resolution, both ordinances and resolutions were referenced in creating the timeline of planning law. Smart growth was touted as an engine for encouraging infill development and creating connectivity in annexed areas surrounding the city's highways. Sadly, its energies were largely developed in East Austin, being used to encourage density with little recognition of the long-standing communities. (Some West Austin communities have been affected due to their location within the city's urban core). Enthusiasm for dense development generated several conversations, which is why one would see smart growth mentioned in multiple transcripts. However, action is the key to how communities of color are changed, and it is the actions which create the timeline of these concepts from the 1928 plan until today.

Incentives that sound neutral or positive from a bird's eye view can, when aggressively applied to an existing neighborhood, be a force of negative change. These initiatives become schemes for quick rather than slow incremental change. Moreover, when these grand plans are executed at a profit by private contractors collecting incentives, the long term public goals of these initiatives may be lost. When in turn city staff and policymakers introduce their own bias to the process and refuse to see the negative externalities caused by bird's eye planning and economic growth policies, their credibility as leaders is compromised.

Activist Timeline

The activist timeline (also available in the appendix), while following the same beats, pursues a slightly different angle to complete the picture. Rather than focusing on actions taken by official municipal bodies, it looks at the responses by citizenry in the public meeting record. The result is a wide cast of characters and groups. Many individuals slip in and out of the public arena advocating for a variety of efforts in different neighborhoods, so tracking individual efforts would have been difficult to impossible.

Thus, this timeline was compiled by tracking the presence of key activist groups (such as the Urban League and PODER) at public meetings. The search terms employed were the groups themselves, rather than a particular initiative. Public records were keyword searched to determine *when* activist groups mobilized to advocate on behalf of marginalized communities, and *what issues or proposed changes* were driving their presence in public hearings.

While exploring individual incidents of high public engagement, the search also noted and tracked the *nature of the concerns* brought by these groups to council (specifically, what their complaints were) the *degree of overlap* in these concerns between different activist groups, and the *frequency* with which the same complaint or concern was voiced again and again by these groups. What we found was that while activist groups did mobilize around issues such as displacement and gentrification and did voice their concerns, repeatedly, their opinions were not only ignored, but have also been largely written out of the formal planning history of the City of Austin. Despite a lack of positive outcomes, these communities did advocate on their own behalf, and their efforts should be tracked and reported honestly, both for posterity and to improve and inform public planning processes down the road.

Bringing the Stories Together

The planning timeline and the activist timeline at some points overlap and intertwine. Several of the actions on the activist timeline seem like they belong on the chronology of planning within Austin, but are included on the activist timeline because the actions show up consequent to a search for activist groups, and vice versa. As with any history of public meetings, the timeline documents many incidents of non-action (postponement, discussion with no resolution, etc) as it does incidences in which ordinances are passed or resolutions made. However, this general lack of action on the part of city government, aside from small band aid resolutions mostly aimed at providing temporary and often recreational incentives, is part of the reason that, as time goes on, some of the more prominent groups appear less frequently as part of community action. In that sense, this report documents both the activist community mobilization and its periodic exhaustion. Activist groups that repeat the same things over and over again, only to have their concerns dismissed or not addressed, may grow weary of exposing themselves to this process. That often appears to be the case.

A note about demographics: throughout the planning process, very little mention has been made of the Asian American population of Austin. Historically, Asian Americans were prevented from becoming property owners, so they were unable to develop in the same way as other communities, and this may account for few groups speaking in a unified way on specifically Asian issues in the City record. . To this day, the Asian communities in Austin are spread across the city with a few concentrated spots despite higher concentrations of Asian populations. Thus, while this community and its perspective on growth and change in Austin is doubtless important, our method and process did not account for this (and it ought to be the subject of its own book).

Private vs. Public, Dollars and Cents

While the primary source material for this book deals most directly with the words of the public and the words of city officials, the text itself does attempt to illuminate the role of the private sector, and private interests (specifically, developers, planning consultants, and the broader business community) in the planning choices that were made. While these parties may not show up directly in the record, they are without a doubt key players whose incentives and motives shape outcomes. This is especially true at a time when public-private partnerships are the norm for executing major city projects. As Stacey Sutton notes in her text “Urban Revitalization in the

United States”, once a development corporation is established for a redevelopment process and the contractor is selected, the course for the neighborhood is largely set and will not be changed, regardless of how individual neighbors feel or how they are actually impacted (Sutton 2008). This has been the case in Austin, even when the impacts involve segregation and displacement, and even when the community mobilizes to actively protest initiatives supposedly designed to help them.

Why does this happen? In the text, we explore this question in more detail through each phase of Austin’s history. In part it is a question of both process and incentives. Despite the extensive knowledge of their own trained planners, cities are susceptible to the lobbying of private groups, many of whom promise desired benefits, including public amenities and economic development, in order to move their project forward. When the whims of the development community are too frequently indulged, planning departments become places where 1) private contractors drive the conversation around how available land should be developed, and the public is silenced or ignored; and 2) planners employed by the city follow rather than lead, and are relegated to approving private development that may not be in the city’s financial best interest.

Cities desperate for short term revenue often make devil’s bargain with developers, and then in the long term the city pays. Chuck Marohn, a former city engineer, writes extensively and critically about this type of distorted economic thinking, which he calls “Ponzi-Scheme Development”--when a proposed project fails to materialize (the project is never executed, for example) or when the short term benefits of a successful project are overshadowed by long term costs of maintaining the infrastructure needed to serve it. Importantly, the financial benefits and costs of simply existing in a city are not shared equally across space. In a project in partnership with Urban 3, Marohn, Joe Minicozzi and Josh McCarty analyzed and then mapped out all of the city’s revenue streams by parcel for the city of Lafayette, Louisiana. They then did the same for all of the city’s expenses (Marohn et al 2017). What they determined, among other things, is that there were a significant number of poor neighborhoods that actually represented a net positive income stream for the city--they paid out more in taxes than they cost in infrastructure maintenance and service (water, wastewater, roads).

While the researchers in this study confidently note that this phenomenon is not exclusive to Lafayette, and that in cities all over the country poor neighborhoods subsidize the the affluent, the conclusion they draw is that it is a simple issue of financial mismanagement; developers should not be given outrageous, publicly-financed incentives, or if they are given incentives, it should be with an eye to long-term costs (and not growth at all costs). While we certainly agree with this, it is clear Marohn is missing the racial component, a piece important to understanding the financial evaluation and use of urban land. For more than a decade, scholarship on tax assessment and reform by writers in the fields of law and planning have shown that again and again, the properties of black individuals are overvalued for tax purposes, relative to comparable properties owned by white citizens (Beveridge, 1994; Harris, 2004). In some cases, the property of black owners has been re-evaluated

at a higher rate as punishment for civil action, such as a call for equal treatment (Kahrl, 2018) In some cases, property owners of color have pushed back, suing tax appraisal districts for unfair treatment, as in Cook County, Chicago area in 2017.

Despite a plethora of evidence that budgets are not color-blind, it is rare that planning departments address this in their own cities in any systematic way. Most public planners are drawn to the profession based on their love for the built environment and desire to shape how their towns develop. Instead, many find themselves being ordered into compliance with people or small groups who have the most money. These highly connected individuals are problematic not only because they are sometimes out for their own professional gain; they are also frequently either unaware or unwilling to acknowledge how their own racial assumptions and biases and how their expectations around white comfort and white access to space, drive the environments they imagine and then build. Their biases, while perhaps implicit, are multiplied across urban space.

Cities do not want to admit that there is a white culture in planning, and that attitudes about whiteness shape policy instruments and implementation in subtle and not so subtle ways. This is why Austin, a presumably “liberal city,” still continues to systematically endorse the removal of black people and the creation of spaces inhospitable to black culture and history. In fact, some scholars argue that, as Falguni A. Sheth notes in her text *Toward a Political Philosophy of Race*, liberalism and systematic racism are not antithetical but inherently compatible. Though American culture at large promises equality and protection for all, it historically permits only a small and ethnically homogenous group of people to define the terms of engagement and, correspondingly, to police the threshold of what it means to belong (Sheth 2009). In city planning, this comes to mean that if the small group is only capable of planning for its own safety and comfort on its own terms, it will destroy or distort existing environments to facilitate that transformation, then write off the negative impacts of their plans (racial discrimination, growing inequality, brutality) as at best an accidental and at worst an incidental outcome of these plans.

In short, while we argue in this text that city planning processes are utilized by private entities to drive economic growth, we also argue that the underlying assumption that others need not share in this growth, and that those in the path of redevelopment have nothing worth keeping, is part of a broader problem in our culture related to human value and race. Municipal laws are made flexible for those who promise to build the city in its most desirable image (however implausible), and made punitive for those who would resist large scale programs of change simply to survive.

Text Organization

Our remaining text is organized into roughly six parts: Section 1 on early Austin (1830-1940) provides background on the city's history and growth in a post-slavery period and the early formation of the East Austin neighborhood under the explicitly segregated 1928 plan. Section 2 (1940 to about 1950), discussed the Housing Act and the city's response to *Brown vs. Board* and calls for desegregation of schools (but not urban space) and the passage of urban renewal laws in response to *Berkman vs. Parker*. Section 3 looks at the 60s and 70s, the implementation of urban renewal as a tool for the displacement of black communities, civil rights, and the beginnings of community activism, as well as the Model Cities program and the rise of police activity in black neighborhoods. Section 4 takes Austin from the 80s through the 90s, discussing smart growth and one-sided environmental activism. Section 5, from the 2000s to the present period, illustrates a time of double digit growth, mass suburbanization, the capitalization of municipal budgets, and the debates over Codenext, a proposed rewrite to the City's land use code. In the final section, Section 6, we make policy recommendations for confronting systemic racism in city planning and the Austin real estate market, ask for a true accounting of the harm done by past policies and double standards, and speculate on ways to restore good governance and democracy into Austin's municipal space.

Part I: Early Austin (1830-1940)

Short Notes on Beginnings

Austin was incorporated as of December 27, 1839 and Texas became a state as of December 29, 1845, both of which were before the Emancipation Proclamation and Juneteenth. Austin's growth then, as now, was both speculative and astronomical. The city was only designated as the capital as of February 19, 1846, which was almost seven years after lots were sold on August 1, 1839. Even the University of Texas, established as of September 15, 1883, was already established by the time the Master Plan came into fruition, almost a full twenty years after the Civil War ended.

As with most American cities founded in the west in the 19th and early 20th century, large scale city planning was largely at the behest of private developers, whose goal was to build attractive homes and spaces to lure in new settlers for a profit. These ideal settlers were not envisioned as either black or native. One of Austin's oldest subdivision, Hyde Park, was founded in the early 1889 as a racially restricted community by Monroe Martin Schipe (an advertisement from the period reads bluntly: "Hyde Park is Exclusively for White People"). When Schipe's development failed to attract the elite in droves, he convinced the city to give him exclusive rights to operate an electric streetcar system, franchised under the Austin Railroad Company (Hunt, 2013). He then extended the railcar to his suburb at 40th street, spurring growth and development. Many subdivisions like Hyde Park were organized by private entities who were looking to make a profit, especially as the 1920s became more economically frenetic.

In Austin, the real question lay in who would be allowed to be a part of municipal development and who would not, because Austin had been incorporated for close to a century and was already well established. Moreover, racial segregation in Austin, at least from a legal standpoint, had not yet fully taken shape. Prior to 1928, Austin had in its history no less than 15 freedman's colonies, from the better known settlements of Clarksville (1896) and Wheatville (1869), to Barton Springs, a group named after the famous water feature (and located just south of it) settled by former slaves of the Goodrich plantation in 1870 and oriented around the Barton Springs Baptist Church (Mears, 2009). Because racial segregation was a part of existence but not explicitly a part of the law as people understood it (outside of private covenants), there was no prohibition on where black communities could reside; indeed, these communities were located all over the city and not exclusively, as is often supposed, in the eastern part of the city. These freetowns existed uncomfortably with incoming white development, which sought to acquire and turn over these areas (rather than coexist spatially with them)

What role did neighborhood activist groups play at this time in Austin's history? It is hard to say for certain. No activist groups or community groups appear within the city records before the 1940s, which was when most of the crucial planning decisions were being made, such as physical and political infrastructure. One of the most well-known activist groups, the NAACP, added a branch in the city in 1919. Despite the fact that meeting records date back to November 1, 1869, the NAACP does not appear on the city records until May 5, 1966. Therefore, no matter how much effort any of the community activist groups worked, they were all behind for a minimum of forty years. Without even touching the 1928 Master Plan, there were already national rules enforced within the city that needed nationally recognized groups to gain any political momentum.

The Standard Zoning and Enabling Act and The Standard City Planning Act

The architecture of Austin planning begins at the federal level, without which the 1928 Master Plan could never have been adopted. Before zoning, land use was largely regulated on a case by case by nuisance law. Nuisance laws emerge from the English common law tradition and allow a government or private individual to sue a property owner if they are using their property in a way that materially affects the reasonable comfort and convenience of life. Through nuisance law, one neighbor might bring another to court on the basis that the way in which that person was using their property negatively affected adjacent parties (for example, setting up a coal-processing factory directly across from a residential home, such that the smoke and ash blew directly into the adjacent property). Land management was thus negotiated on a case by case and highly contextual basis.

As the United States transitioned from being a largely agrarian to a largely urban society, control over urban land became particularly important. The 1920 Census marked the first time in which over 50 percent of the U.S. population was defined as urban (Census, 2018). It is perhaps not a coincidence that the first zoning laws were passed around this time. In May of 1924, Congress enacted the Standard Zoning Enabling Act (SZEa), which was designed to restrict land uses, meaning that the ownership and jurisdiction of land was being monitored by a specific entity. This legislation was upheld by the Supreme Court outcome in *Village of Euclid v. Ambler Realty Corporation*, in which the higher court argued that land use regulations represent a reasonable extension of the police power granted to municipalities in the Constitution. As an aside, the fact that zoning stems from “police power” is indicative of its subtle but historically deep connection to colonialism; what is zoning, if not the use of state resources and the state monopoly on violence (perhaps working against even the concept of property rights, in some cases) to enforce “correct” behaviors and install particular inhabitants in a space? It was this guarantee of control of the land, and a desire to use it to produce wealth for their communities, that underpins zoning. While zoning has some other, more laudable aims (such as the separation of toxic uses from residential ones) we will see that these rules were not applied evenly or consistently at any point in Austin’s development history.

Nationally, there was a growing sense that land uses in developed urban areas should be better organized, and that there should be basic expectations about the quality of life for a citizen of a city. The City Beautiful movement, launched in DC and Chicago a decade earlier, inspired Austin’s elected officials and bureaucrats to engage in beautification and municipal improvement projects, resulting in the creation of city infrastructure and the formalization of its green spaces and parks. However, the process for implementing better land organization on a large scale, and in the private sector and outside of public improvements alone, was not yet established. Many questions remained about implementation. First--although the Supreme Court established a municipalities’ right to apply zoning for controls of public health and safety, did cities (or individuals) have the right to select land usage for a particular parcel of land? Second, if cities did have the right to program the use template of an urban space, how would they ensure that the requisite services followed suite? Because so many city services were privately owned, service provision to all areas could not be enforced but was at the whims of individual providers. Finally, who would participate in the grand design of city land use plans? Austin had been in existence for a long time by the time the SZEa was enacted, but there remained no cohesive method of deciding what could be done with its incorporated area, and no inherent logical explanation of how to organize it by use. After SZEa and the Euclid court case, states were discontent because of the inefficiency of waiting for guidance from the recently embattled

federal government, and cities were growing with both alacrity and dysfunction. Either because Congress recognized its mishap in not originally providing more instruction or because of the growing prominence of cities (or both), they began negotiating how to create political authority for the cities in the area of land use. Thus, in March of 1927, Congress enacted the Standard City Planning Act (SCPEA) which allowed cities to develop a plan for how--and perhaps more importantly, where-- their cities would grow and develop. These laws as they were implemented in Austin bear the mark of the time of their passage, and it is important to understand the relationship between the power for municipalities to protect “public safety” and the desire by racialized contingents within a municipality to use these laws to punish, exclude, and hem in non-white populations. Although many improvements, such as the construction of new roads and schools--were verbalized as net positives, they were also intentionally designed to institutionalize and advance segregation, taking it from social custom and into the built form of the city.

The 1928 Master Plan

The beauty (and the horror!) of city planning is that it has been deemed as necessary for the orderly development of cities, but is not yet recognized as a potential (and historically documented) contributor to barriers against equity. The parties involved in the original development of the first city plan so thoroughly orchestrated segregation that it would take decades if not centuries to reverse, which was exactly their intent. While the ideology of Austin is that it remains a liberal bastion, the first planners had no such notions of political liberalism (at least as it applied to people of color). City planning is an almost permanent decision made for impermanent people, so decisions made in 1928 have structured the city in almost indelible forms that require time, money, and willpower to reverse.

The main focus of our analysis of this plan is, of course, the establishment of a Negro District in Austin’s East Side. Racial zoning was declared unconstitutional in *Buchanan vs. Warley* in 1917, a case in which the Supreme Court overturned an ordinance prohibiting the sale of property to black in majority-white neighborhoods in Louisville, Kentucky (Rothstein, 2016) on the basis that it violated the fourteenth amendment's freedom of contract. Yet cities around the country continued to try to maintain segregation through laws and actions that were either subtle enough to go undetected or, if challenged, would pass muster in federal court. Austin was no exception. Planners and city officials bemoaned the Buchanan ruling, and documented their attitudes in the text of the 1928, which famously states: "There has been considerable talk in Austin, as well as other cities, in regard to the race segregation problem. This problem cannot be solved legally

under any zoning law known to us at the present. Practically all attempts of such have been proven unconstitutional” (City of Austin, 1928).

The plan goes on to observe that: "In our studies in Austin we have found that the negroes (sic) are present in small numbers, in practically all sections of the city, excepting the area just east of East Avenue and south of the City Cemetery. This area seems to be all negro population” (City of Austin, 1928) This observation is, of course, at best hyperbolic and at worst an intentional falsehood. As previously mentioned, Austin at the initiation of the 1928 plan had a widely distributed black population, residing in clusters in all quarters of the city. Ironically, there would have been no need for the creation of a Negro District if Black people were already congregated in one spot.

The pre-1928 spatial distribution of race in Austin illustrates an important point from Richard Rothstein’s book the *Color of Law*: mixed communities of black and white people were actually more common and ubiquitous in the period following slavery’s end, and racial segregation has only *increased*, not *decreased*, since that time. This is perhaps a hard pill to swallow. While it is true that the black community has made gains in education, wealth, and civil liberties, the spatial integration of people of color into society--particular into schools and residential communities--has moved firmly in reverse, in response to (among many things) private racial covenants and public housing incentives that sought to classify neighborhoods as black or white. Rothstein, who uses Austin as an occasional case study in his book, notes that: “In 1930, the integrated neighborhood of Wheatsville had a black population of 16%. In 1932, the segregated school for black children in that area was shut down. By 1950, the black population was %1.” (Rothstein, 2015). As Rothstein notes, Austin’s Masterplan accomplished racial relocation without explicit racial zoning by locating facilities for black people exclusively in East Austin, while strategically shutting down integrated or black facilities, largely schools, elsewhere in the city, and providing no transportation for students that lived elsewhere. Other facilities were segregated: blacks were barred from swimming in Barton Springs and were mandated to ride in separate streetcar compartments.

There are two other significant components to the 1928 Master Plan that illustrate the desire to manipulate and control Black populations. The first, which was so much more sinister than the negro district, proposed the relocation of Black families to allow for the creation of Waller Creek Park. Instead of acknowledging that the conditions under which Black people lived were caused by the discrimination they faced and the severe restraints placed on the space that was available to them, there was a disdain for the lack of ability to maintain housing according to city standards. As was typical of many free black communities across the country, the land available to Black people at any given time was only the land that was unwanted by other more powerful

parties. For example, Freetown settlements are often located along creeks, in areas at risk of flooding. (Mears 2009) . However, as price pressures go up in a growing city and as new technologies allow previously challenging sites to be converted into developable parcels, areas that were once ignored became a growing focus of attention. It is arguable, moreover, that land was considered even more valuable once Black people were removed, but such value never accrued to its former owners. It is not a stretch to argue that white citizenry and City staff wanted to remove Black populations to spur growth of the White population. In 1928, the creation of a park in a floodplain area previously undesirable for any other use resulted in the displacement of established black families.

Zoning rules to preserve residential character were passed in Austin but never applied on the east side. The city's determination to place industrial and hazardous facilities in black neighborhoods over a period of decades is one of a number of factors that has shaped the still-present association between black people and "bad neighborhoods". The geographer Tom Slater calls this association "territorial stigmatization." Spatial correlations between people of color and degraded environments--whether social or economic--are not by chance, but the direction of the causality is rarely understood. Such zoning perpetuates the myth that people of color are inherently dirty, as are most commercial and industrial practices. The 1928 city plan, which relocated facilities for Black people into a part of town where it also allowed toxic uses, reinforced this association. Over the next four decades, facilities such as the Holly Power Plant and tank farms operated by Texaco, Chevron, and Citgo, located to this area or to areas predominantly settled by people of color (both Hispanic and black people), resulting in negative health effects for residents (PODER 2018).

It should be noted that people of color were not part of the decision to make such drastic characterizations to portions of their community; Until 2014, Austin's city council members were elected at large and not by district (though the NAACP asked for many years for district-based elections). Consequently, Austin's black population, when they did vote, were not able to exercise any real political power in the areas that most directly affected them, because of how political bodies were chosen during that era. Consequently, the people who would endure the results of those zoning choices had nothing to do with making those decisions.

What segregating people of color --because make no mistake, there were Mexican and indigenous people in Austin as well--allows for is the neglect by local and state governments of some areas and the simultaneous cultivation and protection of others. By segregating racial populations discreetly by geography, the city could strategically exclude people of color from a range of services and opportunities they were covetous of preserving for whites. They did this

through a series of carrots and sticks--closing locations providing social services to an integrated base, and building black-only facilities in East Austin. For example, in the 1920s and 30s, the Austin Independent School District closed black schools in integrated neighborhoods so that if black families wanted their children to go to school, they had to relocate to the East side. The first library for Austin was opened in 1926, but the first library that was open to the Black population was not opened until 1933. Moreover, once black people had fully relocated to East Austin, municipal services in that area declined. Roads in East Austin were more likely to be unpaved, sewers were poorly maintained, and bus routes suspended during the summer. (Rothstein, 2015) Finally, as we will see in the next section, housing options for black people remained limited, and as many families overcrowded into limited housing units (which were, per Rothstein's analysis, maintained at a lower standard than white housing, yet costing black people more) the quality of housing stock declined more rapidly through overuse.

The 1934 and 1937 Housing Acts

Coming out of the Great Depression, American cities were working to improve their image, to demonstrate that the United States was a safe bet for investment, and to encourage people to start participating in the economy again. This spurred a national conversation about housing access and costs. In 1934, the first Federal Housing Act created Federal Housing Administration and in 1937, the Wagner-Steagall Act appropriated federal funds to be put aside as transfers to local public housing agencies, in an attempt to incentivize the construction of more housing and to help with a housing shortage. Thus, in Austin and around the nation, the concept of housing projects was born.

While public housing was originally meant to alleviate poverty and serve families of all income levels, the construction of public housing was also used as a form of control. Local governments used the construction of public housing to further segregation communities, to reclassify communities, and to black force populations to relocate by strategically placing black public housing in limited locations. In short, local governments were grateful for a way to consolidate disadvantaged populations and move them into one part of town and away from the business districts. By December 23, 1937, the Housing Authority for the City of Austin had been established, and the city was rapidly working out how to offer new visitors a pristine image of the city. Even though the "negro district" now existed, there were still pockets around the city where black people were making homes and establishing neighborhoods, although these anomalies were diminishing as hostilities continued.

There were many places to put public housing around the city, which was continuing to expand its borders. However, one of the most heinous practices of Austin's local government has been determining where something new should go without discussing these policy changes with the people whom it would effect. Such was the case with the placement of Austin's first black housing project on the former site of Emancipation Park.

Emancipation Park was a neighborhood park in East Austin that was created and maintained to celebrate Juneteenth and the freedom of the slaves who were unaware of their liberation due to subterfuge on the part of incensed plantation owners. Ironically, the park had been privately owned and maintained by a neighborhood association, the Travis County Emancipation Organization, and the community was quite fond of it, as its presence humanized the black-segregated portion of the city. This location had been selected by Thomas White, the founder, because he felt it was important to celebrate Juneteenth on black-owned land. This park was a privately owned, privately maintained piece of property that was respected by the constituents of that area. It's important to note this because it runs counter to the assumption that Black people and other people of color are incapable of maintaining their own property, an argument which would later play a significant role in the displacement of black property owners from this area.

Reasonably, the Chestnut neighborhood argued against the city's plans to situate a housing facility in the same location as one the few parks available to the residents in this area, but none of their concerns were considered, and do not even appear in the minutes of the meeting (it should be noted that East Austinites continue to be underserved in terms of park access to this day). What is also less commonly discussed is that in addition to the parkland, the private property of two households was reclassified, and thus demolished, to allow the placement of the Black housing project at that location. Neither Chalmers Court, the White housing project, or Santa Rita Courts, the Mexican housing project, required the rezoning and demolition of private housing or a park. Despite neighborhood ire, the eminent domain case was successful and in 1938, the organization was forced to move Juneteenth celebrations to a park off of 12th street. This case is a perfect example of a city deciding, over and above the citizens directly impacted, what those citizens needed.

On February 10, 1939, the first housing project was open in East Austin, but it was only for White residents. The housing projects for Mexican residents, Santa Rita Courts, opened on June 24, 1939. On September 1, 1939, the black public housing complex Rosewood Courts opened on the former site of Emancipation Park. Interestingly, while all three housing projects were racially exclusive, all were within East Austin, while no such projects were proposed in West Austin. Wheatsville, a Black community that was created during the Reconstruction, had all but

disappeared by this time, despite the land being purchased and maintained by Black people for over fifty years. Because of zoning reconfigurations, the land could no longer be used to sustain a community, and Black people were being directed towards East Austin. Clarksville still maintained some of its demographics, but neither had solid roads nor did it have acceptable drainage, tactics used to force the Black population to move to East Austin where the city approved services for Black people. Combined with legal private racial exclusion--after 1935, most land placed race-based restrictions in private deeds and covenants, even if it was an area black folks had lived before--this aggressive round of legal exclusion, perhaps colorblind on its face and facilitated by well meaning laws and funding for affordable housing, was nevertheless successful in displacing existing populations of color (Tretter 2016). This is not the last time sweeping plans to remake city space, incentivized at the federal level, would be used to create white comfort through black relocation and population control.

Part II: 40s-50s

In the early 1940s, the creation of a larger capacity dam in Travis county, combined with the Texas Oil boom, drove a surge of economic growth along with increased population capacity in the City of Austin. Population growth during the second world war and the period immediately after, was also strategically cultivated. A 1943 film created by the Austin Chamber of Commerce, “Austin, the Friendly City”, shows how the city articulated its identity to potential newcomers: “Each year, hundreds of families move here in order to benefit from her [Austin’s] fine schools, her excellent business conditions [and] her friendly atmosphere.” (1:39). The film functions as promotional material, advertising now only how desirable the capital is but how its potential for growth serves as one of its main attractions. It depicts eager (entirely white) families that have relocated to Austin and are in the process of being integrated into its communities, institutions, and mores.

The lack of visibility of people of color in this promotional video is reflective not only of the place Austin was, but how it imagined itself; specifically, with a great deal of separation between European and non-European descended people. Communities were segregated and the rise of single family housing during this period, largely as a result of the federally backed mortgage and VA loan system, subsidized the creation of suburbs and the sprawling highways to reach them. While race-based zoning was unconstitutional, Jim Crow laws that created duplicate white and black facilities and placed them apart, essentially ensuring that certain parts of the city would be psychologically understood as racially exclusive. Richard Rothstein in *Color of Law* described the situation perfectly: “While many *de jure* segregation policies aimed to keep African

Americans far from White residential areas, public officials also shifted African American populations away from downtown business districts so that White commuters, shoppers, and business elites would not be exposed to Black people.” The university also quietly played a role in the disintegration of communities of color located near the Central Business District, as it expanded its influence and footprint east and north to add housing and administrative buildings for students and staff (Trettor, 2015). Of course, the city had its own hand in breaking down these areas, but needed a new reason to do so as the activists started intensifying their efforts and the United States was looking less like the World War II hero and more like another oppressive regime on the news.

Activist groups finally appeared in the meeting minutes for the City of Austin in this period. This is not to say they had not existed in the city prior to this time--the NAACP had a chapter in Austin as early as 1919--but they don't appear by name or reference in city records until the 40s. However, it is likely that the the timing is not accidental. According to Andrew Busch in his 2015 study of racial geographies in Austin, City records demonstrate that almost all African Americans were relocated to the Eastside by 1940 (Busch 2015). Increased segregation in Austin coincided with a drop in service provision and infrastructure upkeep in East Austin, where minority populations now congregated. It then became politically feasible for the city to ignore calls for improvements for these areas and for the city to become complicit in the worsening of their conditions. For example, the first request identified by East Austin groups comes in April 1946. Members of the Govalle neighborhood requested drainage improvements in their neighborhood, while members of the Lulac Club approached the city council for lights for Zaragosa Park. The residents were then told that the city had no funds to address these issues and were invited to participate in the next bond election.

1949 Housing Act

On July 15, 1949, an update to the Housing Acts passed the federal legislature as part of Harry Truman's "Fair Deal" program. Like previous housing acts, the 1949 act appropriated money to fund the construction of public housing and expanded financial support for Federal Housing Authority (FHA) backed mortgages. This amendment to the housing act, however, added additional programs. First, it was designed to lean harder on the private sector, and to produce affordable units not solely through public housing production, but also by providing incentives to homebuilders. Second, and perhaps more significantly, it appropriated money for federal slum clearance programs. While slum clearance (ie, the destruction of unsafe, crowded, informal housing) was encouraged in the 1937 act, a combination of additional federal funding and a

strong push for the large-scale redesign of city environments made this a political and physical reality.

The Housing Act's original intent was that the appropriation and clearing of slum housing by a city authority would then be followed by the construction of better quality housing. However, because land claimed from low income people was not always used for housing and was instead sometimes utilized for parks, bridges, and especially highways--projects that might classify as in the interest of the 'public good'-- the Act ultimately subsidized the destruction of more housing than it built (Caro 1974). More will be said about the appropriation of land by a city through eminent domain in pursuit of blight or slum clearance (also know urban renewal) in the following sections, but it is sufficient to say here that urban renewal, like all major federally lead planning initiatives, set an irreversible course for how cities would approach environments they perceived as 'degraded' and provided non-racial justification for large scale redevelopment actions that would have disproportionate effects on people of color.

Brown v Board and Berman v Parker

The year 1954 was pivotal in how local communities were shaped because of two Supreme Court cases which happened during that year. First was Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, which was decided in favor of integration. For almost eighteen months, the courts had been battling the issue of whether Linda Brown would be allowed to attend a largely white school within seven blocks of her house, or be forced to bus to an all-black school across town. While local governments and school boards had weighed in across the country, this groundbreaking question lay on the shoulders of the Supreme Court. Largely due to the organizing efforts of Justice Warren, who built consensus among the other justices with the argument that segregation itself was psychologically harmful to people of color (whether or not facilities were of equal quality) the Court decided to rule against the Topeka Education Board. They interpreted laws enforcing segregation in public institutions as a violation of the 14th amendment's Equal Protection Clause, thereby overturning the court's interpretation in Plessy vs. Ferguson in 1896, the ruling that had legalized and enabled Jim Crow across the country.

The justices ruled in favor of integration in part because of all the evidence that had been produced that demonstrated how the resources had been skewed in favor of White-only communities. When education facilities had been prepared, funded by the meager resources that marginalized communities had available, they looked stark in comparison to those long-standing structures in predominantly White neighborhoods. In Austin, the schools for Black children were

mostly private with very few public schools, while the schools in the White side of town were predominantly public, indicating a willingness to fund education where the students were considered more “worthy.” With such obvious differences in resources, the court was compelled to state that separate was inherently unequal, and that all children should have equal access to all resources in a just society.

Although the federal court ruling ostensibly closed the door to legalized segregation, particularly as it related to public facilities such as schools and recreational facilities, it was not a popular outcome. Thus, in the same way that planners resisted the supreme court's ruling on racial zoning, they also continue to resist the federal ruling on segregation by identifying or inventing new handles to exert control over urban demographics. As Michelle Alexander points out in the *New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness*, periods of gains or legal advancements for black Americans are often marked by the seeds of new, legal forms of repression. Often these punitive laws target black Americans specifically, but are coded in race-neutral or “colorblind” language. Alexander's book specifically looks at the way in which harsher penal codes and eventually uncompromising drug laws were weaponized against people of color, putting them behind bars or sidelining them from jobs and social networks with a stigma (the stigma of having a felony) after their time in prison. We argue that it was not only penal codes and drug laws that created a new Jim Crow, but also the *Berman vs. Parker* decision, which enabled the practices of urban renewal and with it, the wholesale condemnation of communities of color. These laws also sought to perform the role that Jim Crow once had--establishing black Americans as second class citizens, stymying their political participation, and cutting off access to resources.

Less than six weeks were needed to decide *Berman v. Parker*, a case which greatly expanded municipal use of eminent domain in pursuit of large redevelopment strategies. *Berman*, a store owner whose property lay in the path of a planned redevelopment project proposed by the District of Columbia Redevelopment Land Agency in Washington, D.C., argued that his lot did not exhibit conditions of blight, and therefore could not be condemned as part of a program to reduce blight. Despite this, the court ruled that non-blighted property could be taken if the taking could be tied to *prevention* of blight, and that this taking (if it was justly compensated and for a public good) was legally allowable for a municipality and not a violation of the 5th amendment's takings clause. Moreover, the court also ruled that it was acceptable for a municipality to take and then transfer private property from one owner to another, if this would facilitate the clearing of blight.

The outcome of the case hinged at least in part on the definition of the word “blight.” Blight refers to, in general, the appearance of degradation in a neighborhood (though it was not formally defined, and the definition of what constitutes blight in a neighborhood is ever-expanding). This is somewhat distinct from the older term “slum,” which implies a degraded condition that is a direct threat to public health, such as an infestation or sewage break (though it should be noted that the word “slum” has also been historically misused and politicized). Blight is a more insidious, even less clearly defined term. It implies that some aspect of the property is a threat not to public health, but to the economic development and financial health of a city. Federal housing programs had called for the clearance of substandard and unsafe housing since the 1930s; however, this case greatly expanded the criteria municipalities could use to condemn properties and also established that the removal of blight was justification for overriding the rights of small property or business owners.

It is from this court case that the term “urban renewal” originates. On the backs of the Berman decision, the Housing Act was amended in 1954; this update popularized and promoted the concept of urban renewal, and provided a new sets of incentives to developers to make these projects more appealing. On May 13, 1957, the Texas legislature passed the Urban Renewal Law, which described in detail the terms of clearing neighborhoods for the beautification for cities. Suddenly, the inability of a low-income homeowner to maintain their property resulted in more consequences than just an ugly house; owners that could not bring their homes up to code, they risked racking up fines. Throughout the nation, urban renewal became a new tool to decimate Black communities in favor of creating new city amenities that appealed to the rising white middle class.

Just Transportation

Concurrent with the Housing Act, the Berkman decision, and the availability of federal funds for redevelopment projects was a national push for road construction. Roads were needed to fuel the construction of the suburbs and to connect rural and urban supply chains for goods and services. The federal government also wanted an interstate highway system for defense purposes, specifically to facilitate efficient troop mobilization in the event of an attack. This combination of incentives led to the passage of the Interstate Highway Act under President Eisenhower on June 29, 1956. The Act subsequently authorized \$25 billion for the construction of 41,000 miles of roadway. This is the era of car-culture and Austin was on board, emulating other cities in accommodating the newest fad in transportation and the subsequent rise in automobile ownership. Since Austin's streetcar system had been scrapped in the 1940s (with the last rail

removed for scrap metal collection during the war effort in 1942) cars and to a lesser extent buses became the dominant mode of transport.

It is important to remember that while roads were (and are) vital pieces of urban infrastructure, their placement and expansion is always political in a finite landscape. Large highway and transportation projects were a key asset in plans to transform the urban environment, and were often used to reinforce or shape boundaries between communities. This was achieved sometimes quite literally by using a new road as a physical boundary between neighborhoods. A popular phrase in literature at this time was “the wrong side of the tracks,” implying that neighborhoods and people from poorer, industrial, and racially segregated communities were less worthy than those born in middle and upper class neighborhoods. Just like the railroads before them, the advent of the highway changed the dynamics of how cities were developed.

The construction of IH-35 in Austin, which followed the path of old East Ave, effectively cut off east Austin from the central business district and required the eminent domain of black owned land. On February 9, 1956, council approved a resolution on infrastructure funding in favor of the highway and in expectation of the new Mueller airport. Residents still located on that land asked when they would have to move, as well as council members, and the agreed date was July 1, 1956. In other words, less than six months was allotted for relocation of families who happened to live in the way of the council’s plans. By 1958, city council had begun approving the shifting of infrastructure to make room for the construction of IH-35. Through multiple city meetings, one can see that Austin used the highway as a chance to shape the city in a way that would be more permanent than anything else in the city, even the capitol. Ironically, despite the growing availability of monies for highways, some local roads remained unkempt. One of the remaining Black neighborhoods in West Austin, Clarksville, was still unpaved for no obvious reason than because of its demographics.

Urban Renewal Agency

During the 40s and 50s, Austin’s planning bureaucracy was slowly accumulating, expanding their leverage over development decisions in the wake of federal policies and incentives. In 1953, Austin’s city council approved the creation of a Planning Commission. Shortly thereafter, in 1955, the Planning Commission recommended the creation of the Citizens Master Plan Committee, a commission created to deal with the declaration of communities as slums and blight. While the Citizens Master Plan Committee was formed with people from all over the city, of the 139 people included in the process, only 10 people were from East Austin, and that was

deemed acceptable in 1955. (This is one of many examples of citizens from West Austin being allowed to plan the futures of the citizens of East Austin.)

On July 23, 1959, the Urban Renewal Agency was born. The timing of the creation of this agency was significant in part because it was during the budget season when various proposals were being considered by council. In no time, an extensive bond package was put together to address infrastructure issues in faltering communities. Citizens of color were in favor of fixing the infrastructure, but there was little detail provided to those citizens, and many believed that they would be able to remain in place to enjoy the improved neighborhood amenities and assets. Community outreach was minimal, and though it was not documented in the city minutes, one could conjecture that many residents would go to town meetings and ask if certain problems would be addressed. They were told that the problems would be fixed, but not at whose expense.

October 15, 1959 was when it became clear that the urban renewal policies would only be positive for the White communities, and that the neighborhood of colors were under attack. Three ordinances passed that day. First, council approved an emergency election to take place during December to allow constituents to vote on whether council could address the new urban renewal laws. The main stipulation with this special election was that *only property owners could vote*; this was considered acceptable because the Voting Rights Act had not yet occurred and no specific federal rules could be enforced, and certainly no state rules in favor of marginalized populations. Secondly, an extensive bond package was passed concerning a myriad of infrastructure problems which people of color had complained about but were always told about insufficient funding to address. Finally, land adjacent to the city of Austin was acquired, and to anyone who had ever been moved it was obvious: populations of color were expected to go further out so that the White population of the city could enjoy the fruits of the new bond package. The neighborhood improvements were not for the current residents; they were for the future residents.

The single most devastating policy in the nation made it improbable that any organic integration could ever happen, especially in the city of Austin. To tell swaths of people that they are ineligible to vote on city policy that affects them is to declare whose voice is relevant, and who is merely a pawn. Property ownership was, and still is, a contentious process, and the fact that urban renewal was decided by property owners in an emergency election is why Austin may not ever attain true socioeconomic and racial integration. By the end of the year, all the resolutions and ordinances had passed, and city began to prepare itself for the “beautification treatment.”

Part III: 60s-70s : Civil Rights and Community Outreach

The Civil Rights movement of the 1960s is perhaps one of the best well-known and most referred to organizing efforts in American memory because many of the people who were involved in this era are still alive. Protests and allies were easier to find, especially with more people having access to televisions. For the first time, the beatings, the police intrusion, and several other violent incidents were there for all the world to see. To be fair, there was still a great deal of hiding and terror, because many violent acts were going unpunished due to lack of exposure. However, this period was the beginning of an international eye on the United States; for the first time, other countries could see that despite being part of the forces against fascism, there was no limit to the segregation in one of the world's largest countries.

Austin was building its reputation as a haven for hippies and as a result, the population continued to increase. Government and university jobs were plentiful, and due to the low cost of living for the White population, many came from all over, but mainly the West Coast where hippies lived before the explosion of the real estate market. Because many of the the people who participated in this migration are still alive and in positions of authority, this idyllic fantasy is the most enduring facade when any planning occurs, even enchanting people not from this city. This image actually helped Austin become more attractive to developers and tech companies towards the end of the seventies, a foreshadow of a preference for those other than middle income workers.

Sadly, the attraction to Austin also led to more activism to maintain the “character” of neighborhoods as long as the neighborhoods held the “right” kind of constituents. A popular characterization of activists is one with a liberal bent, standing against the tyranny of the dominant narrative and barely surviving to accomplish those goals. Conversely, activism is not limited to any perspective and just like there are lobbyists who peddle influence to protect wildlife, there are lobbyists who argue for the sake of luxury housing and oceanfront views. With a plentiful lake in the middle and abundant preserve land, people began to stake their claims as to the true character of the city from opposing perspectives.

Finally, community activist groups of colors make their way more consistently into the minutes of city council meetings, although LULAC had appeared beginning in the 1940s. Again, the NAACP existed in Austin since 1919, and considering the strides towards integration and civil rights, it is simply not possible that there was no organizing until 1966, when the group appears. In this way, the city has participated in the erasure of the presence of certain types of community activists while celebrating and revering others. There are no transcripts until well into the 1990s,

so there is scant information on what is actually said and how it was received, but at least by the 1960s, more activists in favor of communities of color make their way into the history of the city of Austin.

Urban Renewal Plans

Right before IH-35 was slated to cut through the city, Austin had one more plan to adopt as recommended by the Planning Commission. At this time, the 1928 Master Plan was still being used as a guideline, which means that any segregation that began during that time period was continued during the new plan. Within the city minutes, there was no mention of active community organizations during the time the Austin Development Plan was created; if there had been, some of the following contradictions in the policies which were established as guides might have been addressed:

1. In the interest of the homeowner, the developer, and the City, great care should be exercised in the timing, location, and quality of residential development. Development that barely meets minimum standards, skip development, and conflicting land use can severely limit the soundness of a residential area.
2. Existing and future residential areas should be protected against the encroachment of undesirable and unsuitable uses. In turn, residential residential development should not encroach upon land set aside for commercial or industrial development.
3. In areas with severe traffic problems, inadequate services, unpaved streets, and limited community facilities, every effort should be made to bring such areas up to standard either through programming of capital improvements or through the use of redevelopment to the extent that it is economically feasible.
4. Private and public renewal and redevelopment should plan and work toward replacement of substandard housing found in several sections of the city.

Austin Development Plan, June 8, 1961

Already one can see that the problem with this plan is that Black people were deliberately moved towards an industrially zoned area, and since the city would continue to use the 1928 Master Plan as a guideline, the only way that people of color--since the Mexican population was also moved to industrial areas--could move into "residential" areas would be to afford homes. As it stood, most people of color made little enough money that maintaining their own households was

challenging enough, and they were given poor financial deals even if they were able to buy homes. This “new” plan left people of color stuck in poor conditions by the same private entity that created the 1928 Master Plan, and the city had very little intention of improving the conditions of those neighborhoods.

Also, community organizations had no doubt approached the city council for improvement of neighborhoods of color, but were often told that there was insufficient funding. In this way, the city deliberately underfunded those neighborhoods and gave themselves reasons to declare the areas as “slums” and “blight,” which made room for the urban renewal plans that eventually came into play. Segregation and discrimination were never properly held responsible, and could not be held responsible as long as local government officials themselves maintained prejudiced views that classified people of color as subhuman. Without support from city council or the state, communities of color were left with their own resources to combat the sanctioned neglect of the government and the environmental degradation of industry.

Even within this Development Plan, Austin had anticipated high-rise buildings and apartment complexes near the downtown area. Despite what a lot of residents during the current era seem to think, all of this expensive luxury living was included in the bones of the policy that detailed the Central Business District. Mainly, a higher cost of living would assure segregationists that people of color would not be able to maintain strong communities in the downtown area, thus making room for the growth of predominantly White neighborhoods.

The facts on the ground of urban renewals’ physical effects on the character and demographics of East Austin during the 60s have been well documented by Busch’s 2015 study:

“All five major urban renewal projects in Austin affected the Eastside, and two focused exclusively on the Central Eastside neighborhoods of Kealing and Glen Oaks. The University of Texas used eminent domain laws to secure land in East Austin for a physical plant and new athletic facilities while dispossessing dozens of African American families. Large tracts of the central Eastside were razed; it is unclear exactly how many acres were redeveloped or residents dislocated, but as of June 1966, nearly one thousand acres were scheduled for clearance or rehab in East Austin; at least 250 of those acres were in central East Austin, a majority African American neighborhood. Well over one thousand residents were dislocated during this 1960s expansions, and many more were later relocated during the UT expansion in the 1980s.” (Busch 2015)

It is worth mentioning here that, prior to the creation of the Austin Urban Renewal Agency (AURA) the municipal government itself had the power to determine quality of services and structures in East Austin. While this still meant very little input from residents, the decisions

affecting the area were still ostensibly made by an elected public entity. The formation of an urban renewal agency that had some legal and financial autonomy from elected city positions and formal staff positions created problematic opportunities for the development community to become more directly involved in the direction of change in this neighborhood. Stacey Sutton has written extensively about the role played by urban renewal agencies and development corporations in the process of gentrification--then, as today, these entities, which often operate at the boundaries of public and private, play a huge role in mission, direction, and project selection for areas that have been targeted as in need of ‘renewal.’

It is also worth mentioning that after the first round of Urban Renewal Projects (not before), crime in the neighborhood rose, the average income for the neighborhood fell, and property values continued their steep decline (Busch 2015). This makes sense when you consider the fracturing of community ties and the displacement of longtime residents that served as eyes on the street, breadwinners, and home repairs. According to Busch, between 1970 and 1976, Census Tract 8 in central East Austin, which was 97 percent minority, lost 1,976 residents and 446 families, a 14.8 percent decline in both categories (Busch 2015). It is clear that when major shifts happen in vulnerable communities whose residents depend more on each other than they do on external entities, damaged social networks cannot be somehow replaced or made up for with nicer structures or new recreational amenities. The social relationships, forged through sweat equity and time, are irreplaceable. Overall, Urban Renewal’s role in American cities--and Austin was no exception--was to paint a neighborhood as “bad” to justify a need for funds. This is a process the geographer Tom Slater calls territorial stigmatization, and its effects are deep and wide reaching (Slater 2015).

Activism: On the Record

Neighborhoods for people of color in Austin were finally able to be the targets of development. Despite the city’s former negligence in developing those communities, slums and blight were declared abundantly throughout Austin. Fortunately, during the 1960s, community organizations that addressed issues for the communities of color finally began to be recognized in the city minutes. Again, this is not to say that the organizations were not actively engaged with the city before this point in time. The only explanations of why community organizations were disregarded lie in the heads of those who refused to acknowledge those organizations, and pure speculation.

For example, the first recognition of the NAACP within city minutes occurs on May 5, 1966, under the leadership of Volma Overton. He asked that the city take a more aggressive stance enforcing the Civil Rights Acts of 1964, and asked that the city extend more authority to the Human Relations Commission to subpoena for addressing discrimination practices. One can see that discrimination has already played a part in how community organizations were treated by the delayed presence of a national group that had already been chartered in Austin since 1919. Also, there was no mention of how the city had planned to address discrimination even though the council passed an ordinance to create the Human Relations Commission to address discrimination issues on May 12, 1964.

However, under urban renewal, some of the residents in older neighborhoods were concerned that the city might deem their properties as slums or blight. Therefore, many neighborhood association began to work to designate their communities as historic districts. Despite having no paved roads, Clarksville was never listed as a historical district until the Black population had been severely affected. No historical survey was done in East Austin that was available to the public until 2016.

Progress of East Austin (Re) Development

Before the 1960s, there was only one library in East Austin that was publicly maintained called the Carver Branch of the Austin Public Library, opened as of September 11, 1933. The population began to increase as more people of color were denied services throughout the rest of the city, and it was no longer reasonable to expect one library for the swarms of people in East Austin. Both the main library and the Carver branch were air conditioned in 1953, but with six branches in West Austin and only two library location in East Austin, the inequity was obvious. On February 20, 1963, the Austin Public Library opened a new branch at Windsor Village Station that was closer to the outskirts of the city limits, but at least located in East Austin.

With urban renewal on the minds of so many, the council received three major urban renewal projects that were recommended by the planning commission. The first project involved Kealing, which was located adjacent to the downtown area but east of IH 35, in the heart of the middle class Black community. Continuing in the Black community, the Planning Commission had approved the urban renewal plan for the Blackshear neighborhood, which connected to Kealing by 11th Street. The University of Texas at Austin was also looking to expand south of 15th Street, building a study hospital--Brackenridge Hospital--to increase the medical care available in the city. There were churches, parks, and swimming pools that were regularly

attended by the local residents. However, developers had decided that the land east of IH-35 was available for development--and understood that the city was willing to ignore the demands of the residents.

In response to residents lifting their voices, Austin began the practice that ensured the continuation of segregation: a plethora of studies. Without context, studies seem academic and thoughtful, endemic of a well-considered action that should be taken every time that a local government needs to make a difficult decision, and genuinely directed at objectively exploring and resolving a problem. However, when urban renewal came about, there was a wide variety of studies that focused on the *appearance* of the communities, rather than the *effects* of urban renewal. In short, developers and consultants showed local governments attractive depictions of the result of construction--many of these depictions devoid of any people of color. Some statistics were included for show, but none of the independent entities emphasized how people would be displaced or how communities of color would be affected by property taxes.

For example, at a meeting on March 4, 1965, when a council member expressed concerns about displacement, consultants moved quickly to study the effects of the Blackshear Renewal Project. In a nod to concerns about life in East Austin, the Oak Springs branch of the Austin Public Library was proposed on April 28, 1965. However, Blackshear was one neighborhood, and none of the other council members suggested that all the projects be halted until the completion of the study. On September 13, 1965, the Kealing, Brackenridge Hospital, and Glen Oaks urban renewal projects were approved.

Other organizations began to establish the activist presence to strengthen the positions of the NAACP and LULAC, although the NAACP did not acquiesce to cede the Black population as victims of displacement, nor did LULAC cede the Latino community. The Human Opportunities Corporation began as an unincorporated group of people who were doing what they could to address inequality, but started making a name for themselves. On February 9, 1967, the city council transferred control of the Office of Equal Opportunity to the Human Opportunities Corporation. From there, the organization formed programs with city departments to employ youth and clean up neighborhoods. The group was even able to offer the council its own study on how Austin was offering lower wages for unskilled workers than other comparable cities. Seemingly, the city was interested in addressing its issues, and conferred with the HOC for offering approaches to equity while also creating the Community Development Advisory Commission on May 25, 1967.

The NAACP provided testimony on behalf of an Open Housing Ordinance. In theory, all housing that was available in the city was supposed to be available to all people in the city. At the time, Austin had a reputation for being an attractive city with inexpensive housing, which is why it attracted several people from California due to the cost of living being more affordable. Thus, housing discrimination meant that while housing was plentiful for White people, everyone else was still being segregated and crammed into one part of the city. As it had for the urban renewal plan, the council agreed to open an investigation on claims of housing discrimination. No action was taken, and the housing shortage for people of color remained a problem.

Model Cities

Unfortunately, those who were poised to make money from the city were not at all willing to give up on designating some areas to be readily available for the taking. On May 24, 1967, the state legislature passed another urban renewal law which was basically a reiteration of the first one, emphasizing slum clearance and juvenile delinquency, but further putting the pressure to create single family housing. More crucial, on January 22, 1968, Austin was selected to participate in the Model City Planning program, an ambitious element of Lyndon B. Johnson's War on Poverty. Rather than operating solely on a land redevelopment model, the program's purpose was ostensibly to focus on rehabilitation, social services, and citizen participation. Although the Model Cities Program was created as a response to dissatisfaction with urban renewal, in some ways it became a vehicle for the same outcomes. And during participation in the Model Cities program, the city continued to create task forces and actionable urban renewal plans. Even though the city code had been amended to actually create a mission and an operating procedure for the Human Relations Commission, an entity that could in theory provide the critical outreach and engagement function that Johnson's federal level plan actively called for, the public meeting record shows otherwise (as we will see in detail below).

As the number of urban renewal projects increased, so did the attempts to placate the communities of color while not addressing the slum clearance that was driving people out of their homes. Instead of the Human Opportunities Corporation advising the city, the organization was eventually taken over by the city, which meant that its actions could be thwarted by politics instead of working towards its own mission. The head of the HOC also expressed concern about the effects of urban renewal even as the organization rented space to council to run the Model Cities program. To their credit, the HOC made an honest attempt to inform residents about the urban renewal process, and encouraged the formation of neighborhood organizations to advocate

on their own behalf. It was evident that there was trouble when the council delayed funding for the Legal Aid Society, which used to be funded by the HOC.

On March 7, 1968, the University East Urban Renewal Project Area was approved, which officially expanded the university east of IH-35. Already crowded with a cemetery, the extension of the university meant two things. First, property values around universities increase whether or not the actual land gains additional use. Second of all, the security for the area would increase because of the expectations of the existing community. However, this land was right next to the central business district, which meant that land values could only increase. In theory this could have meant that quality of the property surrounding the area would have improved, especially with an influx of a professional population; at least this was how the plan was presented to the populace.

However, the populace, far from quiet, was already making its voice heard--only the decision makers were unwilling to listen. A very oft-heard retort when marginalized communities file complaints is that people should attend the meetings to be heard. It is curious, then, that when the HOC addressed the council, even with city staff included with the HOC, activists were never heard. When the HOC asked how the Model Cities program would address housing issues, the council responded that the definition would be addressed in the planning sessions even though nothing specific had been planned. By the end of 1968, the Human Opportunities Corporation was repeatedly appealing to council about pollution in East Austin and the rat infestation, desperate to improve the lives of residents. Coldly, council emphasized that despite participating in the Model Cities program, no funds were available without the help of private and non-governmental entities, directing the citizens to address the problems themselves. Many plans to improve East Austin were deferred until plans could be reviewed or federal funds could be appropriated. When groups like the Community United Front did approach council for programs to improve their neighborhoods, the groups were fastidiously denied.

To combat accusations of discrimination, council approved a fair housing ordinance not long after the passage of the federal Fair Housing Act. In fact, a density ordinance was passed on June 30, 1968 to supposedly help with the housing prices throughout the city. More actions proved that these were merely ancillary to maintain the segregation that was increasingly difficult to prove, and manipulating communities of color. Throughout 1969, council approved several other minor actions, but none of the neighborhood issues were addressed. On December 23, 1969, council had approved the Neighborhood Development Program and Feasibility of Relocation--Blackshear Project. Despite the fact that residents and activists attended multiple meetings, the

council was more interested in appealing to developers and creating “density,” even at the expense of residents.

Meanwhile, activist groups were doing their best to improve the lives of people in East Austin and collaborate with the city, but were thwarted by the city council at every turn. The HOC tried to stop the city from annexing an area being used as a park, but the city acquired the property. The NAACP tried to designate a holiday in honor of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and plan a parade, but was told that state procedures were needed to designate a holiday. Supposedly erroneous paperwork killed the parade. Even the city manager inquired about available funds for a youth program that was usually hosted by the HOC, but council had delegated those funds to other organizations which addressed youth. Ironically, the University of Texas stepped up and agreed to host the free breakfast program that was being run by Community United Front, a self-proclaimed Black power organization.

Fed up with the disrespect and the muffling of their voices, much of the disenfranchised population began to believe that geographic representation was the only way for their voices to be heard at the local level. Most of the city council members lived in West Austin, often with only one exception. Residents believed--and currently continue to believe--that empathy for the plight of the underclass will be seen as a luxury rather than a reality for many people. Thus, the only way to validate the voice of people who lived in East Austin would be to have representatives from East Austin on the city council. On December 3, 1970, activists approached city council with an amendment to the city charter for geographic representation districts for council members. A number of different groups, both ethnic and non-ethnic, provided examples of why such unbalanced representation had led to community disruption, and that there was a general failure to listen to groups whose neighborhoods were being affected, especially by urban renewal.

Now the council was not happy to see this new position acquired by the marginalized population for many reasons. First, the way the city had been functioning allowed for placating actions like parades and holidays while making it difficult for real change, such as building infrastructure and improving existing city facilities. Secondly, council was being called out in a way that made their previous actions difficult to ignore, such as addressing problems broached by West Austin residents while dismissing the most minute issues of East Austin. Bringing a question to the council regarding the charter made the city uncomfortably aware that people of color were well aware of how the process was working, and were challenging it. The battle for geographic representation would continue for over forty years, and during those forty years, much of East Austin--including the people--would change drastically almost to the point of nonrecognition.

However, it was in December 1970 that the residents dared to challenge an indifferent council on its own terms. Not surprisingly, council decided that more time was needed to officially change the city charter.

Activists on the Next level: Policing Poverty and Crime

Like many minority neighborhoods across America, East Austin was becoming the recipient of a lot of multi-layered forms of “aid” and “help,” sometimes with conflicting agendas, and often with outcomes that lead to anything but poverty alleviation. One of the side effects of the Model Cities Program was a concentrated police presence, and increased interaction between young minority men and police. As Elizabeth Hinton has documented in her book *From the War on Poverty to the War on Crime: The Making of Mass Incarceration in America*, many of the federal dollars earmarked for social improvement in struggling urban communities went not to neighborhood recipients, but to municipal police departments. Hinton argues that this is because of deeply held-unchanging assumptions about black communities--namely, that poverty was a side effect of poor moral character, that black communities were chaotic and disorderly, and that the imposition of ‘order’ through additional policing would improve struggling neighborhoods. The 1965 Law Enforcement Assistance Act used federal funds to militarize city police departments. Subsequent anti-crime funding under Nixon incentivized social service providers in the realms of housing and education to work with police departments and courts, identifying, targeting, and often entrapping “potential” rather than actual criminals (Hinton 2016).

Such as the case in East Austin as well. Before the drug war, people were looking to fight integration and maintain property values, especially in the rise of the suburb. The effects of Urban Renewal (social degradation from fractured community bonds) gave communities and local government the excuse needed to further concentrate police presence along the lines envisioned by Johnson in his War on Crime. Meanwhile, declarations of slum and blight continued. And this is what it is important to remember in this case--the effects of these policies were cumulative, not only because their effects were lasting, but because they continued to be used as tools in new and successive iterations over and over again, and on top of one another, simultaneously.

In 1970, the NAACP filed complaints against the Austin Police Department, and attempted to bring the issue of police violence in front of the Human Relations Commission. Stalling, the city council moved to first investigate, stating that the Human Relations Commission could review the issue after the investigation was completed. Calling their bluff, the NAACP again filed a

complaint with further evidence validating the claims of police violence, but the council moved to wait until an HRC board member had returned from vacation.

On February 25, 1971, East Austin activists again broached the matter of geographic representation. This time, council reverted to its tried and true method of demanding a study on the matter, but it was painfully obvious to residents that the council was disinterested in accommodating the voice of its marginalized residents. The only positive outcome of ignoring the constituents was that no new urban renewal plans were approved in 1971. Towards the end of the year, city council even began interfering with the workings of the various community organizations that were directly addressing marginalization. Community United Front was unable to create a free daycare due to the various stipulations included by city council, even though juvenile delinquency was a condition of a slum. Despite praising the HOC for its work, the city council began to demand more autonomy over the independent organization.

During 1972, the city council seemed immune to any appeal from community organization groups from East Austin. The HOC continued its struggle to do work on behalf of its residents, but was met by delays and was eventually co-opted by the city council, despite the pleas to keep the organization intact. The NAACP proposed an ordinance addressing workforce discrimination, and the city council passed an ordinance against discrimination among city contractors, but not addressing discrimination overall. The Austin Welfare Rights Organization appealed to council to address the difficulties that marginalized constituents faced when requesting medical services from Brackenridge. Instead of addressing the issue, the city council requested an opinion from the city attorney. Even when activists approached the city council again for geographic representation, the council refused to put the matter to the ballot.

Even as the groups' involvement with the city council increased, so did the police presence in neighborhoods of color. On multiple occasions, community organizations appealed to the city council to reduce the number of police patrolling their neighborhoods and brutalizing residents only to be told to wait for the results of a studies or the opinions of disengaged staff members. Meanwhile, urban renewal law changes allowed for votes on the plans even though there were several voting issues. In the more rural areas under extraterritorial jurisdiction, the city council worked with the county to appoint the commissioners court members as an ad-hoc "city council." More of the land in East Austin was being acquired and patrolled by people who were interested in attracting unfettered development. So much of that side of Austin was assigned as slums and blight, and people felt powerless to stem the tide of interest in their communities--without them living there anymore.

The most frustrating aspect of all of the city council's lack of attention to activism was the seldom acquiescence to the problems, offering just enough acknowledgment to avoid the appearance of utter contempt. Several parades were approved, and days were dedicated to different activists. In 1975, the city council finally did pass an anti-discrimination ordinance having seen the difficulties of communities of color in acquiring work that would allow financing for better housing, housing improvements, or youth investment such as summer activities. The Capital Improvement Plan, the annual budgeting for how parts of the city would be publicly improved, was extensively targeted in East Austin. The city council even approved of a Service Employment Redevelopment (SER) program -- an employment program geared towards marginalized populations working public service -- include Spanish-speaking laborers and other additional funding. However, such concessions could either be viewed as nods to equity, or preparation for the developers looking to acquire housing. After all, by this time, there were four active urban renewal plans, and activist groups were still reeling from police brutality, and police presence remains a prime indicator of displacement.

While activists for marginalized groups remained active and engaged, more of West Austin observed the decimation of neighborhoods of color and began to take steps to protect their own neighborhoods. Unlike the working class communities, many of the homeowners in West Austin were able to finance improvements as well as renegotiate mortgages for better terms. Many of the workers in those areas maintained diverse opportunities, and none of those areas had been targeted for urban renewal. Most importantly, the neighborhood associations began applying for their communities to be added to the National Register under the National Park Service. While such a designation may not indefinitely protect a specific site, it does slow down the process and creates an added layer of protection. The main requirement for such a designation is maintenance, which was infinitely easier in West Austin than East Austin.

Urban League Comes to Town

The crux of the argument for urban renewal is that the buildings and the neighborhoods are so unsightly that there was nothing left to do but wipe out the edifices and start against from scratch. Naturally, this put communities of color who had difficulties obtaining improvement financing and other maintenance opportunities at a disadvantage. Working class people may have had the skills to paint their homes and repair buildings--what they needed was time and the money for supplies. Although there were multiple organizations dedicated to creating time for the families and allowing a voice for constituents, there was a need for people to help with neighborhood maintenance to avoid being targeted for urban renewal. When the activists wanted

to discuss separating the city into districts to ease the transition of geographic representation, the council members requested further public meetings.

On September 29, 1910, the National League of Urban Conditions Among Negroes was formed, dedicated to living conditions of Black people in urban environments. The organization formed as a testament to the deplorable living conditions under which Black people were expected to live during times of segregation. While the NAACP had been present in Austin, the National Urban League had not yet chartered a local branch. Urban renewal helped bring Austin to national attention, and when the stories about neighborhood destruction began to line the Black press, the organization stepped in and chartered itself on June 30, 1976. Like other nonprofits, the Urban League requested funding from city council to accomplish its mission which was to improve the housing and neighborhood conditions in East Austin. Unimpressed, the city council tried to allege that the organization did nothing for the Chicano community based on its history, but the Urban League was familiar with these types of tactics, and was funded beginning in October 1976.

Beginning in 1977, the Urban League recognized that the need for home maintenance to protect communities of color was paramount to protection from urban renewal. Therefore, they developed a home maintenance and management program to help homeowners keep their homes in good condition. Logically, they explained to council that if protection of the neighborhoods of color, both Black and Chicano, relied on better maintenance, then the council would demonstrate its lack of discrimination towards those communities. The city council tried to deny the funding, saying that it was seed funding for an experimental program. In response, the Urban League demonstrated that it had already performed on a national arena, and was merely transferring proven results to the city of Austin. Grudgingly, the city council approved the remainder of the budget proposed by the Urban League for the fiscal year, even though the organization was not chosen for a Request for Proposal later in the year.

For the rest of the seventies--and unto the current era--there was a constant vacillation between allowing for further funding, but being denied for the services that would improve the quality of life for residents in East Austin. Streets went into East Austin, but it was extremely difficult to leave that part of town without familiarity. Ironically, because of protests against the various wars and the concentration of transplanted residents, Austin developed a stellar reputation as a laid-back city with a liberal political bent. Looking at the past, one can truly see that the comfort and ease which gave Austin its appeal were limited to one side of the highway, while real estate speculation and police invasions were planned for the other part of town. When people are discussing the “true” character of Austin, they are discussing this period that is characterized by

the decimation of neighborhoods of color and an indifferent city council. This was only intensified after state urban renewal law was amended, allowing cities to increase property taxes to fund urban renewal projects.

Part IV: 80s- 90s:

With the Urban League in full effect, East Austin began to fight back against the tyranny of West Austin, especially once the Office of Neighborhood Revitalization was established on October 22, 1981. Citizens were pointing out that displacing large populations was unjust and that no part of town deserved to have its population chosen by other people. The purpose of this office was to diminish the effects of displacement, and there were several communities that were still largely neighborhoods of color who were fighting against developers. The city must have understood that their bias had been evident for decades because instead of having to fight the city and receive negative pushback, funding was approved for a number of programs designed to assist East Austin residents. On November 12, 1981, the Robertson Hill community was able to successfully lobby city council for a moratorium on building permits despite a lack of historical zoning, requesting studies on the effects within the community.

Based on the slight detente between activist groups and the city council, council members were appointing activists to be on various city commissions. In theory, such appointments appeared to be concessions to accountability and could have resulted in such. However, as with the Human Opportunities Corporation, many people in the community organizations were wary that city council would attempt to take over the organizations, eventually eliminating them. Thanks to the Urban League, there were few designations of slums and blight, but there were still alternating successes and difficulties in funding programs to avoid those designations. Also, commissions and task forces were and are composed of volunteers who were given no direct authority, only the chance to make recommendations to city council. At one point, the Urban League stressed that it was under too much pressure to prevent the desolation of East Austin with the minimal resources available.

Meanwhile, the police presence was escalating and despite appealing to council on several occasions, activists and residents were told that the problem was solved by the addition of officers of color. When the police chief was called upon to address why there was so much brutality aimed at Black and Latino constituents after a Ku Klux Klan march, he was forced to

recant after speaking unfavorably of Latino residents. East Austin constituents and activists attempted to designate a significant building as historic, just like the neighborhoods in West Austin. Unfortunately, the Planning Commission deemed that there was no significance to the building and the council upheld its demolition. So, East Austin was forced to reckon with an enthusiastic police presence, limited infrastructure funding, and the demolition of its history.

Requesting Representation

On April 5, 1984, the NAACP has reached its limit on abiding by the rules set forth by the decision-makers in local government, and filed a lawsuit against the city in the Western District federal court based on the at-large voting system for Austin. In a classic move, the city had organized a Black Citizens Task Force that was designed to placate activists while relieving Austin of resolving any of the complaints that both activists and private citizens had raised. The Task Force had not been around for as long as the NAACP, but was deemed adequate as representative of the needs of Black Austinites. Not surprisingly, the Black Citizens Task Force stated that the NAACP did not speak for Black Austin, and because the Black population was so small, having one Black council member was statistically adequate for addressing Black concerns.

Fortunately, the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF) was not deterred by the dismissal, and joined the NAACP in the complaint that at-large voting reduced the effectiveness of the Mexican American vote in Austin. Just like the Black activists groups, the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) had been shouting against the wind whenever attempting to address concerns in the Mexican community. Like the Black population, the Latino population was relegated to East Austin, but because their communities were located near the lake, they were forced to endure people wanting to enjoy waterfront proximity without interacting with Latino people. The only plus side to living in their community was that they were relatively close to the work that they were “allowed” to do, meaning blue collar jobs and service work.

The city council one of the most egregious affronts and the most damning of discriminatory acts against the NAACP and MALDEF: they tried to remove both groups from drawing district lines as if the city were prepared to transition to districts. To decide to acquiesce to a group’s demand but exclude that group was wrong, but it turned out that exclusion was hardly necessary. On August 3, 1984, the court overturned the complaint due to a lack of evidence that the at-large

system was discriminatory. Numerically, the court might have been correct because the number of Black people in Austin likely diminished based on the past experiences. Nonetheless, it would be interesting if the evidence of how the population was strategically displaced based on segregation and urban renewal would have influenced the outcome.

After decades of dismissive action and refusal to truly respect the work of community organizers in bringing issues to the attention of council, the NAACP and MALDEF appealed the decision and demand that single-member district plan be brought to the ballot. For the first time since 1970, council finally agreed to place item on the ballot for voter consideration, almost in a nod to recognizing that making decisions without even considering a vote was more autocratic than it wanted to appear. Therefore, even though the Court of Appeals affirmed the decision of the lower court, for the first time ever, Austin held an emergency election on single-member districts on January 19, 1985.

Even with all the changes and all the reports to the contrary, Austin has prided itself on liberalism, a concept which has done very little for the city other than increase property values, making it difficult for working class communities to thrive. During the 1980s, there were still large, concentrated populations of color, many of whom had been working to make their voices heard over the din of urban renewal and segregation. Activists surrounded the meetings and were consistently holding city council as accountable as it intended to be, and the city was laying down anti-discrimination ordinances both generally and for housing. Supposedly, there was a large population of “hippies” and people who considered themselves sympathetic to the plight of marginalized communities. This sympathetic, liberal population which was aware of the thriving communities of populations of color mobilized no one in favor of the single-district measure, and those who voted, voted against it.

Neighborhood Planning Process

As neighborhoods, East Austin residents were working to counteract the displacement and rezoning of their communities. However, at the same time, Austin was developing a very positive reputation for a new demographic: the tech worker. IBM had long since come to Austin, but technology was not the professional class that was as apparent in Texas, especially with a city that was known for its law school and high concentration of attorneys in the state capitol. Most of the employees in the city worked for the government on the local, county, and state levels, and there were offices all over the city, but mostly in the downtown area near the capitol. The tech industry had no such spatial constraints and was able to locate wherever the site manager felt was most appropriate. Because of the large concentration of White people in West Austin and

the reputation of those communities as attractive, viable neighborhoods, developers were looking to build and create a boom even bigger than the urban renewal. The city, of course, was looking to build its tax base, not unlike all local governments who depend on property taxes to improve infrastructure.

Unlike the government workers and many of the lawyers, the tech workers had money. This is significant because in a city full of government workers, the salaries are set by elected bodies who, in theory, are chosen by the people and are accountable to constituents. Workers who are paid by private industry are not accountable to the public, and business regulations in Texas are considered some of the most pro-business and anti-worker rules in the country. Therefore, a city full of largely middle class workers was becoming saturated with a new professional class. Many tech companies were eyeing Austin from the perspective of a comfortable, relaxed city that cost less to live in than Silicon Valley. At this time, more families were starting to own personal computers and there was a rising market for personal technology that was only just becoming realized. Like the rise in personal technology in the 1950s and 1960s, this boom promised to be even larger.

Naturally, there was panic among West Austin residents who were realizing that their habit of sustaining strong infrastructure and higher property taxes for their schools would make their neighborhoods more attractive to developers. Having run out of historic districts to appeal to the National Register, West Austin residents drummed up support and achieved the passage of the Inner City Ordinance, which was insulting on two levels. First of all, “inner city” was often a term reserved for marginalized communities, many of which have large populations of color. Secondly, this ordinance did nothing to protect the neighborhoods of color in the urban core; only predominantly White neighborhoods were covered, so again, activists were unwilling to advocate for their neighbors across the highway. However, this ordinance and neighborhood planning ordinances would not keep developers at bay forever, so the neighborhood associations sought another reason for why their communities should be protected, but more development should occur.

SOS and Smart Growth

As Busch charts in his documentation of gentrification struggle in Austin, the rapid postwar and highly suburbanized character of Austin development had environmental activists concerned. Heightened activism and the rise of grassroots environmental groups building in the 70s and 80s, a period coinciding with massive strip mall and low-density tract home housing construction,

gave rise to a unified call to protect the city's drinking water, in the form of the Save Our Springs Alliance. This group, while its mission was laudable, was not composed of members from all parts of the city, but from predominantly West Austin. Myopically, they focused on protecting the character of their own near-central neighborhoods, as market pressures drove developers to look for places to site denser housing and as congestion drove the city to plan new and bigger roads through their existing, traditional neighborhoods. In the 80s and 90s, the West Austin activists fought about projects in the Edwards Aquifer Recharge Zone. In 1997, Busch notes, the city elected a Green Council, made up of longtime environmental activists and residents. He sees this as the moment when 'life quality' advocates successfully won the battle over developers in West Austin.

The activism of SOS was successful; West Austin has far greater development and environmental controls than it did prior. The problem, however, is that West Austin had only advocated for itself, so all the development it had fought in its own backyard was ultimately displaced East (And they had used 'environmentalism' as the lever by which to accomplish their goals.) This was the inauguration of "Smart Growth" planning in Austin. When the city's Green Council, under the leadership of Mayor Watson, sought to protect areas around the aquifer and the hallowed green spaces of central west Austin without compromising the need for additional development, then declared central East Austin a "Desired Development Zone." Tax breaks, subsidies and infrastructure improvements now drove developers, who had less access to white suburbs, east of I35 (Busch 2015).

New Vision for East Austin

While West Austin neighborhoods were gaining strength and having their convictions affirmed by both local ordinances and state laws, developers were still looking for ways to make money in the urban core, where land was more expensive. The problem was that since much of the land had been zoned "industrial" in the past and the infrastructure left much to be desired, few people were looking towards East Austin. After all, there were power plants, police brutality, and housing projects in East Austin which were considered appropriate for "those" residents but not for the professional class. The Urban League was the main entity working to preserve at least the appearance of East Austin to avoid the spread of supposed slums and blight, but with the eye of developers ever hungrily gazing at downtown property, there would be little advocacy on behalf of the residents. To avoid the appearance of discrimination, the takeover occurred in steps.

In 1991 within the first six months, the Neighborhood Revitalization Commission was terminated and council approved the East 11th Street Neighborhood Conservation Combining District. On its face, these actions appear innocuous until one considers that the whole purpose of the Neighborhood Revitalization Commission was to work towards mitigating displacement which occurred under urban renewal. Also, combining neighborhoods may seem like a more efficient administrative method of reviewing neighborhood plans, but it commits large parcels of land to similar zoning and development patterns. On March 21, 1996, council approved the budget for the East 11th and 12th Street Urban Renewal/Master Plan, even though there had been no urban renewal plans for almost thirty years. Community organizers did their best to rally activists and appeal to city council, but they were no match for avaricious developers who were capitalizing on the last wave of urban renewal and enthusiasm for smart growth. On January 14, 1999, council approved the first urban renewal plan in almost thirty years, insultingly titled “New Vision for East Austin.” It should be noted, then, that just because a planning tool has become unpopular, it does not mean it will not be used. Urban renewal has remained a part of the Austin toolkit and, despite its bad reputation, was never fully put down.

Part V: 2000s-2010s

New Visions of Density

The biggest part of the “New Vision” was that much of the neighborhoods directly east of downtown were designated as slums and blight, which devalued the property so that developers could acquire it. Once acquired, the main problem that developers encountered was the industrial zoning in neighborhoods where they were interested in building for the “new vision.” Because of the designation of the desired development zone, many of the developers were receiving subsidies to fulfill the “new” vision of density and prosperity in the downtown area. Per law, these zoning changes were published and people were able to attend the meeting, but what began to happen was that specific groups were mentioned on zoning change sheets instead of actually making the information available to the public. Consequently, a few people were being forced to speak for entire communities and the common refrain was that “people were never really engaged.” Instead of respecting the speed at which developers were attempting to acquire land in East Austin, zoning meetings were constantly held despite people’s inability to attend.

Because of the rise of “smart growth,” developers and planners alike began to market infill development as if the majority of Austin would see extensive projects appear. To be fair, there were a number of projects that were completed in West Austin, including the Domain and the

Triangle, both high-end developments that were accessible by transit. The main problem was that because West Austin was not viewed as the desired development zone, more infill was put in East Austin, and while efforts were made to demand affordable housing, the audits were proven to be less effective. Thus, luxury developers were receiving incentives for creating housing to lower the cost of living, but were only creating luxury housing. To add insult to injury, development in West Austin was viewed as “redevelopment,” while development in East Austin was viewed as “urban renewal” and revitalization, as if the populations living in east had been dormant. Parcels would be built in West Austin while entire communities would still be designated as slums and blight under the “New Vision” plan. Such actions were justified by the September 1, 2005 ordinance, which designated that eminent domain could not be used for economic stimulus, but could be used for “urban renewal” and “revitalization.”

When people began to question incentives, the City of Austin began funding glossy new projects through tax increment financing, i.e. if the city would borrow from itself and steadily begin to raise property taxes. Those who were enjoying regular income at the professional level were less affected, but many of the low-income communities saw their neighborhoods begin to crumble under the strain of ever-rising property taxes. Sure, it was possible to protest raising property tax rates, but one must generally have the opportunity to go to city facilities during the “workday,” something that would prove difficult for lower income or mobility impaired people. Communities across town received extensive rises in property tax because instead of recognizing the massive state government employee population of the city, council was banking on attracting steadily more higher class residents to increase the incomes of city workers and quell the luxury market. More homes were taken on failure to pay property taxes, and more luxury homes were built.

Additionally, Capital Metro decided that if Austin was interested in being a real force to be reckoned with, a train was necessary, even if it barely connected to places where people needed to be. Plenty of people of color were taking the buses and people were well aware that there were buses traveling around the town, but to sustain the interest of the dominant narrative, trains were considered absolutely necessary. Therefore, the zoning of “transit-oriented development” and “vertical mixed-use” were added to the city vernacular. Communities where train stops were located became inundated with luxury housing in the name of “transit-oriented development”-- even though few businesses could afford the rent and fewer people could afford to live in the housing. Developers were still getting incentives hand over fist, while the working class was struggling to maintain some semblance of equity with those in the upper echelons, i.e. living alone, patronizing restaurants, attending concerts for which the city is famed.

2000s Activism

In the beginning of the process for urban renewal and revitalization, many of the activists were forces to be reckoned with who had the power of mobilizing hundreds of people with just their names. However, as time progressed and more people of color have subscribed to the dominant narrative; many formerly passionate names are on the city boards and are used as race representatives without directing city staff to seek more direct engagement. Nothing detracts from progress more than refusing to accept knowledge and communication with more recent advocates, a problem that is growing as fast as the city of Austin. Furthermore, the city's penchant for assigning race representatives creates unnecessary tension within communities of color, which weakens opportunities for joint activism. After all, if a community is disenfranchised from buying property and further ordinances are created which raise property values of some communities but not others, a city demonstrates its willingness to sacrifice some people in the name of increasing a tax base and its disinterest in retaining vibrant communities of color.

Nonetheless, El Concilio, a community organizing group closest to the river, made a regular habit of attending those meetings and protesting the zoning changes. Even though the city council never agreed with El Concilio and never sided with them, El Concilio was mentioned on zoning change sheets as a point of contact for developers. Even without the "suitable professional backgrounds" of the West Austin advocates, the group was a force to be reckoned with in terms of knowledge on how marginalized communities were being dismantled in favor of the dominant narrative. El Concilio condemned the council for using "historic zoning" in West Austin neighborhoods while directing development into East Austin. While Save Our Springs was commanding the attention of council for watershed protection and keeping West Austin communities as pristine as possible, El Concilio was fighting for the closure of the Holly Power plant, which was causing pollution and health problems for the East Austin residents. When transit-oriented development and vertical-mixed use were the new trends in zoning, El Concilio explained that it was being used to displace marginalized residents.

The NAACP started raising questions about the urgency to close Black-owned businesses and the rise in police brutality. With the extensive displacement in East Austin, many long-time business owners were unable to acquire financing to improve the appearance of their buildings while more expensive and boutique businesses were taking over the streets. In 2004, for the first time ever, there was a bank directly east of I-35 despite well-patronized businesses being there over the course of several years. Newer businesses were getting patronized and publicized, and media outlets were discussing the new vibrancy of the previously "derelict community." Police continued to plague the historically Black portion of Austin, giving the appearance of high crime

and devaluing the property in order for easy acquisition. In response, the NAACP filed a complaint against the Austin Police Department in 2004.

What became clear about the city of Austin was that the White neighborhood contingencies and the White local politicians made sure that White residents and visitors were as comfortable as possible. Even when people demonstrated, activists of color were seen as novelties rather than civil rights activists. There were placards and days given to activists of color while simultaneously offering nothing in the way of concessions to their demands. Consequently, the marketing team for the city has shown that the city is liberal in the traditional method of being liberal: being a haven for queer White men, and not even all queer populations. Going to meetings and having positions on committees was seen as progress; meanwhile, activist groups were losing the attention of the public based people viewing committee inclusion as an antidote to protesting and real action.

Single-Member Districts

Not surprisingly, the high cost of living finally began to affect state government workers and retirees living in West Austin, and people began to see that there were consequences to allowing developers to focus largely on luxury development instead of affordable housing. Activists of color continued to remark that the “gentlemen’s agreement” of one Black council member and one Latino council member was a racist interpretation of representation, and property taxes inflamed activists from West Austin into wanting representation from their communities as well. Also, there were council members who had been on the city council for over a decade, prompting activists and residents to question whether such a council could be open to anything other than the status quo. On May 12, 2011, activists addressed single-member districts and for the first time in over forty years, the council began to take notice. Two weeks later, the council passed two resolutions and began the review on the public process that would determine how the districts were drawn.

Because Austin’s charter needed revision, the council developed a Charter Revision Committee to work on the mapping of single-member districts. Tensions were high as this process began, between the lower population of color, the higher cost of living throughout the city, the environmentalists, and the developers; all of these groups were vying for control of the process, and the city staff was not immune as many of them lived within the city limits. The two plans that were under the final debate were the 10-1 district plan, which included 10 geographic districts with one mayor who was elected “at-large”; and the 8-2-1 district plan, which included 8

geographic districts with two member elected “at-large,” and a mayor who was elected “at large.” Most activists and residents were in favor of the 10-1 plan because of the smaller geographic areas comprised; the real estate industry, and the mayor at the time, were more in favor of the 8-2-1 plan, which ignited ire among activists, who then called for term limits for council members. On November 6, 2012, Austin not only approved single-member districts, but it approved the 10-1 plan even with the intense lobbying of the real estate industry.

The Task Force on Racism and the Equity Office

On May 8, 2014, Eric Tang was made into a racial activism superstar with the publication of his iconic paper, “Outlier: The Case of Austin’s Declining African American Population.” In this work, Tang pointed out that although Austin was one of the fastest growing cities in the nation, its African American population was declining, and that systemic racism has been the cause. Specifically, Tang explains that these factors push out African Americans: segregation followed by gentrification, policing, disparities in public education, and dismal employment opportunities. While one of those factors would be unfortunate, all of them combined put paid to the idea that Austin has a liberal approach to managing its population. Finally, it seemed, someone was paying attention to the plight of people of color in Austin and not just subscribing to the image produced by marketing materials. Eric Tang’s research was broadcast all over the nation and it seemed that people were looking to make a marked change in city policy.

Sadly, this caused two problems in how the situation began to be handled. First, instead of listening to the people from East Austin and people who were actually pushed from the city, only academics, and very few at that, began to be appointed to solve the segregation and discrimination problem. If someone had little education, that person was ignored despite direct involvement with both the communities and the discrimination. Even if people were educated, their credentials were repeatedly questioned in favor of the sanctioned few. Thus, any chance at meaningful collaboration was lost once this information became public by someone not from the community. Even the activists who had been ensconced in the fabric of the planning conversations were ignored in favor of academics.

Secondly, it pitted people of color against each other in the fight for autonomy. Agency should have been granted to several populations within Austin, but the overwhelming message sent was this: “The stupid Black people had no one to speak for them, so thank goodness this nice, smart, non-threatening Asian man could tell their story and make people listen.” Tokenism breaks down trust within communities and between marginalized groups, and if success is depicted as solitary,

it means that certain racial groups can only thrive at the expense of others. It should be noted that there are no Black planners in the Planning and Zoning department of the city of Austin, even though this is the most critical part of the planning process for the city. Generally speaking, there are very few Black planners in many of the major cities, period, a fact which was recently scrutinized as indicative of ignoring Black voices as the very least authority, regardless of training.

A year after Eric Tang's tour and subsequent rise to prominence, a report was issued from the Martin Prosperity group in Ontario, Canada which proclaimed Austin to be the most socioeconomically segregated city in the nation. If Tang's paper had raised the eyebrows of more than a few liberals, it would seem that the city was in danger of losing its status as a highly desirable location for people with more liberal perspectives. Again, this report made the rounds in news outlets and people were talking about Austin in a way that many residents had never before endured. Some activists used that study in support of a proposed homestead ordinance to keep long-term residents in their home, which council surprisingly approved. Consequently, the city knew that it had to address the issue and avoid trying to distract the activist population into ignoring the situation.

Responding to the concerns this time involved crafting a resolution that creating a task force specifically for researching equity. To truly eliminate the appearance of bias would have taken extensive research into the city policies and practices that helped create the problems. However, the city was only willing to devote scant resources in the form of a volunteer task force and minimal staff to deal with the problem. The Task Force on Institutional Racism was created by resolution on May 7, 2015 along with the promise of creating a rubric to measure inequity throughout the city. The problem with the creation of this task force, as well as all the other previous efforts, is that a city full of staff who had been sympathetic to West Austin needs was not equipped to address equity as presented by any of the studies. It was obvious that outside help was needed, as well as significant financial investment, and the city agreed to establish the City of Austin Equity Office.

The chief equity officer was chosen after months of deliberation, but the biggest problem with his appointment is that the dominant narrative was unwilling to take any responsibility for how their policies and procedures had perpetuated the systemic oppression to an entire side of the city. Instead of meeting with the community and making headway with the community organizing groups, he was constantly in city department meetings with department heads who were less than keen on changing how the city operated. No one knew where the Equity Office was, and no one could set up a meeting with either him or his staff. Also, there were only three

full-time people with a part-time intern, which meant that to research where the problems existed, and how to change the current policies to alleviate the problems, there were only about 3.5 employees, and there was little support from the majority of the city who thought that complaints were overblown. So little was done that eventually the city fell back on its consistent course of action, a task force.

All the studies and the news was demonstrating that Austin was socioeconomically and racially segregated, and the image of the “carefree,” liberal “bastion” within Texas was quickly disintegrating. All the regular consultants continued to tell the city that it was doing a good job in addressing equity issues, but the Black population was still leaving the city center, and now the Latino communities that had existed for decades were beginning to dissolve. Many of the activists were still protesting at city hall, but more people were looking for the next generation of activists to take over the fights. Police brutality was still an extensive issue in East Austin, and there were groups willing to address that issue, but covert racism required that trained people were able to meet the city “experts” on the same level of education. No longer were long-term staff members or developers willing to listen to well-read constituents who were doing their best to advocate for marginalized communities. By the time the mayor announced the Anti-Displacement Task Force, no one had any hope that anything would be done; everyone began to wait until the city population became as White-only as possible without the official declaration.

Part VI: Conclusions and Recommendations

Reporting on Architectures of Power

Authors outside of the discipline of planning have done a better job at laying bare not only the architectures of power that frame a city’s relationship to its most vulnerable citizens, but the incentives that drive a municipality to sell out its residents for short term gains. To start with, the researcher Jackie Wang (a phd in American studies) recently published a set of essays called *Carceral Capitalism*. In it, she traces the relationship between an economically insolvent city and the many atrocities great and small committed upon citizens. For example, she shows how cash-poor Ferguson, Missouri, was using its police department to extract revenue from vulnerable citizens, in the form of tickets, bail, and seized assets, in order to stem its hemorrhaging funds. More broadly, she discusses the trend in the capitalization of municipal budgets (predominately since the 1980s) and how the flow of outside capital into cities has created a devil's bargain, in which it is the city’s creditors, and not the citizens, who will be the first to be cashed out in the

event of an economic crisis. For example, she shows how the bankrupting of Detroit was caused not (as is commonly understood) by the payouts of bloated pensions, but by the transfers of bloated interest payments to Detroit's creditors.

Thus problems with access to and claim to city space are revealed by Wang, and also by the anthropologist David Graeber, as problems rooted in the capitalization and speculation on land. And according to David Harvey, among others, land is the last horizon of growth in an increasingly stagnating world economy, a space of super-aggregated wealth that generates more wealth through the exchange of abstract entities (land titles could be considered reasonably abstract) and the issuance of digital debt on the basis of that asset. This form of debt enslavement, which can be seen both in predatory payday loan practices and in the accounts of municipal checkbooks, form part of the architectures of power, the tracks along which resources (in the form of raw materials, labor, and time) run out of communities and into an increasingly smaller pool of private hands.

Over and over again, disaster conditions (whether a hurricane such as Florence or Michael, a national economic crisis, or just a local spike in prices) reaffirm who is considered disposable. They do this by overriding any semblance of democratic process or system with an emergency management dictate. When Detroit went bankrupt, Wang points out, elected officials were replaced by a crack emergency management team, a group of advisors with ties to the financial market that made decisions regular citizens would never have approved (such as ensuring that the creditors were paid first, and city employees after, or never). Increasingly, the incidents of crisis circle closer and closer together.

Austin is not unique in the way in which it participates in these architectures of power. While its history is distinct, it follows many of the same national incentives and racial patterns as other American cities. Thus, we end this section with four observations about architectures of power in city spaces that have shown themselves to be true for Austin, but also applicable elsewhere:

1. Gentrification and displacement will never be fully understood without acknowledging the ethics problem (a deeply historical one influenced by settler-colonialism ideals) in land management.
2. Gentrification and displacement will continue to disproportionately impact people of color until anti-blackness is understood as a key feature of the extractive system, at federal, state, and municipal levels.
3. Progressive policies aimed at changing the conditions of black life (“urban renewal” “revitalization” “smart growth”, etc.) that do not acknowledge the previous two points will

simply duplicate the extractive status quo under a different name. Moreover, as the record shows, no accounting will be made by project progenitors for the failure of these programs. Simply put, elite white progressives cannot propose true solutions for conditions under which they do not need to live, because they not only lack understanding, they are not incentivized to solve the problem. We must acknowledge that many of the progressive policies aimed at ‘helping’ low income people were often experiments, and that the progenitors of these programs were not held accountable for their failure. The spaces of the poor and marginalized must stop acting as a laboratory for testing out changing fads in ‘planning’, ‘development’, social justice, or anything else.

4. Corruption in municipal finance and the duplicate and conflicting sets of laws (one for white citizens, one for black) that govern city space reproduce conditions of inequality. A right to space for marginalized people will be won through good governance and the restoration of real democratic institutions at the local level. This will include a full and transparent accounting of finances (where city revenue comes from) and history (the projects and policies that have failed) as well as an action plan to implement direct democracy. Without this, there is no movement forward.

A Walk in Their Shoes

Imagine living in any city, with or without a family. During the work week, the traffic is annoying but tolerable as most of the population makes its way to work and the school-age children make their ways to the various schools. The neighborhood sits mostly empty except for the older population and people who work in service sectors and maintain varying schedules. Business owners reflect the neighborhood, as do the churches; homes have been around for decades or years with few updates. While the neighborhood is seen as dangerous, most of the people continue living their lives, patronizing the businesses and supporting the churches.

The few libraries that exist have excellent patronage and the schools may have fewer supplies than other schools in town, but many of the children still have fond memories of their years within those schools. Few of the major grocery stores exist, and there are few hospitals or even medical services for the basic needs, making most healthcare experiences a hassle for the entire family. There are few sidewalks, and most of the roads are narrow and maintain low visibility. Everyone knows about the potholes and have called people, but the city has either been slow or reluctant to respond. The landfill is close enough to be smelled, and the big industries--always close together for some reason--fill the air with smoke. The residents still continue making their lives as best they can, patronizing the businesses and supporting the churches.

One day, someone sees a White person drive in front of the school and park. The stranger has no children and walks around taking pictures of everything except the school. The car is new, one of the latest models sport utility vehicle, and the children look at it like something they have never seen before--which is probably true. Even though some of the older population is sitting on porches and library patrons are walking in and out of the library nearby, the stranger makes no effort to speak to any of the people but continues taking pictures. After a couple of hours, the stranger returns to the shiny new vehicle and drives away, and people promptly forget. School lets out, and the parents or caregivers retrieve the children, and the neighborhood goes about the business of living.

A week later, the stranger returns to the front of the school, this time with a car full of people--all White people. Because the car is the same, there are no curious glances, and everyone just figures that the person will eventually become a neighbor. No one assumes that the White strangers are anything other than potential neighbors, and life continues. After a few hours, all the strangers get back into the car and leave the neighborhood. A couple of days later, one of the local businesses shuts for good and two weeks after that, one of the churches has difficulty funding repairs, but overall, the neighborhood continues to thrive.

In a couple of months, all the households receive flyers talking about changes to the neighborhood and meetings for community input. Many of the adults have difficult schedules, but some of the older relatives have time, and agree to go and report back to the community. At the meetings, several White people with large smiles offer fancy demonstrations, and mock ups of the neighborhood with new development, fresher infrastructure. Parks have equipment that is updated, and sidewalks are everywhere. Some of those former business owners see a canvas to make a fresh start, maybe even build something that their children might be able to take over and last for a lifetime. Even though there are few people who look like most of the current residents, the older relatives see the neighborhood in a way that they always imagined was possible all those years ago when they first bought their homes. All the challenges are gone, and the residents see a place where they can raise their kids with less dirty air, a community where banks will finally allow them to fix up their homes, and constituents who would argue on behalf of the neighborhood even without living there. They come home and excitedly tell their families about the new changes coming, and to be sure to support the new changes.

Construction begins, and everyone is used to the sounds and smells because many of the people already living in the neighborhood are construction workers. The city brings in crews to break up the old sidewalk and finally, finally introduce a bike lane the way the parents had wanted and asked for over time. After the first month of construction, the first home is built, and right away,

everyone notices that something is wrong. Instead of a decent sized house that most of the residents enjoy, the house is a duplex of enormous size--with no garage and a for sale sign in front of it. One of the younger adults picks up a flyer, and sees that the price of one half--imagine that, one half--is more than the cost of both his home and his neighbor's home combined. An older adult shrugs it off, and comes from her porch to tell the man not to worry, because the city was going to fix up the parks, add sidewalks, and all the new businesses would come to the area, just like they always dreamed. Other construction is going on down the street, and people watch the situation, but are not overly concerned.

In another month, a building takes shape under the warming weather. People begin seeing signs for businesses, and everyone starts asking each other who the lucky merchant is because several of the local businesses had been trying to get money for shop upgrades and to broaden their menus for years. After school, someone finally sees a shopkeeper go into the building, and it is a White woman who looks about the area nervously and makes no eye contact with anyone, not even waving at the older woman who waves on from her porch. People look at each other, confused, but then one of the younger adults remembers that none of the pictures in the fancy presentations had people who looked like any of the residents. The next day, another shopkeeper from another part of the building walks into his shop, another White man, another nervous gait that ignores the people around him. At church, the older woman tells her friends that she has not seen anyone she knows go into any part of that building, not even to work on it, and the pastor urges the church congregation not to lose faith in the power of community.

More of the houses have for sale signs in front of them, and people are being urged to stay in their homes, and not sell to move to the suburbs because of how far the commute is for work. The older adults are selling their homes and their children cannot afford them because of the taxes brought on by the newer homes in the area. Frequently, the older adults watch as cops begin to circle the neighborhood more frequently, just like they did when the neighborhood was just getting off the ground. Children go straight home, afraid to play after school because they heard about this one kid that was caught playing after school and was harassed by the cops, but they are unsure why. The local businesses start reducing their hours, but more buildings begin to be framed close together. Churches are able to hang onto their congregations, but have difficulty attracting new members, a new problem never seen by the neighborhood.

One day, an older resident comes out of her house, and sees no one she knows. All her neighbors have sold their houses, and none of the new residents speak to her. All the new businesses start late and are up late, but she knows neither the owners nor the customers. Her hair salon is gone; all that remains of the past is the cornerstore--where no one sits anymore because the police are

always circling, ever circling. She tries to talk to somebody who works for the city, but they all tell her that she should have come to more meetings and let staff know that she had no interest in progress. She opens her mail, and discovers that her property taxes are finally too high, and she, too, will be forced to move. When the older woman goes to the city, she is told that she should have gone to the meetings ahead of time, and made her voice known.

At this point in time, there is a desperate and frantic attempt to blame all remaining discrimination on the 1928 Master Plan, which makes sense. There are historically typical references within the document, and people are most familiar with the term “negro district.” Also, the people who created, approved, and executed that plan are no longer alive, including the city staff that supported it in the first place. The original federal legislation could be argued not to be deliberately discriminatory, and people can dismiss this plan as a relic of the past from which the city has progressed. Finally and most importantly, the constituents who approved the staff and who voted to make the 1928 plan possible are no longer alive, which is convenient for those who have benefited from the rise in property values and the convenience of the Central Business District. If all the emphasis is placed on the 1928 Master Plan, those who have enjoyed wealth based on a rise in property values can rest easily knowing that they are far removed from what they understand to be the systemic racism that disenfranchised.

After reviewing the history of planning within the city of Austin, any scholar would find such sentiments disingenuous at best, and a complete falsehood at worst. What was demonstrated over multiple decades was that when segregation and disenfranchisement met barriers through policies, there were loopholes within those policies that allowed those practices to continue. From the federal to the state to the local levels, decision-makers ensured that their constituents would never be subject to the specific discomfort that exists when being faced with those whom one has oppressed. Lawsuits may have been filed and protests held, but those who benefited from segregation were not going to surrender to the reality of addressing systemic racism. The problem is that institutionalized racism is that it is within the very marrow of existing society, and to address it requires investigation in the existing structures. After all, the city was forced to reckon with its disinterest in more representative council, but only after the majority of communities of color were displaced.

In addition to recognizing those societal traits which retain the racism that exclude the possibility of equity, there needs to be a collective political will to eradicate those traits. Conversations, work groups, and task forces provide nothing but an opportunity for the city to appear sympathetic to oppression without combatting it. To truly address equity, the city needs to review all the plans based on “urban renewal” and “revitalization” and immediately end them. Local

governments and non-residents have no right to disinvest from communities and then demolish the framework for the sake of the wealthy, and if they do, they should be held accountable. If paying attention to the demographics of areas slated for demolition is too much work for volunteer commissioners and board members, then that structure of decision-making should end as well.

Too often, attention is directed at the 1928 Master Plan, which is the favorite among talking points about racism in Austin. However, the 1961 Land Development Code referenced the 1928 Master Plan, and all the reiterations of the code have referenced the previous code, so the 1928 Master Plan is still very much a part of Austin. Should the code be rewritten? Absolutely, and from scratch, but by people who will actually use knowledge of the community -- and not just the White, wealthy, homeownership community -- to review development patterns and appropriately respond. There is nothing inherently correct about asking outside influence for a review of the city; to the contrary, such consultants have their own biases based on their experience in the city. Were the consultants wooed by a night on the town with locally-owned restaurants? Did consultants cruise through the historic district while driven by city staff? Have the consultants frequently purchased tickets to South by Southwest or Austin City Limits? Rather, such consultants should have taken public transit, maybe lived off some of the lowest salaries, and definitely talked to more kinds of people. That is an honest assessment of a city, because people with money can honestly create whatever reality they see fit.

Activist groups have endured excessive manipulation at the hands of the dominant narrative. During the sixties and seventies, there were more groups advocating for populations of color despite small numbers within the city of Austin. Because of popular issues such as the Vietnam War and the civil rights movement, activists of color were able to acquire several participants from the dominant narrative. Truly, these are the images most affiliated with the city of Austin: hippies who love everyone and live inexpensively while enjoying a vibrant entertainment scene. Even now, after all the reports and all the estimates, people cannot fathom that these images are a fantasy compared to the actual history erasure and violent scrimmages that people of color in Austin continue to face.

After the sixties and seventies, the dominant narrative determined how many groups were allowed to speak on behalf of populations of color, and decided that no other groups were significant or established enough to gain autonomy. If an activist group did not have enough publicity to merit bad press if it was ignored, those groups faded into obscurity, to the point that several people of color are unaware of them. As long as members of the group were relevant enough in the eyes of the dominant narrative, those groups were assimilated into discussions

about which most people knew nothing. Instead of pushing for equal representation and sustaining neighborhoods of color, those activists were chided into compliance with board and commission positions, with outreach efforts that only reached those groups--and really, only certain members of those groups--and excluded people to the detriment of the neighborhoods. Those who are allowed to speak are suppressed for such privilege; they understand that they are there to be comfortable, not there to make waves. Tim Wise said it best in *Dear White America*: “So in a very real sense, our ambivalence to the suffering of black and brown folks opened the floodgates to even more risky economic activity, and this time, in the very places where so many of us live.”

This creates two problems. First, there is the discussion of inherent worth: when certain activist members are accepted into the dominant narrative, they behave as if they alone have the qualities of expressing themselves as full constituents in the City of Austin. There are several chosen members, tokens one might call them, who are the sole representatives for the entire race because that is what the dominant narrative chooses to see. Instead of actually mobilizing large groups of people in the name of civil rights and local government representation within the fastest growing city in the United States, the chosen few take advantage of their positions to decide on what behavior is considered worth respecting while ignoring all other people. If more Black people consider making Austin their home, they will become disappointed with and disengage from behavioral assignments from people with whom they are unfamiliar.

Secondly, those who are in power give themselves permission to ignore anyone who is not one of the chosen few. Anyone who is not accepted as a “favorite” of the dominant narrative is considered “unruly,” a “hooligan,” and “disrespectful.” Thus, infighting occurs and allows local decision makers to dismiss the claims of legitimate advocates for marginalized communities, and the effects include a disjointed community that has fewer advocates due to the appointed gatekeepers of communities, over representation of the dominant narrative at official meetings, and the diluted efficacy of any meaningful action that may have assisted the community in the past. Consequently, most of the Black neighborhoods in Austin have disappeared, and the few remaining Black business owners fight to remain against a community that no longer represents them.

From the perspective of allies, the real question is one of stamina: how does one stay interested when the rest of the world no longer finds the topic interesting? When there is a direct conflict with the dominant narrative, marginalized people find allies everywhere, and the issues are constantly being broadcast. In 2017, for the first time in all of the neighborhood takeovers, Save Our Springs collaborated with the neighborhood organizations surrounding Roy G. Guerrero

park because a developer wanted to build a soccer stadium. Despite all of the communities surrounding the lake, there had never been any consistent involvement in protecting the residents from developers until there was a threat to a park. Again, Tim Wise acknowledges that “the housing collapse hurts most all of us, and it was indifference to the pain when localized in black and brown communities that helped bring us to this point.” Surrounding the development in Austin, there are delusional competitions to see who is more of a legitimate ally to the poor as compared to all the others. However, neighborhoods are the built environment, and they require constant tending, meaning that there is no end to the amount of attention due to a community. Thus, like a protest, when the marching is over, when all the books are written, all the blogs updated, and all the articles published, no one is interested anymore because instead of addressing the issues so that they dissipate and fade into history, too many allies are seeking validation.

Often when marginalized community members in the city of Austin have issues, they are told to go to the meetings instead of “complaining.” Because the dominant narrative has calibrated society to think that meetings are consistently productive, people come to the meetings and are disappointed at the outcomes. The truth is that meetings have become a silencing technique for those who are maintaining inequitable realities while blaming constituents. Thanks to a variety of networking platforms and varieties of segregation, meetings are performed almost as a courtesy in a nod to the Open Meetings Act. However, there are countless examples of how meetings fail to respect the needs of the most vulnerable residents.

One of the biggest failures that city council has demonstrated over the decades is that the same set of rules do not apply to both side of the highway, of which environmentalism is a prime example. When the East Austin residents requested that the Holly Power Plant be closed, or that various companies which were producing industrial waste be shut down or penalized, the city council would dismiss their claims and do the exact opposite, further exacerbating the problems and alienating those who appeared to contest those issues. Conversely, Save Our Springs organized in January of 1992 and by May of 1992, there was a city ordinance against building over Barton Springs; by 1993, there was state law protecting that area from whatever was considered “the wrong kind of development.” Such attention to the supposed environment designated the “desired development zone” -- which was, of course, predominantly filled with populations of color -- and the “drinking water protection zone.” Even though the “desired development zone” was established as of September 5, 1997, it is mentioned in the city records no less than 4,281 times between then and December 31, 2017, less than even the “drinking water protection zone,” which is mentioned 2,052 times, despite its urgency. To put those

numbers into perspective, urban renewal, which was federally established in 1939 as part of the Housing Act, is only mentioned 1,880 times in city records.

Historic preservation is another aspect of inequity that has been allowed to flourish through the city of Austin. Clarksville was claimed as a historic district in 1976, when most of the Black population had been manipulated into East Austin based on students not being able to receive education at other schools and city services being denied to residents. Many neighborhoods in West Austin are flush with historic properties, which is one of the reasons that the Inner City Neighborhood Ordinance passed in 1984. However, there was no historic survey even completed on East Austin until 2016, and by that time, many of the activist voices had either quieted or ceased to exist based on the rampant displacement initiated by the continuation of the “desired development” and the “smart growth,” which rarely made its way to West Austin. The message was clear: there was nothing historic about neighborhoods of color, and it was land that the city could use to generate revenue, which is how local politics have continued.

While governing bodies are required to have open meetings to the public, most of the decisions that are made on behalf of local governments depend on the availability of the staff for a meeting. There are private individuals who work with moneyed interests who watch the behavior of different staff members, and seek out who will be most vulnerable to persuasion. Unlike elected officials, staff members are in a unique position in which they work with and for elected officials; depending on their biases, entire communities could be disregarded because of disfavor of staff. While many staff members work diligently to fulfill their tasks and have no specific authority, upper level staff generally have autonomy whether or not the budget coincides with their authority. Thus, instead of equal access to decision-makers, local governments enjoy constituents vying for the attention of those in power, due the detriment of distressed neighborhoods.

If that were not enough, staff also determines how the meetings will run, i.e. who gets to speak first and/or present materials. When real estate developers show up at meetings, often they have made arrangements with staff or even in some cases, governing board members themselves. Constituents are forced to coordinate with one another especially if they are unable to wait until all the staff and experts have spoken, and all the decision-makers have completed questioning of staff and experts. In Austin, like many cities, commissions, boards, committees and task forces are volunteers with outside jobs, so often the first impression they receive can be the last perspective they absorb. Even if a community organizer races to the meeting and signs up before anyone else, staff has already predetermined who will go before anyone on the sign-up sheet, which could be the difference between neighborhoods getting displaced.

Most importantly, much of the staff and experts have put together a great deal of material for the decision-makers to review. Not everybody in the audience can see the information but then the only consideration is for the governing body, not the public. Even if there are independent experts who are part of community organizations, those people are not given the opportunity to distribute their materials the way other experts are. In short, the governing body is managed by staff, appeased to by staff and experts, and is usually frustrated with the public by the time the public actually gets to speak.

Solutions

There are some possible solutions to the complete displacement of the communities of color in the city of Austin. First and foremost, the Planning and Zoning department needs to immediately diversify its ranks, and anyone opposed to that idea needs to be let go. A city cannot continue to grow psychically if it is unwilling to deal with its need to disclaim marginalized communities as slums and blight. The world is finally looking at the truth about “progressive” cities, and if the planning profession is orchestrated so that planners’ only job is to approve or disapprove of development, then it can no longer be seen as a profession. Local governments need to do better than to have rooms full of White people decide that communities of color should be ceded to the White and the wealthy.

If the Equity Office is to have any real authority and to truly examine the problems of the city systems, then an appropriate budget will have to be allocated. There is no value in saying that the city is “researching equity” if there is no real investment, because many other departments, including the police department, have budgets that will allow them to exploit any ordinance without consequence. The Equity Office needs at least two legal researchers as well as people who will examine the demographics of the people hired, fired, promoted, disciplined, and where everyone has worked. The office also needs a spatial analyst or two who will examine where city offices are placed, who reports the crime and who commits the crimes, and how transit accessibility exists for all the city services. Without all of this full-time staff, Austin will never even see how inequitable it is, let alone address it.

The staff of the City of Austin needs to be positioned to address equity, because putting apathetic people in positions of authority is how the city became so inequitable. Management and frontline staff need to be trained to address biases in a way that accomplish tasks without alienating people. Staff that are in charge of running public meetings need to learn to speak last, or rotate

their level of influence, because volunteer commissioners are no more able to discern bias after working a long day at work than anyone else. People who are unwilling to change their processes even after getting complaints should be disciplined or let go. The most unfortunate part of recalibrating an equitable local government is the fact that long-term employees who remain steadfast in their biases can no longer be given free reign.

If the city is unable to find volunteers to help solve the problems of the city, then it needs to start paying its commissioners and boards. It is unacceptable that only the elite are accommodated to make decisions on behalf of the marginalized who are unable to make most of the meetings. Telling people to attend meetings when society has changed in such a way that people cannot attend is tantamount to the City of Austin saying, “We don’t care that you’re affected because we weren’t planning on listening to you anyway.” Thus, if making decisions is considered an important job, people should be paid for doing it, and the days of volunteers making choices for everyone should end.

Since the Urban Renewal Agency was included on a ballot that only property owners were eligible for, it should again be put on the ballot. Having urban renewal and revitalization be resurrected in 2005 to sate the greed of developers is the epitome of White supremacy. There is no reason for any commissions or boards responsible for inequity to continue to exist, and the fact that so few people were able to determine the fate of so many is disgraceful. Someone should review the history of whether any other commissions or boards were created in such a way, and there should be a true vote on whether those decision-making bodies will continue.

Finally, how property taxes are evaluated needs to change to include location, and until that happens, there should be a moratorium of any home sales. In the past, properties in Black and Latino communities were devalued because of marginalization but were considered premium when occupied by White residents. Transit accessibility, professional opportunities, schools, and density should be considered when declaring property worth. Stating that an area with no amenities is “pretty” or has access to highways--thereby increasing traffic, or is “minutes from downtown” is no longer an acceptable way to value predominantly White communities over neighborhoods of color.

It is possible to reverse course for Austin to some extent, but the scars will remain for decades. If the city is truly interested in equity, however, at least a passing effort is necessary.

Appendix

Table: List of Activist Groups

Because there are many community organizers within the city of Austin, our research began at the George Washington Carver Museum and Cultural Center, where the names of several activists groups were collected in relation to images on display. After being informed that the exhibit was a collaboration with several other local historic centers, we then extended our research to the University of Texas at Austin and the Austin History Center. Several groups appeared frequently in relation to planning, so when there was a group mentioned that discussed East Austin issues, we made a note of that group for further research. Instead of attempting to track down all of them, we focused on groups that appeared consistently through news reports at the Briscoe Center and the Austin History Center. Once we culled a list of regular activist groups, we then searched the city records for all the times when the groups were mentioned and about which issues.

One of the most difficult aspects of researching why a group was participating in a meeting was the fact that many of the mentioned groups were linked to transcripts. Transcripts, as the word implies, are the verbatim record of the meetings, and because of consent agendas and extensive testimony, finding the issue actually being discussed was more difficult. Additionally, there were a lot of technical difficulties and laughter (which is included in the transcript) to sort through in an effort to find the topic. Referencing a group within a transcript could be as innocuous as a proclamation naming a day after a person, or as contentious as noting the final judgment for single-member districts. Combined with additional research, these timelines are compilations of the civic engagement of communities of color with the city of Austin, and its responses.

Activist Group	Number of Results	Date First Mentioned In Public Records
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National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)	190	05/05/1966
League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC)	172	04/25/1946
Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF)	11	08/02/1984
Community United Front	5	11/20/1969
Mexican American Youth Organization	0	--
East Austin Committee for Justice	6	02/14/1974
Human Opportunities Corporation	42	02/09/1967
Austin Welfare Rights Organization	3	11/25/1969
American Freedom From Hunger	2	01/23/1969
Urban League	483	08/23/1973
Brown Berets	25	06/06/1974
La Raza Unida	1	01/31/1973
El Chicano Centro	0	--
El Concilio	326	03/03/1977

Planning Term	Number of Results
Urban Renewal	1880
Revitalization	1976

Urban Redevelopment	1036
Desired Development Zone	4281
Drinking Water Protection Zone	2052

Planning Law Timeline

May 1924, 1926: Federal law: Standard State Zoning Enabling Act (final draft)

March 1927, 1928: Federal law: Standard City Planning Act (final edition)

March 22, 1928: A City Plan for Austin, Texas (City of Austin Master Plan)

February 27, 1930: Council approves construction for the Rosewood Park swimming pool in East Austin

April 23, 1931: Council adopts Comprehensive Plan

March 23, 1933: Council approves construction for the second pool in East Austin in the “Mexican Park”

April 20, 1933: Council refers to park in Mexican community as Zaragosa Park

September 11, 1933: Colored Branch of the Austin Public Library opens

December 23, 1937: Housing Authority for the City of Austin established by ordinance

March 24, 1938: Emancipation Park rezoned to allow placement of Rosewood Courts

February 10, 1939: Chalmers Courts housing project is open

June 24, 1939: Santa Rita Courts housing project is open

September 1, 1939: Rosewood Courts housing project is open

July 17, 1941: Zoning regulations are updated

October 30, 1941: Council approves contractor for East Avenue Swimming Pool

June 1942: Pan American Library opens

July 15, 1949: Housing Act passes, which approves federal funding for slum clearance

February 26, 1953: Council approves of the creation of the Planning Commission

May 28, 1953: Council resolves to air condition the main Austin Public Library and the Carver Branch Library (formerly the Colored Branch)

December 22, 1953: Council approves funding for a pool in Govalle Park and Montopolis Park

November 22, 1954: *Berman v. Parker* decision on removing blight

June 29, 1956: Interstate Highway Act enacted

May 13, 1957: Urban Renewal Law passed by the legislature

July 31, 1958: Council resolves to adjust sewage infrastructure around the building of IH-35

August 21, 1958: Council approves land acquisition for the widening of IH-35

October 16, 1958: Council approves bids for pool in East District Park

February 26, 1959: Council approves extension of 183 from Lamar to IH-35

April 9, 1959: Council approves the adjustment of water, sewage, and electric infrastructure around the building of IH-35

April 30, 1959: Council approves the extension of 183 from State Highway 275 to IH-35

July 23, 1959: Ordinance passed to create the Urban Renewal Agency

October 15, 1959: “Only legally qualified voters residing within the corporate limits of the City of Austin, Texas, owning taxable property within said corporate limits who have duly rendered such property for taxation shall be entitled to vote at said election.”

December 23, 1959: Council dismisses a petition about land surrounding the proposed route for IH-35 because of people who were not qualified to vote, namely property owners

October 20, 1960: Council agrees to accept bids for Bartholomew swimming pool

June 8, 1961: Council resolves to adopt the Austin Development Plan

February 20, 1963: Austin Public Library - Windsor Village Station opens

May 12, 1964: Ordinance passed to create the Human Relations Commission to address discrimination issues

March 4, 1965: Council moves to study effects of the Blackshear Renewal Project based on councilmembers’ concerns about displacement

April 28, 1965: Oak Springs Library is proposed

September 13, 1965: Kealing, Brackenridge Hospital, and Glen Oaks approved as urban renewal projects under the FY 1966 Budget.

May 24, 1967: Amendment to Urban Renewal Law passed by the legislature

October 1, 1967: Oak Springs Library opens

October 5, 1967: Austin City Code amended to include standard operating procedure for the Human Relations Commission

January 22, 1968: City invited to participate in the Model City Planning program and to create task forces and actionable urban renewal plans

March 7, 1968: Master Plan amended to include expansion of the university to East Austin as part of the University East Urban Renewal Project Area

April 11, 1968: Federal Housing Act of 1968 passed

May 17, 1968: Fair Housing Ordinance passed, prohibiting discrimination in housing

June 30, 1968: Density ordinance passed

December 23, 1969: Council approves Neighborhood Development Program and Feasibility of Relocation – Blackshear Project

July 31, 1970: Major private entity for public transportation officially ceases operation; council agrees to contract until a solution is found

October 15, 1970: Urban Mass Transportation Assistance Act, allowing federal funding for mass transit

June 15, 1972: Council passes anti-discrimination ordinance for contractors from the City Commission on Human Rights

May 11, 1973: Amendment to Urban Renewal Law passes, requiring voter approval of urban renewal projects and giving voters authority to approve or disapprove that urban renewal projects be used for public housing

April 14, 1975: Amendment to Urban Renewal Law passes, allowing county judges in counties of 700,000 or more to act as “mayors” and commissioner’s court members to act as “city council”

July 10, 1975: Council passes anti-discrimination ordinance for hiring practices from the City Commission on Human Rights

September 11, 1975: Council passes Capital Improvement Plan with extensive involvement in East Austin

December 30, 1975: Sixth Street Historic District added to National Register

January 15, 1976: Henry S. Terrazas Branch Library opens

March 4, 1976: Council passes lobbying guidelines as defined by the City Commission on Human Rights

March 25, 1976: Council resolves to contract with private entities for public transportation in response to service cessation

April 1, 1976: Council passes antidiscrimination ordinance for public assemblies from the City Commission on Human Rights

April 8, 1976: City establishes a Code of Ethics as defined by the City Commission on Human Rights

Clarksville Historic District added to National Register – December 1, 1976

May 12, 1977: Austin Tomorrow Comprehensive Plan approved by council

May 28, 1977: Amendment to state Urban Renewal Law passes, allowing cities to use increased property taxes to fund urban renewal projects which increased the local taxes

October 8, 1981: Neighborhood Revitalization Commission established

October 22, 1981: Office of Neighborhood Revitalization created for the “aggressive neighborhood revitalization strategy for neighborhood stabilization” with “approaches toward diminishing the effects of displacement upon residents of the City.”

February 18, 1982: Fair Housing Ordinance amended to include financing for housing under the direction of the City Commission on Human Rights

May 29, 1983: Amendment to state Urban Renewal Law passes, allowing a city to sell urban renewal land to a public or private nonprofit corporation at a price not less than the fair market value of the land

January 12, 1984: City Commission on Human Rights reduced from thirteen members to eleven

February 9, 1984: Inner City Neighborhood Ordinance

July 1, 1985: CapMetro is established from Austin Area Rapid Transit Authority and Austin Transit System with federal assistance

July 17, 1986: Creation of Ethics Review Commission

December 11, 1986: Council passes anti-discrimination ordinance for AIDS/HIV carriers

April 24, 1986: Restrictive zone ordinance enacted, limiting how homes could be improved

February 19, 1987: Council passes ordinance which establishes MBE/WBE program

March 19, 1987: Council passes anti-discrimination ordinance for people with disabilities

May 1, 1987: Local Government Code passes in the legislature, which characterizes urban renewal in municipalities

February 11, 1988: City Commission on Human Relations rebranded as City of Austin Human Rights Commission

January 26, 1989: Council adopts Town Lake Park Comprehensive Plan

January 10, 1991: Neighborhood Revitalization Commission terminated

June 20, 1991: East 11th Street Neighborhood Conservation Combining District established

September 5, 1991: Blackshear Urban Renewal Plan Amended to include regulations according to the Scattered Cooperative Infill Housing Project

December 19, 1991: Austin Housing Finance Corporation authorized \$1.2mil of a Housing Implementation Program grant to adhere to the Scattered Cooperative Infill Housing Project

May 12, 1992: Save Our Springs ordinance

June 25, 1992: Scattered Cooperative Infill Housing Project is granted further funding to build affordable housing in East Austin

August 13, 1992: Austin Housing Finance Corporation authorized \$700,000 of a Housing Implementation Program grant to adhere to the Scattered Cooperative Infill Housing Project

October 22, 1992: Council authorizes tax abatement for SCIP housing

October 29, 1992: Council authorizes specific terms for tax abatement for SCIP housing, and incorporates said terms with Austin Inner City Redevelopment

February 18, 1993: City code pertaining to Community Development Commission amended to require that six members be representatives of the “poor” community while six were city staff and five were appointed by the mayor

June 11, 1993: SB 1477 passes, creating the Edwards Aquifer Authority

May 20, 1993: Austin Housing Finance Corporation authorized \$430,000 of a Housing Implementation Program grant to adhere to the Scattered Cooperative Infill Housing Project

June 10, 1993: Austin Housing Finance Corporation authorized \$200,000 of a Housing Implementation Program grant to adhere to the Scattered Cooperative Infill Housing Project

October 4, 1995: Austin Revitalization Authority is founded

March 21, 1996: Budget allocated for the East 11th and 12th Street Urban Renewal/Master Plan

February 8, 1996: Council approves ordinance that creates a Central Urban Redevelopment (CURE) district classification

February 27, 1997: Council approves designating a parcel in the downtown area as part of CBD-CURE

May 21, 1997 – Pilot Neighborhood Planning Process approved

September 5, 1997 – Desirable Development Zone redefined and Drinking Water Protection Zone established

December 15, 1997 – Environmental Justice Task Force established

December 18, 1997: Council approves the designation of another parcel in the downtown area as part of CBD-CURE

February 5, 1998: Council approves funds for the Austin Revitalization Authority

March 26, 1998: Council resolves to work with AISD to improve transportation and traffic safety needs due to a commitment to SMART growth initiatives and development in the Desired Development Zone and Preferred Growth Corridor.

April 9, 1998: Council resolves to work with Motorola and Faison Stone due to a commitment to SMART growth initiatives demonstrated by offering a package of infrastructure incentives offered to those entities willing to locate in the Desired Development Zone

June 20, 1998: Eustasio Cepeda Library Branch opens

July 16, 1998: Council resolves to direct City Manager to issue an RFP to promote the development of a Traditional Neighborhood District within a specified area of East Austin

August 5, 1998: Council resolves to host public hearings on sections of the budget related to smart growth, neighborhoods, and housing on August 20, 1998

August 13, 1998: Council resolves that City Manager is directed to negotiate and execute an agreement with the Lamar-Sixth-Austin, Inc. for the purpose of providing development fee waivers and infrastructure participation consistent with the Smart Growth Matrix project score and business case analysis, in an amount not to exceed \$2,156,989 for the incentive package and fee waivers.

September 3, 1998: Council resolves to invite the Ice Bats to participate in the Smart Growth Matrix in an effort to provide incentives for positive development in the downtown area.

October 1, 1998: Council approves the designation of another parcel in the downtown area as part of CBD-CURE

October 22, 1998: Council creates a Task Force to promote increased participating in the City of Austin Green Building Program by residential, multifamily, and commercial builders and developers establishing and implementing sustainability and Smart Growth principles and actions is a priority of the Austin City council and the community; Council's Green Building Task Force shall be made of active, interested members of the building and development community and involved stakeholders who are charged with increasing the use of the Green Building Program's guidelines through education, marketing and actual construction

November 5, 1998: Council approves funding of pedestrian improvements, waives development fees, and acquires property for pedestrianism on west Fifth and Sixth Streets in West Austin in accordance with Smart Growth Initiatives.

December 3, 1998: Council resolves to negotiate with Computer Sciences Corporation (CSC) to create a new regional headquarters within the Desired Development Zone provided that the City can defray the additional costs of urban versus suburban development as a part of City of Austin's Smart Growth Initiative; East 11th and 12th Street Urban Renewal Plan was approved by the Austin Revitalization Authority and presented to council

December 10, 1998: City Manager is directed to execute a Memorandum of Understanding with the Trust For Public Land within 30 days because this initiative would compliment the City of

Austin's commitment to Smart Growth by creating incentives for development in the Desired Development Zone; Council resolves to approval of waiver of fees payable with respect to the development of the Post Apartments consistent with the City of Austin's Smart Growth Incentive evaluation within the Shoal Creek area

January 14, 1999: Central East Austin Master Plan (New Vision for East Austin)

February 25, 1999: Council updates amendment to the CURE designation and changes the parking designation; council resolves that the Smart Growth Matrix and associated process be used by the City Manager to evaluate proposed initiatives for their use of new strategies to prevent urban sprawl and declining central city suburbs in the City of Austin.

March 4, 1999: Council offers partial water and wastewater fee waivers to Green Pastures (a restaurant) in accordance with Smart Growth policies

March 25, 1999: The City Council authorizes the use of up to \$3.5 million from Build Greater Austin ("BGA") mobility and street reconstruction funds, as local contribution dollars, in order to leverage State and Federal money for the construction of State Highway projects on U.S. 183, east of IH 35, because these projects are consistent with Austin's Smart Growth Plans and also serve as critical corridors for traffic to the new airport; council grants a partial fee waiver for subdivision developers as part of the smart growth initiative

April 1, 1999: Council approves leasing to CSC as part of the smart growth initiative

May 13, 1999: East Cesar Chavez Neighborhood Plan adopted as an amendment to the Austin Tomorrow Comprehensive Plan; ordinance specifying that mixed use was equivalent to smart growth

June 3, 1999: Council approves the designation of another parcel in the downtown area as part of CBD-CURE; council resolves to work with residents, business owners, and property owners in the Rainey Street Neighborhood to facilitate discussions leading toward land use objectives and priorities for the neighborhood because the area is a prime candidate for a well-planned Smart Growth Initiative because of the development that is planned for, or occurring in the area, including the Convention Center expansion and hotel, the Waller Creek Tunnel, and the Mexican American Cultural Center

July 15, 1999: Austin Tomorrow Comprehensive plan amended to include the Chestnut Neighborhood Plan, which included mixed use as part of the smart growth initiative; council approves fee waivers for CSC based on its compliance with smart growth

July 22, 1999: Council approves fee waivers for the Post Apartments based on compliance with the smart growth initiative

August 5, 1999: Council amends the water and wastewater capital recovery fees in the CBD-CURE district; City Manager is directed to include the Smart Growth Zone Specific Incentives related to land development fees in the City Fee Ordinance for the Fiscal Year 1999-2000; council approves different water and wastewater capital recovery fees between the drinking

water protection zone and the desired development zone, differentiating between the extraterritorial jurisdiction and city limits

August 19, 1999: Council approves the designation of another parcel in the downtown area as part of CBD-CURE west of IH-35; council approves fee waivers for the development of 524 Lamar

August 26, 1999: City Manager is directed to provide a report within 60 days that includes a map showing the zoning for undeveloped parcels in the Water Supply Suburban and an analysis of whether zoning patterns in the Water Supply Suburban are consistent with the principles of Smart Growth

September 9, 1999: Council resolves to create a code enforcement policy to address neighborhood concerns that infill and other SMART Growth policies could increase the number of unsightly and illegal practices in older neighborhoods and the provision of training by the Neighborhood Housing and Community Development Office of neighborhood residents to conduct surveys that identify lots or buildings with code violations and assistance of residents in communicating with their neighbors about these violations.

October 28, 1999: City Council directs the City Manager to design a relocation link on the City's internet web page that includes: 1. a map detailing the Desired Development Zone and the Drinking Water Protection Zone; 2. text that gives a historical perspective of water quality protection efforts in the Austin area and encourages new residents to relocate to the Desired Development Zone 3. a list of subdivisions in the Desired Development Zone and those in the Drinking Water Protection Zone that comply with City regulations, in particular the Save Our Springs Ordinance; City Council directs the City Manager to design a Green Realtor Program that identifies realtors willing to support the City's Smart Growth policies 11 and list these realtors on the City's internet web page; City Council directs the City Manager to send an official request to the Greater Austin Chamber of Commerce, Austin Board of Realtors, and corporate relocators to include Smart Growth information in their outreach packets; council approves fee and payment waivers to Post Apartment Homes because plans are consistent with the smart growth initiative

December 9, 1999: Council resolves to include Smart growth strategies in Canterbury Trails Annexation Area

December 16, 1999: City of Austin authorizes and approves the execution and delivery of the Acquisition, Development and Loan Agreement with the Urban Renewal Agency of the City of Austin and the Austin Revitalization Authority, in a total amount not to exceed \$9,035,000, less the cost of issuance of the HUD Guaranteed Loan in connection with implementation of the East 11th and 12th Streets Redevelopment Project, with such insertions, additions and modifications as the City Manager may approve, for the acquisition of land and the construction, reconstruction or rehabilitation of commercial and residential space located in the redevelopment area in Austin, Travis County, Texas

December 17, 1999: Ordinance executing the East 11th and 12th Street Urban Renewal Plan using funds from the US Housing and Urban Development funds allotted

February 3, 2000: Council resolves to set a public hearing on February 17, 2000 for the incorporation of Smart Growth Master Planning Guidelines into the Austin Tomorrow Comprehensive Plan and to consider amending Chapter 25-6 of the Austin City Code to provide for consultation with neighborhood planning committees regarding traffic impact analyses and waiving traffic impact analyses for Smart Growth corridors and nodes

March 9, 2000: Council adopts ordinance including East Austin as part of CURE; resolves to set a public hearing on March 30, 2000 for the incorporation of Smart Growth Master Planning Guidelines into the Austin Tomorrow Comprehensive Plan and considering an amendment to Chapter 25-2 of the Austin City Code for the Smart Growth Infill and Redevelopment proposals

March 23, 2000: City Manager is directed and authorized to negotiate and execute agreements necessary to implement the Water and Wastewater, Development Review and Inspection, and Public Works and Transportation portions of the incentive package for IBM/Tivoli Systems in an amount not to exceed \$2,234,404.

April 6, 2000: City Manager is directed to negotiate and execute the necessary agreements to implement the following elements of the incentive package to develop a City Code-compliant TND on the Morse Tract (Tract), an area within a destination park/TND area, located east of Dessau Lane between Rundberg Lane and Braker Lane; City Council directs the City Manager to assist the neighborhood by providing them an opportunity to present the Rainey Street Area Conceptual Neighborhood Redevelopment Strategy to appropriate Boards and Commissions and to evaluate the conceptual plan in order to recommend any additional clarifying language or changes to the conceptual plan to consider the historic district and make the conceptual plan consistent with existing City of Austin Smart Growth principles, urban design, and planning requirements and the needs of the neighbors who want to stay in the broad area; council approves ordinance designating neighborhood plan combining districts, smart growth corridors, and encouraging infill development

April 13, 2000: Austin Tomorrow Comprehensive plan amended to include the Hyde Park Neighborhood Plan which was considered consistent with smart growth initiatives

April 20, 2000: Council approves the SMART (Safe, Mixed-Income, Accessible, Reasonably-Priced, Transit-Oriented) Housing initiative policy

May 18, 2000: City Manager is directed and authorized to negotiate and execute agreements necessary to implement the Water and Wastewater, Development Review and Inspection, and Public Works and Transportation portions of the incentive package for Intel in an amount not to exceed \$3,171,229; Council adopts the Austin Development Design Guidelines as recommendations for all downtown development and redevelopment projects by both the public and private sector, which include smart growth elements; council approves infrastructure amendments to the 524 Lamar development based on consistency with smart growth

June 1, 2000: Council approves the designation of another parcel in the downtown area as part of CBD-CURE; council resolves to address the feasibility of seeking the assistance of a consultant to develop a more comprehensive master plan and zoning recommendations for the Rainey Street area that incorporates stakeholder concerns

June 22, 2000: Council approves the designation of another parcel in the downtown area as part of CBD-CURE west of IH-35

June 29, 2000: Austin Tomorrow Comprehensive plan amended to include the Old West Austin Neighborhood Plan and the North Austin Civic Association Neighborhood Plan, which were considered consistent with smart growth initiatives

August 3, 2000: Property allocated to the Urban Renewal Agency for the Urban Renewal Plan; council approves a fee waiver for development at 901 West 9th Street based on consistency with smart growth initiatives

August 17, 2000: City Manager is directed and authorized to negotiate and execute a contract to approve support for the development of the proposed Triangle Square Project and any agreements necessary to implement the Water and Wastewater, Development Review and Inspection, Public Works and Transportation, Watershed Protection, Parks and Recreation and Redevelopment Services portions of the support package for the Triangle Square Project

August 24, 2000: Property in East Austin rezoned from commercial to residential

September 12, 2000: Development incentives are outlined for smart growth zones

October 5, 2000: Council resolves to support a development of mixed-use project that preserves Mexi-Carte Museum

October 12, 2000: Council resolves to implement Tax Increment Financing Reinvestment Zone No. 15, which includes a new City Hall as well as retail development surrounding the CSC headquarters

October 26, 2000: Council approves fee waivers for the Post West Avenue Lofts based on compliance with the smart growth initiative

November 30, 2000: Council approves the designation of three parcels in the downtown area as part of CBD-CURE west of IH-35; council accepts the Robert Mueller Municipal Airport Redevelopment and Reuse Plan, which stipulated “East Austin revitalization” and “smart growth”; council approves fee waivers for development at 401 Congress Avenue based on compliance with the smart growth initiative

December 14, 2000: Council approves the designation of three parcels in the downtown area as part of CBD-CURE west of IH-35; Onion Creek is annexed as part of the smart growth initiative; council resolves to allow incentives for Vignette to build its headquarters in Austin based on its being in the desired development zone in accordance with smart growth

March 29, 2001: Dove Springs, Colony Park, East Austin, Rosewood-Zaragosa, St. John's, and South Austin established as neighborhoods under the Neighborhood Planning Process plan

May 10, 2001: Council approves fee waivers for development at 300 West Sixth Street based on compliance with the smart growth initiative

June 7, 2001: Council passes resolution and ordinance to partner with Riata Partners to build in Robertson Hill based on its being in the desired development zone in accordance with smart growth

June 14, 2001: Council resolves to partner with AMLI to build apartments near Republic Square Park

July 19, 2001: Council approves fee waivers for development at 309 West Fifth Street based on compliance with the smart growth initiative

August 2, 2001: East 11th and 12th Street Urban Renewal Plan amended (defined as "community redevelopment plan"); council approves the designation of another parcel in the downtown area as part of CBD-CURE west of IH-35

September 27, 2001: Austin Tomorrow Comprehensive plan amended to include the Montopolis Neighborhood Plan which was considered consistent with smart growth initiatives; council approves fee waivers for infrastructure development at 1701 Lavaca and AMLI Residential (201 Lavaca) based on compliance with the smart growth initiative

November 29, 2001: Council approves implementation of the Rosewood Neighborhood Plan as part of the Austin Tomorrow Comprehensive Plan

December 6, 2001: Council approves fee waivers for infrastructure development at Austin Lofts (800 West Fifth Street) and 1701 Lavaca based on compliance with the smart growth initiative

December 13, 2001: Austin Tomorrow Comprehensive plan amended to include the Central East Austin Neighborhood Plan which was considered consistent with smart growth initiatives; council approves and ordinance designating 350 acres of of land in the Holly Neighborhood Plan Area as part of a neighborhood plan combining district

January 27, 2002: St. John Branch Library opens

May 23, 2002: Austin Tomorrow Comprehensive plan amended to include the North Loop Neighborhood Plan which was considered consistent with smart growth initiatives

August 1, 2002: Austin Tomorrow Comprehensive plan amended to include the Upper Boggy Creek Neighborhood Plan which was considered consistent with smart growth initiatives; council approves and ordinance designating 714 acres of of land in the Upper Boggy Creek Neighborhood Plan Area as part of a neighborhood plan combining district

August 8, 2002: Property transferred from East Austin to city-owned land for affordable housing development; none reported

August 22, 2002: Austin Tomorrow Comprehensive plan amended to include the Upper Boggy Creek Neighborhood Plan which was considered consistent with smart growth initiatives

October 10, 2002: Austin Tomorrow Comprehensive plan amended to include the Southeast Combined Neighborhood Plan which was considered consistent with smart growth initiatives

October 24, 2002: Council approves rezoning property on Cherrywood Road to be included within the Upper Boggy Creek Neighborhood Plan

November 7, 2002: Austin Tomorrow Comprehensive plan amended to include the East MLK Combined Neighborhood Plan which was considered consistent with smart growth initiatives

January 30, 2003: Austin Revitalization Authority given reimbursement on construction by the City based on developing moderate- to low-income housing

March 27, 2003: Govalle/Johnston Terrace Combined Neighborhood Plan adopted as an amendment to the Austin Tomorrow Comprehensive Plan which was considered consistent with smart growth initiatives

June 12, 2003: Council approves fee waivers for infrastructure development at 2401 East Sixth Street, 701 West Fifth Street, 200 San Jacinto, 800 West Fifth Street, 401 Neches, and 201 Lavaca based on compliance with the smart growth initiative

July 17, 2003: East Austin property allocated to the Urban Renewal Agency for implementation of the East 11th and 12th Street Urban Renewal Plan.

July 31, 2003: Closed hearing for the adoption of a second ordinance modifying the East 11th and 12th Street Urban Renewal Plan

September 8, 2003: Council approves different water and wastewater capital recovery fees between the drinking water protection zone and the desired development zone, differentiating between the extraterritorial jurisdiction and city limits

December 4, 2003: Campaign finance language added to city code

December 11, 2003: The transportation chapter of the City Code is amended to incorporate smart growth concepts

January 29, 2004: Austin Tomorrow Comprehensive plan amended to amend the Central East Austin Neighborhood Plan which was considered consistent with smart growth initiatives

February 12, 2004: Council approves the designation of another parcel in the downtown area as part of CBD-CURE west of IH-35

April 1, 2004: Crestview/Wooten Combined Neighborhood Plan adopted as an amendment to the Austin Tomorrow Comprehensive Plan which was considered consistent with smart growth initiatives

June 17, 2004: Council approves the adoption of the Robinson Ranch Annexation and Development Agreement

August 5, 2004: Language added to the Glen Oaks, Brackenridge, and Blackshear Urban Renewal Plans binding all residents upon penalty of prosecution by the city

September 13, 2004: Council approves different water and wastewater capital recovery fees between the drinking water protection zone and the desired development zone, differentiating between the extraterritorial jurisdiction and city limits

September 30, 2004: Council resolves to amend the Triangle Square Project to complete the project

January 27, 2005: East Austin property rezoned to mixed-use

February 5, 2005: George Washington Carver Campus grand opening

April 7, 2005: Third modification adopted for the East 11th and 12th Street Urban Renewal Plan

May 6, 2006: Remodeled Terrazas Branch opens to the public

May 18, 2005: Council approves implementation of the South Congress Combined Neighborhood Plan as part of the Austin Tomorrow Comprehensive Plan

May 19, 2005: Transit-oriented development districts established as zoning designations in response to building the light rail line.

July 28, 2005: Council approves the designation of another parcel in the downtown area as part of CBD-CURE west of IH-35

August 25, 2005: Oaks Springs Library closed for renovation of air conditioning

September 1, 2005: Ordinance approved which determines that eminent domain not permitted for economic stimulus, but allowed for urban renewal or revitalization

September 12, 2005: Council approves different water and wastewater capital recovery fees between the drinking water protection zone and the desired development zone, differentiating between the extraterritorial jurisdiction and city limits

September 29, 2005: Greater South River City Combined Neighborhood Plan adopted as an amendment to the Austin Tomorrow Comprehensive Plan which was considered consistent with smart growth initiatives

November 3, 2005: Council authorizes reimbursement for utility relocation costs on a project at 200 San Jacinto Street

November 17, 2005: Council approves the designation of two parcels in the downtown area as part of DMU-CURE west of IH-35

December 1, 2005: Austin Revitalization Authority given property for moderate- to low-income housing

December 5, 2005: Oak Springs Library reopened after air conditioning renovation

February 2, 2006: Council approves the designation of two parcels in the downtown area as part of DMU-CURE west of IH-35

June 8, 2006: Council approves the designation of two parcels in the downtown area as part of CBD-CURE west of IH-35

June 22, 2006: Council approves the designation of another parcel in the downtown area as part of CBD-CURE west of IH-35

August 31, 2006: Council approves new design standards and definitions for mixed use development

September 11, 2006: Council approves the eligibility of lower fees for development in smart growth zones; council approves different water and wastewater capital recovery fees between the drinking water protection zone and the desired development zone, differentiating between the extraterritorial jurisdiction and city limits

November 30, 2006: Council approves the designation of another parcel in the downtown area as part of CBD-CURE west of IH-35

March 1, 2007: Council approves the designation of another parcel in the downtown area as part of CBD-CURE west of IH-35

March 22, 2007: Council approves the designation of two parcels in the downtown area as part of CBD-CURE west of IH-35; Austin Revitalization Authority established

June 19, 2007: A Latino man was beaten in East Austin and the Austin Police Department report that it was in response to the Juneteenth celebration that day

June 21, 2007: Austin Revitalization Authority receives funds for moderate- to low-income housing

August 9, 2007: Council approves implementation of the University Hills/Windsor Park Combined Neighborhood Plan as part of the Austin Tomorrow Comprehensive Plan

August 23, 2007: Office of the Police Monitor presents; council inquires about outreach methods based on dismal community relations

November 1, 2007: Council approves implementation of the North Burnet/Gateway 2035 Combined Neighborhood Plan as part of the Austin Tomorrow Comprehensive Plan

January 31, 2008: Council approves the designation of another parcel in the downtown area as part of CBD-CURE west of IH-35

February 28, 2008: Fourth modification adopted for the East 11th and 12th Street Urban Renewal Plan; public hearing on charter amendment allowing for single-member district

April 24, 2008: African American Quality of Life Initiative issues a report to council

June 5, 2008: Council approves the designation of another parcel in the downtown area as part of CBD-CURE west of IH-35

August 7, 2008: Council approves the designation of two parcels in the downtown area as part of CBD-CURE west of IH-35

August 24, 2008: CapMetro closes the transit center located at the intersection of Congress and 11th Street

September 8, 2008: Council approves different water and wastewater capital recovery fees between the drinking water protection zone and the desired development zone, differentiating between the extraterritorial jurisdiction and city limits

September 25, 2008: Council approves the designation of two parcels in the downtown area as part of CBD-CURE west of IH-35

November 6, 2008: Council adopts interim update to the Austin Tomorrow Comprehensive Plan, which highlights the smart growth initiative

November 11, 2008: Plaza Saltillo Transit-Oriented Development Plan adopted

November 20, 2008: Fifth modification adopted for the East 11th and 12th Street Urban Renewal Plan

December 11, 2008: Justin/Lamar Transit-Oriented Development Plan adopted

December 18, 2008: Council approves the naming of a police substation after the first Black police officer in the city of Austin

January 29, 2009: Council approves the designation of another parcel in the downtown area as part of CBD-CURE west of IH-35; council approves Urban Design Guidelines

March 12, 2009: Council approves the following: all development adjacent to the MLK Station zoned as transit-oriented development; Rosewood Neighborhood Plan amended; Chestnut Neighborhood Plan amended; Upper Boggy Creek Neighborhood Plan amended; East MLK Combined Neighborhood Plan amended; more zoning in East Austin changed; North Burnet/Gateway designated a redevelopment district

April 2, 2009: MLK Transit-Oriented Development Plan adopted; council approves the designation of another parcel in the downtown area as part of CBD-CURE west of IH-35

April 30, 2009: Council approves the designation of another parcel in the downtown area as part of CBD-CURE west of IH-35

June 11, 2009: Bicycle Plan updated as part of the Austin Tomorrow Comprehensive Plan which was considered consistent with smart growth initiatives

September 14, 2009: Council approves updates to fees, fines, and other charges, including different water and wastewater capital recovery fees between the drinking water protection zone

and the desired development zone, differentiating between the extraterritorial jurisdiction and city limits

October 22, 2009: Council approves the designation of another parcel in the downtown area as part of CBD-CURE west of IH-35

November 19, 2009: Council approves the Seaholm Redevelopment Project

January 14, 2010: Council approves the designation of another parcel in the downtown area as part of CBD-CURE west of IH-35

February 11, 2010: Council approves funding for a public golf course in East Austin

February 25, 2010: Council approves implementation of the East Riverside Corridor Master Plan as part of the Austin Tomorrow Comprehensive Plan

May 27, 2010: Council approves the designation of another parcel in the downtown area as part of CBD-CURE west of IH-35

June 24, 2010: Council approves implementation of the Waller Creek District Master Plan as part of the Austin Tomorrow Comprehensive Plan; council approves a resolution directing the city clerk to prepare a proposed amendment allowing for a city attorney that is appointed by the city manager and accompanying staff; council approves the designation of two parcels in the downtown area as part of CBD-CURE west of IH-35

September 13, 2010: Council approves updates to fees, fines, and other charges, including different water and wastewater capital recovery fees between the drinking water protection zone and the desired development zone, differentiating between the extraterritorial jurisdiction and city limits

January 13, 2011: Council approves implementation of the Heritage Hills/Windsor Hills Combined Neighborhood Plan as part of the Austin Tomorrow Comprehensive Plan; council approves the designation of another parcel in the downtown area as part of CBD-CURE west of IH-35

March 24, 2011: Council approves the designation of another parcel in the downtown area as part of CBD-CURE west of IH-35

June 23, 2011: Council approves the designation of another parcel in the downtown area as part of CBD-CURE west of IH-35

September 12, 2011: Council approves updates to fees, fines, and other charges, including different water and wastewater capital recovery fees between the drinking water protection zone and the desired development zone, differentiating between the extraterritorial jurisdiction and city limits

April 5, 2012: East Austin property rezoned to mixed use; Central East Austin Master Plan amended

April 26, 2012: Sixth modification adopted for the East 11th and 12th Street Urban Renewal Plan

May 24, 2012: Council approves the designation of another parcel in the downtown area as part of CBD-CURE west of IH-35

June 14, 2012: Council approves updates to fees, fines, and other charges, including different water and wastewater capital recovery fees between the drinking water protection zone and the desired development zone, differentiating between the extraterritorial jurisdiction and city limits

June 28, 2012: Blackland Community Development Corporation, Chestnut Neighborhood Revitalization Corporation, and Guadalupe Neighborhood Development Corporation designated as Community Land Trusts and offered property tax exemptions; council approves the designation of another parcel in the downtown area as part of CBD-CURE west of IH-35

July 31, 2012: Council approves ordinance amending the ballot measure for the 2012 November election by adding an independent redistricting commission

August 2, 2012: Chestnut Neighborhood Plan amended; more East Austin property rezoned as mixed use; HUD funding included smart growth initiatives

September 10, 2012: Council approves updates to fees, fines, and other charges, including different water and wastewater capital recovery fees between the drinking water protection zone and the desired development zone, differentiating between the extraterritorial jurisdiction and city limits

October 6, 2012: Oak Springs Library renamed the Willie Mae Kirk Branch

November 1, 2012: Council approves the designation of two parcels in the downtown area as part of CBD-CURE west of IH-35

November 6, 2012: Council and voters approve single-member districts

December 13, 2012: Council approves the designation of another parcel in the downtown area as part of CBD-CURE west of IH-35

February 14, 2013: Seventh modification adopted for the East 11th and 12th Street Urban Renewal Plan

March 7, 2013: Council approves the designation of another parcel in the downtown area as part of CBD-CURE west of IH-35

April 11, 2013: Council amends the floor to area ratio of another parcel in the downtown area as part of CBD-CURE west of IH-35

May 9, 2013: Council approves the designation of another parcel in the downtown area as part of CBD-CURE west of IH-35

June 6, 2013: Council approves the designation of another parcel in the downtown area as part of CBD-CURE west of IH-35; amendment of the design standards for urban redevelopment

June 20, 2013: Blackland Community Development Corporation, Chestnut Neighborhood Revitalization Corporation, and Guadalupe Neighborhood Development Corporation offered further property tax exemptions; joint development agreement approved between the city, Waller Creek Conservancy, and Waller Creek Local Government Corporation

June 27, 2013: CURE restricted to outside the area bounded by MLK, IH-35, the lake and Lamar; definition of downtown density program

August 8, 2013: Council approves the designation of another parcel in the downtown area as part of CBD-CURE west of IH-35 with the inclusion of a historic landmark

September 9, 2013: Council approves updates to fees, fines, and other charges, including different water and wastewater capital recovery fees between the drinking water protection zone and the desired development zone, differentiating between the extraterritorial jurisdiction and city limits

September 26, 2013: Council approves the designation of another parcel in the downtown area as part of CBD-CURE west of IH-35

October 3, 2013: Eighth modification adopted for the East 11th and 12th Street Urban Renewal Plan

October 17, 2013: Ninth modification adopted for the East 11th and 12th Street Urban Renewal Plan

October 24, 2013: Council updates fees, fines, and other charges

May 8, 2014: Eric Tang's paper "Outlier: The Case of Austin's Declining African American Population"

June 12, 2014: Chestnut Neighborhood Revitalization Corporation and Guadalupe Neighborhood Development Corporation offered further property tax exemptions

September 8, 2014: Council approves updates to fees, fines, and other charges, including different water and wastewater capital recovery fees between the drinking water protection zone and the desired development zone, differentiating between the extraterritorial jurisdiction and city limits

October 16, 2014: Council approves ordinance that defines transportation network companies, partially to assist in transit options in underserved communities

November 4, 2014: City votes for councilmembers from geographically designated districts

March 23, 2015: Council discusses the city's approach to public safety delivery

May 7, 2015: Council resolves to form the Task Force on Institutional Racism and create an equity tool to address city practices regarding racial disparity

June 4, 2015: Chestnut Neighborhood Revitalization Corporation and Guadalupe Neighborhood Development Corporation offered further property tax exemptions

September 10, 2015: Council approves the designation of another parcel in the downtown area as part of CBD-CURE west of IH-35

February 4, 2016: Council discusses the purpose of committee responsibilities

May 25, 2016: Mayor Adler signs the Racial Equity Here pledge, initiating the groundwork for the Equity Office

June 16, 2016: Chestnut Neighborhood Revitalization Corporation and Guadalupe Neighborhood Development Corporation offered further property tax exemptions

September 22, 2016: City approves funding for contractors for reformatting the land use development code

February 9, 2017: Councilmembers raise concerns about the lack of new voices on the Task Force on Institutional Racism

March 2, 2017: Council approves the designation of three parcels in the downtown area as part of CBD-CURE west of IH-35

June 8, 2017: Chestnut Neighborhood Revitalization Corporation and Guadalupe Neighborhood Development Corporation offered further property tax exemptions

October 10, 2017: Council announces the agenda which includes \$2.275 million in funding for the CodeNEXT contractors

October 12, 2017: Council approves additional funding for CodeNEXT contractor with the understanding that feedback will be improved and incorporated in the process

November 7, 2017: School bond that closes several East Austin schools is approved

November 9, 2017: Tenth modification adopted for the East 11th and 12th Street Urban Renewal Plan

March 23, 2018: Austin is approved to join an antidisplacement policy network

Activist Timeline

January 13, 1919: Austin chapter of the NAACP is chartered

April 25, 1946: Activists approach council for night lighting so that baseball could be played in the Zaragosa Park Baseball Park and about poor drainage in East Austin; council informs them that the infrastructure costs too much and offers to inform them of bond projects

June 24, 1948: Activists request permission to hold a carnival in Zaragosa Park; council approves request

May 5, 1949: Activists approach council about poor drainage in East Austin and night lighting; council agrees to night lighting but states that fixing drainage issues would cost too much

July 7, 1955: City Planning Commission recommends the Citizens Master Plan Committee which included people from all over Austin; council approves

February 9, 1956: Council introduces resolution on infrastructure movement in anticipation of upcoming highways; resolution was approved; activists and councilmembers inquire when residents would be required to move for the new airport

February 13, 1958: Council proclaims February 16-22, 1958 as LULAC Week

April 13, 1961: Council grants LULAC permission to have a dance on city property at the regular rental rate

May 5, 1966: NAACP speaks in favor of an ordinance designed to give the Human Relations Commission the power to subpoena and to enhance the authority of the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

February 9, 1967: Control of the Office of Equity Opportunity is transferred to the Human Opportunities Corporation

May 4, 1967: Human Opportunities Corporation is included for consideration on the Community Development Advisory Commission to offer approaches to equity

May 25, 1967: Community Development Advisory Commission resolution signed into ordinance

June 22, 1967: Human Opportunities Corporation enters contract with the city to provide summer employment for 113 young people with the Parks and Recreation Department and the Austin Public Library System

June 29, 1967: NAACP testifies on behalf of an Open Housing Ordinance; council agrees to investigation on claims of housing discrimination

August 4, 1967: Human Opportunities Corporation is chartered

August 31, 1967: Human Opportunities Corporation provides affirmation of the successful Clean-Up Campaign in East Austin

September 28, 1967: Human Opportunities Corporation offers the council a report on how Austin was offering lower wages for low-skilled workers than other comparable cities

March 14, 1968: Council approves a continued control with the Human Opportunities Corporation based on its provision of services to marginalized populations

April 4, 1968: Council schedules a public hearing to include the Human Opportunities Corporation as a city agency

April 18, 1968: Council assumes authority of the Human Opportunities Corporation

August 1, 1968: Legal Aid Society requests the funding that it normally would have received from the Human Opportunities Corporation; council responds that the issue will be taken under advisement

September 19, 1968: Human Opportunities Corporation renovates space for lease to the city for the Model Cities Program

September 26, 1968: Council and Human Opportunities Corporation enter a leasing agreement for property relating to the administration of the Model Cities Program, although the head of HOC was wary about the lack of definition for how housing for the community would be addressed during the program; council responds that it will be determined during the planning stage

October 3, 1968: Human Opportunities Corporation approaches neighborhood residents to explain the process of urban renewal; residents were made aware that their properties would be acquired through VISTA volunteers and formed neighborhood organizations so they could meet with council and be thoroughly informed about property acquisition and compensation during the urban renewal of the neighborhood

November 14, 1968: Constituents approach council about their concerns with pollution issues and the rat infestation in the area; council responds that the funds were unavailable to address the problem without the help of private and nongovernmental entities, as well as citizens

December 5, 1968: Human Opportunities Corporation approaches council about the rodent problem in East Austin and offered to help, concerned about the sanitation and health of residents; council deferred until various plans could be reviewed and federal funds could be appropriated

January 23, 1969: Council grants a parade permit for American Freedom from Hunger Foundation

January 30, 1969: Parade permit for American Freedom from Hunger is amended to include the route

March 6, 1969: Human Opportunities Corporation is urged by council to encourage constituents to vote in the election of Neighborhood Advisory Committee members

May 22, 1969: Council appoints board members to the Human Opportunities Corporation

September 18, 1969: Human Relations Commission delegated to work with the Human Opportunities Corporation under the FY 1970 Budget.

November 20, 1969: Community United Front appeals its denial of solicitation from the City of Austin to obtain money for a free breakfast program

November 25, 1969: Community United Front's denial is upheld by council

January 15, 1970: NAACP requests that this day be designated a holiday in honor of MLK but is told by council that state procedures must be followed for holiday designation

March 26, 1970: Parade permit in honor of the death of MLK denied by council due to erroneous paperwork

April 2, 1970: Chairman of the Human Opportunities Corporation expresses concern over board appointments by council before more appointments are made; council approves board members

April 23, 1970: Community United Front appeals its denial of solicitation to obtain money for a free breakfast program from the City of Austin; council amends parade permits to include punitive consequences for having parades without permits

June 11, 1970: Human Opportunities Corporation speaks against an annexation ordinance because it would be an injustice to the communities of color who use the property included as a park; council passes the ordinance

June 18, 1970: City manager addresses council about funds which were supposed to be appropriated for the summer youth program hosted by the Human Opportunities Corporation; council responds that the deadline has passed and another similar program has addressed the situation.

October 8, 1970: Council proclaims October 19-23, 1970 to be "War on Poverty Week" in honor of the Human Opportunities Corporation, which directly administers programming for the War on Poverty

October 27, 1970: Community United Front is approved to offer its breakfast program at Texas Union on the University of Texas at Austin

December 3, 1970: Groups of East Austin activists approach council with an amendment to the city charter for geographic representation districts for councilmembers; council chooses not to make a decision at that time

January 14, 1971: NAACP files a complaint against the APD regarding police violence and request that it be brought before the Human Relations Commission; council moves to investigate, after which the matter could be brought to the HRC

January 28, 1971: NAACP files a complaint against APD and requests that it be brought to the HRC; council moves that it wait until a specific HRC board member is back in town

February 25, 1971: Groups of East Austin activists approach council with an amendment to the city charter for geographic representation districts for councilmembers; council chooses to conduct a study on the matter

September 16, 1971: Council resolves to contract with the Human Opportunities Corporation for a daycare project in honor of the Model Cities program

October 7, 1971: Council denies the use of an abandoned fire station for a free daycare center by Community United Front; one councilmember “made a statement...that everyone should be heard fairly and thoroughly, regardless of clothing, color and hair.”

October 14, 1971: Community United Front rejects council’s amended offer based on restrictions included in the contract; Human Opportunities Corporation reports that its board had voted to reduce the number of its council-appointed board members, and council pushes back, ending the meeting without resolution

December 9, 1971: Human Opportunities Corporation receive awards for its good work from council

January 20, 1972: Human Opportunities Corporation makes suggestions for the three council-appointed board members to ensure that the interests of low-income people are protected

March 23, 1972: Human Opportunities Corporation approaches council for assistance from the National Health Service Corps, which delivers health service to poverty areas; council allows for one-week delay to study materials provided on the issue

March 30, 1972: Council approves funding to the Human Opportunities Corporation for the Model Cities Program for the Education and Job Training Project; council also approves the assistance from the National Health Service Corps due to its costing the city nothing

May 11, 1972: NAACP proposes an ordinance against workforce discrimination; council sets a public hearing for discussion

May 25, 1972: Austin Welfare Rights Organization addresses council about how marginalized constituents were having trouble receiving medical services from Brackenridge; council requests opinion from the city attorney before specific action is taken

June 22, 1972: Council revokes the Human Opportunities Corporation as the Community Action Agency

July 6, 1972: Several activist groups approach the city to keep the Human Opportunities Commission while requesting that it be reorganized; council moves to delay a decision for two weeks

July 22, 1972: Council revokes the Human Opportunities Corporation as a Community Action Agency, allowing city staff to assume its responsibilities

August 3, 1972: Activist groups approach council with an amendment to the city charter for geographic representation districts for councilmembers; council refuses to put the matter to a ballot stating that it should be appropriately deliberated

November 2, 1972: Board members of the Human Opportunities Corporation request that council slow the transition time of the revocation down, that marginalized people would not be

fairly represented, and that private interest groups would be introduced to the process; council disregards warnings and allows a more rapid transition

January 31, 1973: Latino activists approach council in a specially called meeting to request a committee for constituent oversight of the police in response to brutality experienced on January 17, 1973; the groups further noted that there was no response to previous suggestions, considering that one included adding more authority for the Human Relations Commission

February 1, 1973: Council transfers grants from the Human Opportunities Commission directly back to the city

July 12, 1973: Activist groups approach council requesting zoning changes and for equal voices with the Model Cities program, complaints about high rents and substandard housing, and the need for public housing

August 23, 1973: Austin Community Television, funded in part by the Urban League, requests council for funding for equipment; council hedges based on ACT not provided specific services to the city and to avoid the appearance of political bias

March 14, 1974: East Austin Committee for Justice appealed to the City Council about the police presence in their neighborhood; council responded by asking for a report from the city manager's office

April 4, 1974: East Austin Committee for Justice requests the resignation of the Chief of Police and for the position to become elected instead of appointed; council denies both requests

June 6, 1974: Brown Berets appeal to council about land acquisitions in the Latino community for parkland; council proposed collaboration between Brown Berets and architects to propose an alternative plan, and postpones decision.

June 20, 1974: LULAC requests that the Service Employment Redevelopment (SER) program extend to the Spanish-speaking community of Austin; council approves

July 7, 1974: Brown Berets draw up a manifesto for the state of Texas detailing how best to serve Latino communities

July 11, 1974: East Austin Committee for Justice requests the formation of a Police-Community Review Board and the removal of the Chief of Police, and Brown Berets submits 14-point plan to alleviate police brutality; council responds by setting up a procedure for brutality investigations to acquire more information

July 25, 1974: Multiple groups request approval of SER funding for the Capital Area Manpower Plan; council approves

October 10, 1974: Council approves a parade permit request from the East Austin Committee for Justice

October 15, 1974: Special meeting called from the East Austin Committee for Justice regarding police brutality/harassment and the need for a tri-ethnic review committee; council responded with the need for more research

November 14, 1974: Council withdraws appearance request from East Austin Committee for Justice for submitting a proposal

November 21, 1974: East Austin Committee for Justice requests an expansion of the Special Community Relations Task Force to include “two additional Chicanos, one student, and one woman.”

December 5, 1974: Activists approach council with concerns over the efficacy of the SER Program in Austin; council approves submitting modification of funding

April 10, 1975: Activist groups request that 19th Street be renamed to MLK Boulevard

December 31, 1975: Council proclaims New Year’s Day to be “Emancipation Proclamation Day”

February 12, 1976: Council proclaims February 13, 1976 to be “Volma Overton Day”

February 26, 1976: Activist groups and council discuss amending the charter to separate the city into districts; councilmembers request more public hearings

April 15, 1976: Activists were concerned about the contracting opportunities for entrepreneurs of color in the SER Program; council affirms its dedication to the program

June 30, 1976: Austin Area Urban League chartered

September 16, 1976: Council approves construction for the Carver Branch of the Austin Public Library, while in the same meeting denying a zoning change for a resident wanting to sell her house near IH-35; activist groups request municipal funds for Austin Community Radio which would serve the interests of communities of color; Urban League requests funding from council, but was told that it would have to apply to other nonprofit organizations, especially since a councilmember stated that it did nothing for Chicanos

September 23, 1976: Council refuses to fund some nonprofits and cuts personnel

September 27, 1976: Urban League and other activist groups denied funding by city council

October 7, 1976: Activist groups are awarded several grants, including the Urban League

October 14, 1976: Council proclaims that October 18-24, 1976 is Mexican American Women Week

January 27, 1977: Urban League asks for funding on a home maintenance and management program to help homeowners keep their homes in good condition; Brown Berets contest boat races being held in East Austin

February 17, 1977: Urban League clarifies to council that the funding request for the home maintenance/management project is not seed money because the program is already national, and that the amount is incomplete

February 24, 1977: Brown Berets contest councilmember approving of boat races in East Austin against the will of the community and promise to keep him from being re-elected

July 14, 1977: Urban League is approved to receive a portion of the Housing and Community Development funding available to the City of Austin for one year

September 22, 1977: Funding for several nonprofit groups is considered as part of the budget

September 29, 1977: Urban League responds to a Request for Proposal offered by the city; council denies despite compliance with the RFP

October 20, 1977: Council resolves to fund Urban League and other entities

November 10, 1977: Activist groups request funding for the public service projects as part of the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act 1972; mayor initially approves, but other councilmembers request further information and move the item to the next week; council approves a parade for the Brown Berets on November 12, 1977, but that police officers were required to be involved.

November 17, 1977: Activist groups request funding for the public service projects as part of the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act 1972; councilmember motions for approval, is seconded, and the motion carries despite other councilmembers asking for further information

January 19, 1978: Brown Berets contest boat races being in East Austin, stating that they could be held in another part of town

February 2, 1978: Council proclaims February to be Black History Month

February 9, 1978: Council proclaims February 12-18, 1978 to be LULAC Week

March 16, 1978: NAACP requests funding for its veteran outreach program and the decision is postponed

March 23, 1978: Council passes ordinance allowing the NAACP to receive minimal funding for veteran outreach program

April 20, 1978: Urban League approaches council with a new budget for which they request funding for half

May 25, 1978: Urban League receives partial funding from the Housing and Community Development allocation for the City of Austin; the Urban Renewal Agency receives the majority of the funding

July 6, 1978: Council passes resolution offering a program in Williamson County more than three times the amount offered to the NAACP on the basis that the NAACP had not experience with veteran outreach

August 10, 1978: Brown Berets complain to council that the parade permit for the Town Lake Citizens Association includes the demonstration being contained by a fence.

September 7, 1978: Council proclaims the day to be Austin Area Urban League Day

September 13, 1978: Community Development Commission recommends that the Urban League continue to receive funding

September 14, 1978: Council resolves to enter a contract for Housing Counseling Services with the Urban League

September 25, 1978: Urban League included as social services portion of approved city budget

October 5, 1978: Council withdraws from contract with Urban League

October 12, 1978: Council renews contract with Urban League

October 26, 1978: Council enters social service contract with Urban League

December 7, 1978: Council proclaims that December 10-16, 1978 is Huston-Tillotson College United Fund week, recognized by MLK.

December 21, 1978: Council proposes reauthorized contract with Urban League

January 25, 1979: Council postpones reauthorization of contract with Urban League

February 1, 1979: Council proclaims February to be Black History Month and February 11-17, 1979 to be LULAC Week; council reauthorizes contract with Urban League

March 15, 1979: Activists voice concerns on Mexican American hiring with the city; council directs the legal department to draft an ordinance that required racial breakdowns of all the contractors and council agrees to restructure the affirmative action programs to be more effective

April 19, 1979: Activists urge support for the Urban League Community Development Credit Union

May 3, 1979: LULAC scheduled to speak on municipal rental fees, but no representatives were available so council moved not to offer final approval; council approves a six-month feasibility study for the Urban League Credit Union, but offers partial funding for the program

May 10, 1979: Activists voice concern over municipal rental fees and the reasoning of a curfew; council mentions that maintenance costs have risen and passes ordinance to increase the fees

May 17, 1979: Councilmembers explain community block development grants to each other before resolving to continue funding

May 31, 1979: Activists were included in the Community Development Commission appointees

July 26, 1979: Activists protest the closing of Navasota Street; council moves not to close the street and to work with the railroad company to improve the intersection

August 9, 1979: Council approves contract for youth employment services with Urban League; Brown Berets and the East Austin Neighborhood Association complain to council about the sustained violence involved with East Austin police interactions

August 23, 1979: Urban League receives over \$100,000 for employment services; Brown Berets spoke against the Austin Police Association and stated that council was unaware of what was going on in East Austin

September 13, 1979: Dan Jardine, a White salsa entrepreneur and the owner of Ninfa's, argues against the Housing Pattern Study produced by the Human Relations Commission, claiming that its data was manipulated by the NAACP and other racial activist groups

September 14, 1979: Larry Jackson from Community United Front stated that while he endorsed a Public Interest Advocacy Center (proposed by Charles Miles based on success in Houston), not all the activists were present at the special meeting, and nothing should be done to negate the Brown Berets

September 26, 1979: Council approves additional funding for the Urban League

October 4, 1979: Council approves and funds the Housing Counseling Program and the Community Development Credit Union project, both managed by the Urban League

October 18, 1979: Activist appointed to the Community Development Commission

November 8, 1979: Council signs resolution funding the Community Development Credit Union Project

February 7, 1980: Council proclaims February, 1980, to be Black History Month, and February 11-17, 1980 as LULAC Week

February 21, 1980: Activists and residents approach council about community development in East Austin; council takes comments but mentions that there are two public hearings

March 20, 1980: Activists call out the city for ineffectual affirmative action that produced no visible changes

April 24, 1980: Activists oppose the incorporation of the Austin Industrial Development Corporation under the Austin Redevelopment Authority

May 1, 1980: Racial activists discuss Affirmative Action Plan with council, claiming poor implementation of the previous plan; council agrees to revamp and enforce the plan

May 5, 1980: Activists support plan to assist homeowners in repair financing

May 21, 1980: Activists urge council to affirm the work done by contractors belonging to the Austin Redevelopment Authority

August 7, 1980: Council received report on Affirmative Action and resolve to accept report; activist groups among recipients of the community development block grants

October 9, 1980: Urban League contract approved for another fiscal year

October 16, 1980: Council decides that Urban League funding should not be continued past December 31, 1980

November 20, 1980: Brown Berets charge the city with more aggressive action to preserve Rainey Street lest council be faced with a more fierce uprising against the Rainey Street Plan.

December 4, 1980: Urban League approved for less funding than previous contracts

February 19, 1981: Council allows the NAACP to fly a banner in East Austin

March 5, 1981: Council resolves to contract with Urban League for on-the-job training

March 19, 1981: Council agrees to additional funding for the Urban League for on-the-job training

March 26, 1981: Council approves parade permit for Brown Berets and Black Citizens Task Force for March 28, 1981

April 7, 1981: Council allows the NAACP to continue flying a banner in East Austin

April 16, 1981: Council calls for activists appointments to the Community Development Commission

April 23, 1981: Council calls for activists appointments to the Community Development Commission

April 30, 1981: Council calls for activists appointments to the Community Development Commission

May 7, 1981: Special meeting called to announce appointments to the boards and commissions

May 14, 1981: Council raises concern that the salary for the Urban League director was \$24,000

June 4, 1981: Council resolves to fund for the Urban League's Community Development Block Grant Credit Union Contract

July 2, 1981: Council approves funding for Urban League CDBG CU Contract

August 26, 1981: Council applies for HUD funding for increased funding of the Urban League's CDBG CU Contract

September 16, 1981: Council reduces funding for CETA contracts

September 18, 1981: Activist groups request funding for community development

September 23, 1981: Council resolves to request extra funding from the Department of Labor to fund activist groups which help contracts for community development activities

September 24, 1981: Council authorizes contracts for activist groups

November 12, 1981: Robertson Hill community successfully lobbies for a 180-day moratorium on building permits demanding zoning and planning studies; council diverts funds from East Austin activist groups to an activist group in Westlake

March 10, 1982: Brown Berets threaten massive upheaval if boat races continue in East Austin, and several East Austin groups speak against them to council

April 15, 1982: Council calls for board and commission appointments, and moves to replace the Urban League as one of the groups represented on the Community Development Commission

May 6, 1982: Council calls for board and commission appointments, and moves to replace the Urban League as one of the groups represented on the Community Development Commission

May 13, 1982: Council grants a parade permit for LULAC

May 20, 1982: Council approves contract with Urban League for five months

June 2, 1982: Council calls for board and commission appointments and moves to replace the Urban League as one of the groups represented on the Community Development Commission

June 10, 1982: Council calls for board and commission appointments and moves to replace the Urban League as one of the groups represented on the Community Development Commission

July 1, 1982: Council agrees to minute funding for the Urban League

July 7, 1982: Council announces group to replace the Urban League on the Community Development Commission

August 26, 1982: Council approves Urban League contract for housing counseling for the elderly

September 1, 1982: Council moves to replace Urban League on the Austin Community Education Consortium

September 2, 1982: Council grants the Urban League \$150,000 for emergency repairs to East Austin homes; group asks to use the Brown Berets as security; council refuses and states that park rangers would stand as security

September 14, 1982: Council calls special meeting to discuss cultural contract funding, and the Urban League requested funding for its direct jobs placement program

September 23, 1982: Council approves funding for contractual nonprofits pending money from the Department of Labor; Latino activists urge council to use Brown Berets as security for Fiesta de La Raza because no police officer had volunteered; Parks and Recreation department denies the request because of municipal liability

January 6, 1983: Urban League requests additional funding for emergency repairs; council closes the public hearing on CDBG

February 17, 1983: Council postpones discussion of funding CDBG for Urban League's emergency home repair program

February 24, 1983: Brown Berets denounced as violent by advocates for the Ku Klux Klan.

March 3, 1983: Activists protest demolition of the Juarez-Lincoln Building and attempt to have it zoned as historic after the planning commission denied the designation; council upholds the planning commission decision; council approves more funding than requested for the Urban League's emergency home repair program

April 7, 1983: Council approves funding for job training with the Urban League

May 19, 1983: Activists speak of police violence in Latino communities which took place after a KKK march; staff makes no retroactive actions, chief is given an opportunity to respond and council requests a review of the Police/Community Relations board; police chief chastised for calling certain Latino people "hoodlums"

May 26, 1983: Urban League raises concerns that the expectations placed on it are too great for its existing resources; council closes the public hearing

July 21, 1983: Racial activists are granted time with the City Council to discuss preservation of the only all-Black high school

September 13, 1983: Council offers minimal funding for Urban League

September 29, 1983: Council resolves substantial funding for Urban League

October 13, 1983: Council approves minimal funding for job training with the Urban League

December 15, 1983: Urban League advocates for its elderly housing counseling program and the emergency home repair program

January 5, 1984: Council approves continued funding for the job training with the Urban League

January 19, 1984: Police representative states that there is no reason for animosity towards the police because of the number of officers of color that have been added

April 5, 1984: NAACP files a lawsuit against the City in Western District federal court, arguing that the at-large voting system dilutes the power of the Black vote

April 12, 1984: Black Citizens Task Force counters the NAACP, stating that the organization is not representative of Black constituents and that one Black councilmember constitutes appropriate representation

June 29, 1984: MALDEF joins the NAACP in the suit against the city, affirming that the at-large voting system also dilutes the power of the Mexican-American vote

August 2, 1984: Councilmembers attempt to remove the NAACP and MALDEF from drawing district lines for the proposed charter amendment changing from at-large members to districts

August 3, 1984: Complaint against the at-large voting system is overturned due to “lack of evidence”

August 13, 1984: NAACP and MALDEF appeal the judgment on the at-large voting system, requesting that the April 1985 elections adopt the single-member district plan

August 16, 1984: Council approves fund allocation to the East Austin Chicano Economic Development Corporation for building affordable housing

August 30, 1984: Council approves additional funding for Urban League due to cost overruns with its job training program

September 20, 1984: Council approves budget with continued funding for the Urban League

September 27, 1984: Council proposes motion with CDBG funding for the Urban League

December 3, 1984: Court of Appeals Fifth Circuit affirms the judgment of the Western District

January 19, 1985: Voters consider and reject single-member districts

March 7, 1985: Council includes Urban League on its Austin/Travis County Private Industry Council

October 15, 1985: Council submits request for funding for groups that work with the city for the Targeted Jobs Tax Credit program

September 18, 1985: Activist groups discuss their programs with council and explain why further funding is needed

April 3, 1986: Municipal funds transferred from the National Council for Negro Women, Inc. to Community Advocates for Teens and Parents, Inc.

March 7, 1987: University Hills Branch-Austin Public Library opens

August 20, 1992: City approves of leasing 1,220 square feet of office space to the NAACP

March 17, 1994: Activist groups included in the evaluation of the Options for Improving Brackenridge and the Community's Healthcare Delivery System

February 1, 1996: Council resolves to hold the Parents' Education Summit in East Austin on March 30, 1996 at the behest of El Concilio.

February 8, 1996: Council reaffirms support for El Concilio's Parent's Education Summit in East Austin on March 30, 1996

October 24, 1996: Council approves a waiver of the street closure fee for the El Concilio Halloween Block Party on October 31, 1996.

February 12, 1998: Activists speak against the expansion of the police budget

May 21, 1998: Council allocates funding for Austin Eastside Story, an after-school program organized by Larry Jackson; activists provide public input on funding allocations for the community development program

July 23, 1998: Council resolves to create an annual reporting program for the Austin Police Department which would be made available to the public, and initiate First Step Community Project and fund the First Step, A Community Project Fund; community requests that council protect East Austin Que Viva El Concilio; council resolves to implement a city-wide video program beginning on January 1, 1999

August 13, 1998: Mayor declares the day to be "NAACP Austin Afro Academic Cultural, Technological and Scientific Olympic Day"

September 10, 1998: El Concilio speaks out against Arnold Oil expanding its facility in East Austin; council allows Arnold Oil to expand its facility

December 3, 1998: Council interrupts community members against the East 11th and 12th Street Urban Renewal Plan because there were more presentations by staff and contractors

March 4, 1999: El Concilio accuses staff of attempting to take over a meeting of advocates who were against the expansion of a transitional housing facility based on the pedestrian culture of the location; council approves the expansion of the transitional housing facility

March 11, 1999: El Concilio speaks against the repair of the Holly power plant; council approves the repair of Holly power plant

April 8, 1999: El Concilio speaks against an overlay that would allow the building of a large fence in East Austin; council sets the item up as a discussion for a later meeting

April 15, 1999: El Concilio and residents support ordinance declaring a moratorium for accepting plans in the East Austin Overlay Combining District for 45 days; council passes ordinance

May 6, 1999: El Concilio addresses council's approving activities that have excessive crowds that prevent activity in the neighborhood surrounding Fiesta Gardens

May 20, 1999: Activists speak in favor of an ordinance creating a Police Oversight Focus Group; one councilmembers votes against the action due to the inclusion of people outside Austin; El Concilio speaks in favor of an amendment providing more oversight for East Austin development, which council approves

July 29, 1999: El Concilio demands that the Holly power plant be closed generally and because of a fire from June 15, 1999

August 5, 1999: El Concilio speaks against an ordinance further protecting the drinking water zone in West Austin while further designating East Austin as the desired development zone under the guise of impervious cover

August 19, 1999: El Concilio urges council to allow a vote for the closure of the Holly power plant

September 2, 1999: El Concilio asks for smaller events at Fiesta Gardens and closure of the Holly power plant, condemning the environmental groups who did not advocate for East Austin

September 30, 1999: El Concilio speaks against the East Austin Youth Center because of the environmental concerns about the Holly power plant; council approves the building of the East Austin Youth Center

December 9, 1999: El Concilio requests the closure of the Holly power plant; El Concilio requests that council not sell property on 411 Chicon with rare support from Austin Neighborhood Council; council approves the sale of the property

December 16, 1999: El Concilio requests the closure of the Holly power plant

March 9, 2000: Interlocal cooperation agreement approved by council between Travis County and Austin Eastside Story

April 20, 2000: El Concilio is mentioned on a stakeholder list for a zoning change review sheet and a convention center use review sheet

May 18, 2000: El Concilio is mentioned on a stakeholder list for two zoning change review sheets

June 1, 2000: Citizens spoke about police brutality in response to the Police Oversight Focus Group; one councilmember spoke in favor of the police department's request of a police officer on the requested citizen's review committee for Austin Police Department; people accuse El Concilio of violence and of vying for control of the Citizens' Review Board; El Concilio is mentioned on a stakeholder list for two zoning change review sheets; Members of the Police Oversight Focus Group accuse the Brown Berets of violence in front of council

June 22, 2000: El Concilio advocates for affordable housing

June 29, 2000: Citizens speak against the Govalle Neighborhood Plan

August 3, 2000: El Concilio is mentioned on a stakeholder list for two zoning change review sheets

August 17, 2000: El Concilio requests a postponement of the hearing for the adoption of the East Cesar Chavez Neighborhood Plan

August 19, 2000: University Hills Branch-Austin Public Library reopens

September 28, 2000: El Concilio is mentioned on a stakeholder list for a zoning change review sheet

October 5, 2000: El Concilio is mentioned on a stakeholder list for a zoning change review sheet

October 26, 2000: Council acknowledges the Native American Award Ceremony hosted by the city; El Concilio is mentioned on a stakeholder list for two zoning change review sheets, and speaks against rezoning in the East Cesar Chavez Neighborhood Plan based on how it would affect property values

November 2, 2000: El Concilio is mentioned on a stakeholder list for a zoning change review sheet

November 9, 2000: El Concilio is mentioned on a stakeholder list for a zoning change review sheet

November 30, 2000: El Concilio is mentioned on a stakeholder list for three zoning change review sheets

December 7, 2000: El Concilio requests a postponement of the intense rezoning, neighborhood equity, and an update on the closure of the Holly power plant

December 14, 2000: El Concilio requests a postponement of the intense rezoning, neighborhood equity and an update on the closure of the Holly power plant

January 18, 2001: El Concilio urges the closure of Holly power plant and notified council that the plant is on fire during the meeting

March 8, 2001: Activists argue fervently against police contract submitted by law enforcement; council approves the contract

March 22, 2001: El Concilio is mentioned on a stakeholder list for a zoning change review sheet

April 19, 2001: Texas Civil Rights Project requests postponement of a zoning change to give the organization more time for community outreach

April 26, 2001: El Concilio is mentioned on a stakeholder list for a public hearing on the Blackshear Urban Renewal Plan

May 3, 2001: El Concilio is mentioned on a stakeholder list for a zoning change review sheet; Texas Civil Rights Project requests postponement of a zoning change to give the organization more time for community outreach

May 24, 2001: El Concilio is mentioned on a stakeholder list for a termination of restrictive covenant review sheet; Texas Civil Rights Project requests postponement of a zoning change to give the organization more time for community outreach

June 7, 2001: El Concilio speaks against gentrification in East Austin; council approves resolution of amendment to Blackshear Urban Renewal Plan; Texas Civil Rights Project requests postponement of a zoning change to give the organization more time for community outreach

August 23, 2001: Council approves funding for Austin Eastside Story as part of the FY 2002 Budget; El Concilio is mentioned on a stakeholder list for a zoning change review sheet

September 27, 2001: Council approves funding for sickle cell outreach and conducts public hearing on amending the Austin Tomorrow Comprehensive Plan to include the Rosewood Neighborhood Plan

October 11, 2001: Council conducts public hearing on amending the Austin Tomorrow Comprehensive Plan to include the Holly Neighborhood Plan, under which El Concilio is mentioned on a stakeholder list

November 29, 2001: El Concilio is mentioned on a stakeholder list for two zoning change review sheets and conducts public hearing on amending the Austin Tomorrow Comprehensive Plan to include the Rosewood Neighborhood Plan

December 6, 2001: El Concilio is mentioned on a stakeholder list for three zoning change review sheets

December 13, 2001: Council conducts public hearings on amending the Austin Tomorrow Comprehensive Plan to include the Holly Neighborhood Plan, Rosewood Neighborhood Plan, and the Central Austin Neighborhood Plan, under which El Concilio is mentioned on a stakeholder list

January 10, 2002: Council reads draft of resolution creating the Mayor's Committee on K-12 Education Excellence; El Concilio is mentioned on a stakeholder list for a zoning change review sheet

January 17, 2002: Council considers and adopts resolution creating a Public Safety Task Force which includes staff, activists, and nonprofit scholars; council conducts public hearings on amending the Austin Tomorrow Comprehensive Plan to include the Holly Neighborhood Plan, Rosewood Neighborhood Plan, and the Central Austin Neighborhood Plan, under which El Concilio is mentioned on a stakeholder list

February 7, 2002: Council conducts public hearings on amending the Austin Tomorrow Comprehensive Plan to include the Central Austin Neighborhood Plan, under which El Concilio is mentioned on a stakeholder list

February 14, 2002: Council bestows awards on activists of color

March 21, 2002: Council includes activists as stakeholders for the drafting of district maps and ordinances on public campaign finances

May 9, 2002: El Concilio speaks against historic zoning as a gentrification tool

July 11, 2002: El Concilio is mentioned on a stakeholder list for a zoning change review sheet

August 1, 2001: El Concilio speaks against putting a business that serves alcohol across the street from a church

August 29, 2002: Activists protest the proposed spending cuts to summer youth programs from the budget

September 9, 2002: City constructs a marketing plan for the Austin Convention and Visitors Bureau which includes activists groups for input

September 26, 2002: El Concilio is mentioned on a stakeholder list for a zoning change review sheet

October 3, 2002: El Concilio is mentioned on a stakeholder list for three zoning change review sheets

November 7, 2002: El Concilio is mentioned on a stakeholder list for two zoning change review sheets

November 14, 2002: El Concilio is mentioned on a stakeholder list for three zoning change review sheets

December 12, 2002: El Concilio recommends naming a park after Robert Donnelly, who was a long-time advocate

January 9, 2003: El Concilio is mentioned on a stakeholder list for two zoning change review sheets

January 16, 2003: El Concilio speaks in support of the closure of the Holly power plant

January 30, 2003: El Concilio is mentioned on a stakeholder list for two zoning change review sheets

February 6, 2003: Council proclaims that February is Black History Month

February 13, 2003: Activists advocate against the Govalle/Johnston Terrace Combined Neighborhood Plan

February 27, 2003: Brown Berets and residents advocate against the Holly power plant

April 3, 2003: El Concilio included as a stakeholder in the reuse planning of the Holly power plant after closure

April 24, 2003: El Concilio is listed as a stakeholder in the extensive zoning changes consequent to the closure of Holly power plant

May 8, 2003: El Concilio is listed as a stakeholder in the extensive zoning changes consequent to the closure of Holly power plant

June 12, 2003: El Concilio is listed as a stakeholder in the extensive zoning changes consequent to the closure of Holly power plant

July 17, 2003: El Concilio advocates for immediate closure of the Holly power plant ahead of negotiated plans

July 31, 2003: El Concilio is listed as a stakeholder in the extensive zoning changes consequent to the closure of Holly power plant

August 14, 2003: El Concilio supports a prepaid legal representation contract for city workers; Texas Civil Rights Project urges council to offer local government counteraction to the Patriot Act

September 8, 2003: Council reconsiders a marketing plan for the Austin Convention and Visitors Bureau which includes activists groups for input

September 25, 2003: Activists speak against displacement and the continuation of the Holly Power Plant

November 20, 2003: Activists accuse council of developing committees for research and offering no executed response to the police brutality issue; El Concilio is mentioned on a stakeholder list for a zoning change review sheet

December 4, 2003: El Concilio speaks against zoning changes in East Austin

December 11, 2003: El Concilio recommends naming a park after Robert Donnelly, who was a long-time advocate

January 8, 2004: El Concilio speaks against zoning changes in East Austin

January 15, 2004: El Concilio speaks against zoning changes in East Austin

January 29, 2004: El Concilio speaks against zoning changes in East Austin

February 12, 2004: El Concilio speaks against zoning changes in East Austin

February 26, 2004: El Concilio speaks against zoning changes in East Austin

March 4, 2004: Activists approach council on frustrations with police brutality and the police contract; El Concilio urges people to vote in the primaries

March 11, 2004: Activists invite council to a parade; El Concilio speaks in favor of Southwest Keys

March 22, 2004: The Community/Police Solutions Panel, compiled of activists, provide a signed petition and a request for an ordinance against consent searches

March 25, 2004: Activists protest the contract with the Austin Police Department; council approves; activists announce a forum in East Austin to discuss the tax revenue being allocated for the creation of a hospital district; El Concilio advocates in favor of some business relocation

April 1, 2004: El Concilio requests repairing and maintaining Palm pool; El Concilio is mentioned on a stakeholder list for a zoning change review sheet

April 22, 2004: El Concilio is mentioned on a stakeholder list for three zoning change review sheets

May 6, 2004: Activists accuse council of dishonesty regarding tax increases and displacement; El Concilio requests that the Cesar Chavez Neighborhood Plan be renamed because the plans were antithetical to the beliefs of Cesar Chavez; council chastises them as naive

May 13, 2004: El Concilio is mentioned on a stakeholder list for a zoning change review sheet

May 27, 2004: El Concilio speaks against fee waivers for the Gay Pride Festival because the city expressed being in a budget shortfall; council approves fee waivers; El Concilio is mentioned on a stakeholder list for two zoning change review sheets

June 10, 2004: Parade permit approved for Austin Eastside Story; El Concilio speaks against the excessive amounts of large events at Fiesta Gardens

June 19, 2004: NAACP filed complaint with the USDOJ

July 29, 2004: El Concilio speaks in favor of the downzoning of a parcel in East Austin

September 2, 2004: Activist groups are included in the Austin Convention and Visitors Bureau marketing plan; El Concilio is mentioned on a stakeholder list for a zoning change review sheet

September 13, 2004: Council approves the Austin Convention and Visitors Bureau marketing plan, which includes activist groups

December 16, 2004: El Concilio is mentioned on a stakeholder list for a zoning change review sheet

January 13, 2005: Interlocal cooperation agreement approved by council between Travis County and Austin Eastside Story for up to five years

January 27, 2005: Council approves reimbursement for rental fees to the NAACP for their MLK celebration; El Concilio speaks against the process used by the Holly power plant closure committee because of allegations of exclusion

February 3, 2005: Activists protest police brutality as part of public comment

February 10, 2005: Activists announce a forum during which East Austin residents can become informed about transit-oriented district and support single-member districts on the 2005 ballot; resident recounts being harrassed by the police and another resident is displeased with the real estate speculation occurring in her neighborhood

February 17, 2005: El Concilio speaks against TOD zoning as a tool of gentrification

March 3, 2005: Activists offer support of smoking ban

March 24, 2005: NAACP offers a report on underemployment for African-Americans and urges council to discuss racial issues; activists advocate for the predominantly Black nightclub that was burned on February 18, 2005

April 7, 2005: Residents argue against the Central East Austin Master Plan to keep their neighborhood residential and to keep a health practitioner in the neighborhood; council passes the zoning change from residential but zones the one property so that the health practitioner can remain

April 14, 2005: NAACP advocates for the predominantly Black nightclub in danger of being shut down

May 12, 2005: Parade permit approved for Austin Eastside Story; El Concilio advocates for the closure of Holly power plant citing noise and pollution, and advocates for an expansion of the tennis courts in the neighborhood, and is mentioned as a stakeholder on a zoning change review sheet

May 19, 2005: Racial activists urge the council to approve the recommendations from the African American Quality of Life Commission; El Concilio is mentioned as a stakeholder on a zoning change review sheet and shows up in support of the NAACP

May 26, 2005: Racial activists urge the council to approve the recommendations from the African American Quality of Life Commission

June 9, 2005: El Concilio is mentioned as a stakeholder on three zoning change review sheets

June 23, 2005: Racial activists urge the council to approve the recommendations from the African American Quality of Life Commission and the Latino Quality of Life Commission; El Concilio recommends that Holly power plant mitigation funds be used to help homeowners repair their homes, and is mentioned as a stakeholder on a zoning change review sheet

July 28, 2005: El Concilio is mentioned on a stakeholder list for a zoning change review sheet

August 18, 2005: El Concilio is mentioned on a stakeholder list for a zoning change review sheet

October 20, 2005: El Concilio is mentioned on a stakeholder list for a zoning change review sheet

October 27, 2005: Racial activists urge the council to approve the recommendations from the African American Quality of Life Commission; PODER offers communication about the critical housing crisis in East Austin due to gentrification and unfair tax burden, as well as the unfair process of lawsuits for delinquent taxes

November 17, 2005: PODER submits documentation on police brutality and excessive police interventions in Black and Latino communities and requests that federal money be withheld from the police department; citizens speak against the gentrification and displacement of the working poor taking place in East Austin and to keep the golf course in East Austin, working to list it as a historical landmark and keep green space

December 15, 2005: Activists offer insight about the effects of the gentrification for elderly residents in East Austin; El Concilio requests follow up information about the Holly power plant

January 26, 2006: El Concilio is mentioned on a stakeholder list for two zoning change review sheets

February 16, 2006: El Concilio is mentioned on a stakeholder list for four zoning change review sheets

March 2, 2006: Activists express frustration that the city has completed a series of projects, but cannot find the time or money to fix a park near East Austin that required \$1.8 million; El Concilio points out that development not going over the aquifer is directed to East Austin when discussing a potential election on a citizens' initiative, and is mentioned on a stakeholder list for three zoning change review sheets

March 9, 2006: El Concilio speaks against allowing councilmembers to maintain their positions for three terms, and is mentioned on a stakeholder list for three zoning change review sheets

March 23, 2006: Activists invite city council to a parade and a forum regarding policy intervention and urban development in East Austin

April 20, 2006: Residents and activists protest the placement of the water treatment plant within an Roy Guerrero Park, which they wanted improved like similar parks in Austin; councilmember responded that he was not in support of the placement of the plant and that the newspaper misquoted him

April 27, 2006: Activists support ordinance that allow for reimbursement of fees for the Festival

May 18, 2006: Activists request follow up on the recommendations presented as a result of the African American Quality of Life Commission, the development of an African American Cultural and Historical District, and an update on the cleanup of the Boggy Creek area;

May 25, 2006: Ordinance passed creating the African American Resource Advisory Commission; council changes the names of several portions of Fiesta Gardens to be named after prominent Hispanic Austinites

June 8, 2006: Council announces appointments to the African American Resource Advisory Commission

June 22, 2006: Council includes the Urban League as part of the 2006-2007 Fiscal Action Plan for the Emergency Home Repair Program

July 27, 2006: Activists request further funding for youth activities; residents express concerns about the lack of accountability for the neighborhood plan for the Holly neighborhood; council includes the Urban League as part of the 2006-2007 Fiscal Action Plan for the Emergency Home Repair Program

August 10, 2006: Activists request increase in services for youth in Austin and the continuation of the Emergency Home Repair Program

September 11, 2006: Council approves additional funding for the Emergency Home Repair Program

September 28, 2006: Activists offer communication to council about the fact that toll roads are acceptable in East Austin against the wishes of the residents while West Austin residents can successfully lobby against tolls

November 2, 2006: El Concilio is mentioned on a stakeholder list for a zoning change review sheet

December 14, 2006: Activists and residents express concerns that the city introduced developers to take over East Austin while not respecting the needs of its constituents; council continues contract with Urban League; Holly Neighborhood Planning Contact Team requests assistance due to friction with El Concilio

January 11, 2007: El Concilio requests that a commercial driveway not be placed close to a single-family home; council approves the waiver to allow the commercial driveway; El Concilio is mentioned on a stakeholder list for a zoning change review sheet

February 15, 2007: Council approves contracting with the Urban League as part of the lead hazardous removal program with HUD; El Concilio is mentioned on a stakeholder list for two zoning change review sheets

February 23, 2007: Council discusses holding the National Urban League Conference in Austin

March 22, 2007: Council discusses how the Urban League's collaboration with arts, the media, and music

April 12, 2007: Council recognizes the Urban League as part of the Community Development Block Grant Week

April 19, 2007: Activists support council approving contract with a nonprofit for the provision of a male homeless shelter

May 17, 2007: Activists speak against the use of vertical mixed use because of the displacement of communities of color, and the lack of family housing

May 24, 2007: Austin Eastside Story appeals to council for more funds; El Concilio advocates for the home repair program and code compliance education, a moratorium on new development, and invites the public to an event

May 31, 2007: NAACP Legal Defense Fund and the Texas Civil Rights Project file a complaint with the United States Department of Justice against the Austin police dept. (request to withhold \$3 million) complaint: system

June 21, 2007: Austin Eastside Story appeals to council for more funds; new police chief appointed, having been approved by the NAACP; Austin Police Department apologizes for falsely attributing a beating on Juneteenth to the crowds in the celebration, the violence that ensued, and reporting that information to the national mainstream media; more activists request the relocation of a company that poses environmental hazards for children at an elementary school, and present studies that demonstrate the overall hazards in East Austin; El Concilio requests the removal of the Pure Castings facility

July 26, 2007: Activists speak against council funding organizations in East Austin that detain minors and which have no local oversight even with other activists on the board of directors;

council discusses how funds were reorganized due to a change in the community development block grant

August 9, 2007: Council includes Urban League as a supporter of the Capital City Lions Club's 40th Anniversary; Neighborhood Housing and Community Development includes Urban League for continued consideration for funding; El Concilio requests that the Mexican American Cultural Center be placed in a different location

August 23, 2007: Office of the Police Monitor makes a presentation and highlights poor community relations with neighborhoods of color, specifically the youth, and mentions having worked with activist groups

September 27, 2007: Austin Housing Finance Corporation approves contract with Urban League to extend the Emergency Home Repair Program

October 11, 2007: Council makes a list of groups to with whom to engage for building the African American Resource Advisory Commission

November 29, 2007: Several residents speak against the changes which occurred in East Austin since many were no longer able to afford the area; draft ordinance with stipulations about board and commission involvement include established activist groups as part of the membership

December 6, 2007: Activists protest the expansion of the City Code relating to solicitation as it inhibits panhandling, canvassing, and the ability to gain funds for nonprofits

December 13, 2007: Council approves of 35 contracting entities for social services for \$4.91mil

February 14, 2008: Activists speak against funding nonprofits who were seen as misusing public funds for community development in East Austin

February 28, 2008: Activists question the voting system of an at-large city council and mentions the decrease of the Black population (mentions the "gentlemen's agreement" of one Black councilmember and one Latino councilmember)

March 27, 2008: Council proclaims appreciation for Community Development Block Grant Week

April 24, 2008: Activists speak in favor of single-member districts; assistant city manager presents progress on the African American Quality of Life Initiative; council recommends the inclusion of a Hispanic Quality of Life commission for the next budget cycle

June 5, 2008: Activists speak in favor of a Chicano Quality of Life Commission, and express concern that it was not addressed concurrent with the African American Quality of Life; residents discuss police racism

June 18, 2008: Activists mention a successful lawsuit against the city filed by the Texas Civil Rights Project under which police officers had distorted the curfew ordinances

August 7, 2008: El Concilio speaks against the high volume of large trucks navigating the neighborhood

September 8, 2008: Council includes established activist groups as part of the community engagement for the Austin Convention and Visitors Bureau budget

September 25, 2008: Council approves waiver for park rental and fees for the Texas LULAC Elderly Conference on October 24-25, 2008

October 16, 2008: Council proclaims a new festival for Diez y Seis

October 23, 2008: LULAC and El Concilio offer support for City Manager Mark Ott; El Concilio is mentioned as a stakeholder on the TOD plans for three light rail stations

November 6, 2008: El Concilio is mentioned as a stakeholder on the TOD plans for three light rail stations

December 11, 2008: Council approves of 51 contracting entities for social services for \$10.06mil

December 18, 2008: Residents express concern about the creation of “Homestead Preservation Reinvestment Zone Number One,” feeling that it helps the property but not the property owners; while the ordinance creating the zoning passes, one councilmember expressed concern that tax increment financing seemed to apply to large development projects but not housing affordability

January 29, 2009: Council proclaims February 2009 to be “Black History Month”

February 12, 2009: Activists request that the city council pay attention to the issues that are presented to the city by citizen communications, not just those on the scheduled agenda; mentions of injustice and illegal proceedings; activists speak against appropriations within the City’s Federal Legislation Program, but council approves the program

February 26, 2009: Citizen requests more police intervention about the crime in East Austin, funding for social services, and funding for senior and youth programs

March 12, 2009: Several activists request for the relocation of a company known for pollution in East Austin; El Concilio requests that council reject a zoning change for the neighborhood; council approves zoning change

April 23, 2009: Council receives public comment on the consolidated fiscal plan, which includes testimony from contractors who receive funding from community development block grants, HUD, and the American Recovery and Investment Act of 2009

May 14, 2009: Council receives public comment on the consolidated fiscal plan, which includes testimony from contractors who receive funding from community development block grants, HUD, and the American Recovery and Investment Act of 2009

May 21, 2009: El Concilio advocates against the City becoming involved with the Holly Neighborhood Planning Contact team based on the presence of a neighborhood association

June 11, 2009: Proposal of an ordinance requiring that members of certain commissions involving land development or government contracts need to provide financial statements disclosing income, excluding the Urban Renewal Agency; proposal of ordinance to include activist groups on the Public Safety Commission; issues postponed for a week

June 18, 2009: Council approves ordinance requiring that members of certain commissions involving land development or government contracts need to provide financial statements disclosing income, excluding the Urban Renewal Agency; council continues to discuss ordinance to include activist groups on the Public Safety Commission

August 6, 2009: Activists speak against the East Cesar Chavez Neighborhood Planning Area Vertical Mixed Use Neighborhood Plan Amendment; council passes ordinance and allows the amendment

August 27, 2009: Activists and residents express concern about the meager amount of money being offered through ordinance to mitigate environmental effects of a power plant in East Austin which failed to keep long-term residents in their homes; council passes ordinance

September 14-16, 2009: Established activist groups are included in the Austin Convention and Visitors Bureau community engagement strategy

September 24, 2009: El Concilio requests a postponement on the Holly Good Neighbor Program funding vote because some residents wanted to discuss program changes with staff; council passes funding vote

October 1, 2009: Citizen speaks to the lack of inclusion of activist group members being including with the Public Safety Commission, stating a lack of representation on issues involving East Austin; council approves ordinance to include the possibility of activist group members on the Public Safety Commission

October 22, 2009: Activists, both liberal and conservative, speak in favor of barring police officers from conducting random blood drawing; council approves the resolution

November 5, 2009: Austin Eastside Story appeals to council for more funds, having lowered its request

November 19, 2009: El Concilio speaks in favor of the Push Up! Foundation being able to use a carwash on its property

December 10, 2009: Residents request that a company be moved which had been polluting East Austin; El Concilio offers holiday greeting to council

December 17, 2009: Council approves of 51 contracting entities for social services for \$7.6mil

January 14, 2010: Activists speak against how funds are dispersed for home improvement

February 25, 2010: Activists and residents speak against the East Riverside Corridor Master Plan as well as an ordinance zoning it as a core transit corridor; council approves both

March 11, 2010: Texas Civil Rights Project included in a no-kill pet initiative

March 25, 2010: Activists and residents appeal to the council to refuse a conditional use site plan for a hotel/motel; council denies appeal and approves permit; council agrees to develop a comprehensive plan for developing supportive housing; El Concilio is mentioned on a stakeholder list for two zoning change review sheets

April 8, 2010: Entertainers speak in favor of \$45,000 for a cultural festival while residents speak against due to neighborhood degradation; council approves funding; council approves report on the progress of the weatherization assistance program

April 22, 2010: Activists and residents speak about lack of utility affordability relating to the Austin Energy Resource, Generation, and Climate Protection Plan; council passes ordinance with an amendment to include an affordability matrix

May 27, 2010: Activists speak against a resolution requiring fingerprints for taxicab drivers; council rules in favor of fingerprint resolution

July 29, 2010: Council approves a \$750,000 settlement in a federal civil rights case involving an officer shooting a Latino man with four councilmembers against the settlement; council approves funds for the Urban League to assist in home repair

August 5, 2010: Council approves four ordinances allowing funds for more surveillance equipment with the approval of the NAACP

August 19, 2010: Activists request that the Mexican American Cultural Center not be named after any particular person because it represents a whole community, not just one person; council approves ordinance naming the center after Emma Barrientos

September 13-15, 2010: Council includes Urban League as part of the outreach effort for the Austin Convention and Visitors Bureau Marketing Plan

September 23, 2010: Council approves funding for the Urban League to maintain its Emergency Home Repair Program

October 14, 2010: Council approves funding for the Urban League to maintain its Go! Repair Program

November 4, 2010: Activist submits paper on academic problems for Black boys in predominantly White schools in protest of the zoning change for the Rosewood neighborhood

December 9, 2010: Council is briefed by the African American Resource Commission and Councilmember Cole elaborates on how racial stereotyping continues to allow the police to harass the Black community; council agrees to a fee-in-lieu regarding affordable housing in the Plaza Saltillo Transit Oriented Development district in exchange for a development bonus on East 7th Street.

December 16, 2010: Activists and residents request a public hearing on a HUD application because of consistent gentrification in East Austin whenever applications are granted; council approves setting the public hearing for January 13, 2011; El Concilio is mentioned on a stakeholder list for a zoning change review sheet

January 13, 2011: Public hearing was held on HUD application, but no action was taken; El Concilio is mentioned on a stakeholder list for two zoning change review sheets

January 27, 2011: Four separate community members address council on social equity, false arrests and compensation, single-member districts, and East Austin development; council approves HUD application to build further housing in East Austin

March 3, 2011: El Concilio encourages people to vote in the next election; activists speak against an ordinance that could potentially discriminate against disabled people

April 7, 2011: Citizens support maintaining the Urban League Emergency Home Repair Program, which council affirms

April 21, 2011: Urban League is recognized as part of the Community Development Block Group Week

March 3, 2011: El Concilio demands that the council approve a company to decommission the Holly power plant; council approves a decommissioning contractor

May 12, 2011: Activists confirm support for single-member districts

May 26, 2011: Activists confirm support for single-member districts, but still ask for opportunities for constituents to hear presentations on districting criteria; council passes two resolutions for single-member districts, while reviewing the public process before resolving on it; El Concilio is mentioned on a stakeholder list for two zoning change review sheets

June 7, 2011: UTexas and F1 team discuss the possibility of a pilot program of job training and placement programs in collaboration with Huston-Tillotson, Austin Community College, and the Urban League

June 23, 2011: Activists offer support for a nonprofit working with the city to assist in quality of life issues in East Austin; council approves an earlier start date for contracting with the nonprofit; El Concilio is mentioned on a stakeholder list for two zoning change review sheets

July 28, 2011: Urban League is approved as part of the Community Development Block Grant process for the Go! Repair Program

August 4, 2011: Council resolves to develop a Charter Revision Committee to work on single-member districts

August 18, 2011: Activists speak against a grant for the Downtown Ranger program, citing tense police relations with people of color

August 25, 2011: Activists speak against the proposed tax increase based on developers getting better water deals than residents and discouraging conservation

September 12-14, 2011: Council includes Urban League as part of the outreach effort for the Austin Convention and Visitors Bureau Marketing Plan

September 22, 2011: Austin Housing Finance Corporation approves funding for the Urban League to continue the Emergency Home Repair Program

October 6, 2011: Activists speak in favor of fund allocation for Parent Education Summit on school property

October 7, 2011: El Concilio speaks in favor of respecting the will of the community at a special called meeting

October 20, 2011: Activists request funding for cultural arts project; council approves

December 8, 2011: Austin Housing Finance Corporation approves continued funding of the Urban League's Emergency Home Repair Program and further contracting; El Concilio is mentioned on a stakeholder list for two zoning change review sheets

January 12, 2012: Activists and residents speak against utility rate increases; council approves second public hearing

March 1, 2012: Activists speak against the carry-out bag ban; council passes ban

March 8, 2012: 2012 Charter Revision Committee, which includes activists, reports its findings and recommendation to council on single-member districts

March 22, 2012: Council resolves to assist in funding the Social Enterprise Complex, which was a collaboration of several established nonprofits

April 26, 2012: Activists support an amendment to zoning for predatory financial institutions in communities of color; council passes ordinance amending zoning requirements; residents speak

against the creation of a commission as an attempt to manipulate the process for single-member districts; constituent requests that agenda items be more limited so that more dialogue can exist between the public and council

June 7, 2012: Activists support the 10-1 single-member district plan

June 14, 2012: East Austin citizens speak in favor of the 10-1 single-member district plan and East Austin affordability

June 28, 2012: Activists support an ordinance placing a 10-1 single member district plan on the 2012 November ballot; the mayor and a long-term White councilmember voted against it; El Concilio is mentioned on a stakeholder list for a zoning change review sheet

August 2, 2012: Activists and residents accuse council of manipulating the single-member discussion and pushing the 8-2-1 agenda that was approved by a real estate organization; community outreach detailed in fiscal plan as conversations with nonprofit leaders with few members of the public

August 7, 2012: Activists continue to discuss the possibility of term limits for council members

August 16, 2012: An activist collective requests that bond money be used for affordable housing; El Concilio compares gentrification to genocide while supporting single-member districts

August 22, 2012: Activists request more firefighting assistance in low-income areas as part of the budget

September 12, 2012: Established nonprofit leaders speak in favor of an incentive package for a private entity

September 27, 2012: Activists present a completed petition in support of an equal marriage resolution, council approves resolution; council approves continued funding for the Emergency Home Repair Program operated by the Urban League

October 11, 2012: Council approves Urban League offices as an early voting location

November 8, 2012: Council approves continued funding of the Emergency Home Repair Program operated by the Urban League; El Concilio is mentioned on a stakeholder list for a zoning change review sheet

December 6, 2012: El Concilio is mentioned on a stakeholder list for a zoning change review sheet

January 15, 2013: Activists discuss the redistricting for the 2014 election with city council

January 17, 2013: Citizens comment on the water fluoridation in East Austin; El Concilio is mentioned on a stakeholder list for a zoning change review sheet

February 14, 2013: Council proclaims the celebration of LULAC's 84th anniversary

March 5, 2013: Constituent invokes Texas Civil Rights Project's lawsuit about parking accessibility when discussing downtown parking regulations

March 28, 2013: LULAC invites council to parade on June 29, 2013

April 9, 2013: Council discusses waiving fees for the Community Fair sponsored by the Texas Civil Rights Project

April 11, 2013: Council waives fees for the Community Fair sponsored by the Texas Civil Rights Project

April 25, 2013: Citizen comments on funding disparity in communities of color; El Concilio advocates for the continuation of small outdoor events, and is mentioned on a stakeholder list for a zoning change review sheet; council approves continuation of small outdoor events

May 9, 2013: El Concilio is mentioned on a stakeholder list for six zoning change review sheets

May 23, 2013: Community Development Commission suggests shifting funds for weatherization to the Austin Housing Repair Coalition

June 6, 2013: Texas Civil Rights Project advocates for harsher penalties for landlords who fail to maintain their property

June 27, 2013: First report from the Hispanic Quality of Life Commission; El Concilio invites council to a July 4th parade

August 8, 2013: Council approves an ordinance calling a special election for creating affordable housing infrastructure using a bond.

September 26, 2013: Austin Housing Finance Corporation approves the continued funding of the Emergency Home Repair Program operated by the Urban League; established nonprofit leaders are included as the main component of community outreach

October 17, 2013: Council passes ordinance establishing bond language and publishing polling places for better participation

November 21, 2013: Austin Housing Finance Corporation approves the continued funding of the Emergency Home Repair Program operated by the Urban League; council discusses adopting public and non-profit sites for the Google Fiber Community Connection Program

December 12, 2013: Council adopts public and non-profit sites for the Google Fiber Community Connection Program

January 30, 2014: Council reschedules public hearing for Holly Shores/Edward Rendon Jr. Master Plan, which included a list of activist groups as part of outreach; Texas Civil Rights Project approaches council with allegations of maintaining segregation

February 13, 2014: El Concilio is mentioned on a stakeholder list for a zoning change review sheet

March 6, 2014: Council reschedules public hearing for Holly Shores/Edward Rendon Jr. Master Plan, which included activist groups as part of outreach

April 17, 2014: Texas Civil Rights Project advocates in favor of banning inquiries into tenant income for low-income residents

May 15, 2014: Citizens speak on water fluoridation, East Austin issues, and Latino quality of life; citizen submits a copy of Eric Tang's paper

June 26, 2014: Council proclaims the celebration of a parade on June 28th; El Concilio is mentioned as a stakeholder for a site plan impervious cover variance appeal to council

August 7, 2014: El Concilio is mentioned as a stakeholder for a site plan impervious cover variance appeal to council

August 28, 2014: Activists speak against the Urban Trails Master Plan and the Master Plan for Holly Shores/Edward Rendon, Jr. Park, and Fiesta Gardens; no action was taken

September 3, 2014: Activists support the budget with the caveat that if additional monies become available, that it go to communities of color

September 25, 2014: Austin Housing Finance Corporation approves the continued funding of the Emergency Home Repair Program operated by the Urban League

October 2, 2014: Texas Civil Rights Project supports ordinance that prevents housing discrimination based on tenant income

October 23, 2014: El Concilio is mentioned on a stakeholder list for a zoning change review sheet

November 6, 2014: Austin Housing Finance Corporation approves funding for Urban League utilizing the Go! Repair Program for a specific multifamily property; El Concilio is mentioned on a stakeholder list for two zoning change review sheets; Texas Civil Rights Project supports ordinance that prevents housing discrimination based on tenant income and speaks in favor of an ordinance aimed at preventing racial profiling with immigration agents

November 20, 2014: Developer mentions Urban League as a point of contact for collaboration for the Mueller Development; El Concilio is mentioned on a stakeholder list for two zoning change review sheets

December 11, 2014: Council approves ordinance that amends membership of the African American Resource Advisory Commission to include members from established nonprofit groups, some of which are managed by the city; Austin Housing Finance Corporation approves the decisions made at the previous meeting; El Concilio is mentioned on a stakeholder list for a zoning change review sheet; council approves ordinance preventing housing discrimination based on income

February 23, 2015: Activists speak on city budget issues

February 26, 2015: Council approves upscale multifamily development which includes collaboration with the Urban League

March 5, 2015: Activists request that the city discontinue any building in the Onion Creek areas due to systemic flooding

March 12, 2015: Activist honored in council proclamation as Mary Serrano Chapa Salinas Day scheduled for March 25, 2015

March 23, 2015: Council discusses how the needs of citizens are addressed by staff and contractors; recommendations were offered to address deficiencies in code compliance functions

March 26, 2015: Activist request a comprehensive plan for Cesar Chavez so that East Austin could have the same protections as neighborhoods which have environmental protections; activists invite council members to a social justice march on March 28, 2015

April 2, 2015: PODER submits a report about the city's behavior towards early voting in communities of color; citizen speaks on the preservation of East Austin homes, neighborhoods and communities

April 27, 2015: Activists discuss the incorporation of body cameras for police during the Public Safety Committee meeting

May 7, 2015: Activists speak against the Mopac toll expansion and council approves a resolution involving an environmental and traffic study along with alternative suggestions; activists advocate for health equities and council agrees to set up a working group; El Concilio is mentioned on a stakeholder list for a zoning change review sheet

May 21, 2015: Activists support resolution to remove the information about convictions during the hiring process; council passes a resolution to create a working group on the topic; council passes resolution to send stakeholder meeting invitations to established nonprofits; El Concilio is mentioned on a stakeholder list for a zoning change review sheet

June 4, 2015: Activists speak in favor of an ordinance for homestead exemptions and reference the "Segregated City" study from the Martin Prosperity Institute; council passes ordinance; El Concilio is mentioned on a stakeholder list for a zoning change review sheet

June 11, 2015: El Concilio is mentioned on a stakeholder list for a waterfront overlay variance review sheet

June 25, 2015: El Concilio is mentioned on a stakeholder list for a waterfront overlay variance review sheet

August 6, 2015: Activists suggest replacement of nine homes in East Austin as part of an anti-gentrification tool and announce their work to bring a LULAC National Education Service Center to Austin; council replaces one of the sites among the Google Fiber Community Connection Program

August 13, 2015: El Concilio is mentioned on a stakeholder list for a waterfront overlay variance review sheet

August 19, 2015: Council discusses how Austin was in the running for the NAACP National Conference; Health and Human Services Commission discusses water fluoridation, for which there was no action; Public Utilities Commission discusses water fluoridation, and a council member made a motion to bring the issue to full council which failed to receive a second, so no action was taken

August 27, 2015: Citizen speaks on incomplete work to restore a park in the Restore Rundberg area that was funded by a grant

September 10, 2015: Council approves continued funding to the Emergency Home Repair Program operated by the Urban League: El Concilio is mentioned on a stakeholder list for a waterfront overlay variance review sheet

September 17, 2015: Council includes Urban League as part of the outreach effort for the Austin Convention and Visitors Bureau Marketing Plan

September 28, 2015: Activist groups discuss the positive impacts of having more body cameras on police officers with the Public Safety Commission

October 1, 2015: Austin Housing Finance Corporation approves funding for repairs to all of the homes that are eligible under the Holly Good Neighbor program; Austin Housing Finance Corporation approves funding for the Go! Repair program operated by the Urban League for a much lower amount than previous contracts.

October 8, 2015: El Concilio is mentioned on a stakeholder list for a waterfront overlay variance review sheet

October 15, 2015: Activists raise concern over background check requirements for rideshare contractors by stating that it would disproportionately affect people of color; council passes resolution for the requirements to be placed on the ballot; El Concilio is mentioned on a stakeholder list for a waterfront overlay variance review sheet

October 26, 2015: Activists affirm support of body cameras on police officers

November 9, 2015: Texas Civil Rights Project mentioned as part of outreach efforts for a potential ordinance that bans the question of arrests and convictions on job applications

November 12, 2015: El Concilio is mentioned on a stakeholder list for a waterfront overlay variance review sheet

December 14, 2015: Activists lobby for assisting the council in choosing the African American Quality of Life Commission; council approves recommendations from established nonprofits

December 17, 2015: Council and activists review 2012 community health assessment

January 28, 2016: Council approves ordinance adding positions to the African American Quality of Life Commission

February 4, 2016: Established nonprofit leadership appointed to the African American Resource Advisory Commission

February 11, 2016: Council reviews application for historic registration for Lions Municipal Golf Course

February 23, 2016: Established nonprofits send letters to council in support of the proposed policies to reduce workplace discrimination

February 25, 2016: Urban League included as part of the rehabilitation process of a multifamily unit

March 3, 2016: Council resolves the food desert issue to be a problem for the Equity Office

March 24, 2016: Council approves the Fair Chance Hiring Ordinance, among which several established nonprofit groups were listed as outreach efforts; El Concilio is mentioned on a stakeholder list for a zoning change review sheet

March 28, 2016: Report on body cameras in the Public Safety Commission

April 5, 2016: Activists raise concern over background check requirements for rideshare contractors by stating that it would disproportionately affect people of color

April 14, 2016: Activists request that the Equity Office be data driven and that it receive sufficient funding; El Concilio is mentioned on a stakeholder list for a zoning change review sheet

May 5, 2016: Activists appointed to the Municipal Civil Service Commission

May 12, 2016: El Concilio is mentioned on a stakeholder list for two zoning change review sheets

May 23, 2016: Public Safety Commission discusses whether videos from body cameras worn by the police will be released to the public; delay on definitive action

May 24, 2016: Activists address the Health and Human Services Commission to discuss the lack of racial representation for the Travis County Healthcare District Central Health Board of Managers

May 25, 2016: Council reads statement from absent member discussing activist report on the lack of community outreach from the Equity Office (this is the same day as the City of Austin signed the Racial Equity Here pledge)

June 1, 2016: Council discusses the community policing effects with respect to budget allocations

June 16, 2016: El Concilio is mentioned on a stakeholder list for a zoning change review sheet

June 23, 2016: Councilmember notes lack of support for resolution regarding disclosure of campaign contributors because of the revelations of activist support

August 11, 2016: El Concilio is mentioned on a stakeholder list for two zoning change review sheets

August 18, 2016: Activists request investment in communities of color as part of the budget

September 1, 2016: Activists request that the council fund the Hispanic Quality of Life Commission and the African American Resource Advisory Commission recommendations

September 8, 2016: Activists describe parts of the budget for the African American quality of life

September 12, 2016: Council fails to pass funding for the all the racial quality of life initiatives

September 22, 2016: Activists attempt to get the budget amended for equity; Austin Housing Finance Corporation approves funding for the Go! Repair and Emergency Home Repair programs; El Concilio is mentioned on a stakeholder list for a zoning change review sheet

October 6, 2016: Urban League is maintained as a voting location during the elections

November 10, 2016: El Concilio is mentioned on a stakeholder list for two zoning change review sheets

December 8, 2016: El Concilio is mentioned on a stakeholder list for a zoning change review sheet

December 13, 2016: Council is presented with first East Austin Historic Survey

January 26, 2017: El Concilio is mentioned on a stakeholder list for a zoning change review sheet

February 7, 2017: City staff presents long-range plan for Austin Convention Center to council, indicating that it had presented to the Urban League among other groups

February 9, 2017: Activists advocate for more strenuous low income tax credit

February 16, 2017: El Concilio is mentioned on a stakeholder list for four zoning change review sheets

March 2, 2017: Activists request that city council prepare a timeline for introducing proposals that could be incorporated into the budget; El Concilio is mentioned on a stakeholder list for four zoning change review sheets

March 23, 2017: El Concilio is mentioned on a stakeholder list for a zoning change review sheet

April 4, 2017: Council picks people for boards and commissions that include some activists

April 12, 2017: Neighborhood Housing and Community Development department's Community Development Program presentation to council includes the Urban League as a contractor

May 4, 2017: El Concilio is mentioned on a stakeholder list for a zoning change review sheet

May 18, 2017: Activists submit resolution on solving adequate racial representation within the Central Health Board, delaying the appointment of one White female member for the board

June 15, 2017: Activists and contractors discuss the necessity of home repair programs as part of the 2017-2018 budget

June 22, 2017: Citizen speaks on police abuse of the mentally handicapped and the lack of transparency in the Austin Police Department's opportunities for open records

August 3, 2017: Council resolved to affirm the building of affordable housing off of 969 by TDHCA; city updates the 2017-2018 action plan to include home repair programs as part of the application for federal block grants

August 10, 2017: Consultant advocates for more aquatic facilities in communities of color; council postpones the matter indefinitely

August 17, 2017: Nonprofit suggests a method of measuring community policing performance; activists request that city staff accurately reflect the demographics of the city; activists speak against approving expanded police contract

August 22, 2017: Urban League included as a partner for the Austin Cultural Tourism strategy

August 31, 2017: Council reviews fiscal action plan for 2017-2018, including using the Urban League as a contractor

September 25, 2017: Save East Austin Schools advocates against proposed school bond that closes several East Austin Schools

September 28, 2017: Activists propose nonpunitive measures relating to curfew violation; council declined ordinance removing punitive measures on curfew; Austin Housing Finance Corporation approves \$2mil contract for the Urban League to fund and administer the Emergency Home Repair Program and \$2.5mil to be dispersed among seven nonprofits for the G.O.! Repair program; El Concilio is mentioned on a stakeholder list for a zoning change review sheet

October 12, 2017: Urban League is included as part of the outreach efforts for the Austin Convention and Visitors Bureau plan for 2017-2018

November 9, 2017: Austin Housing Finance Corporation approves minutes from September 22, 2016, which included a contract with the Urban League; staff provides memo on proposed soccer stadium with El Concilio listed as a stakeholder group

December 7, 2017: Austin Housing Finance Corporation approves minutes from September 28, 2017, which included a contract with the Urban League; El Concilio is mentioned on a stakeholder list for two zoning change review sheets

December 13, 2017: Activists groups oppose police contract; council rejects contract and extends public dialogue until March 2018

December 14, 2017: City staff proposes Aquatic Master Plan with expert information that supports parks in communities of color; council postpones ordinance until February 2018; police advocates submit applications for more federal funding, council withdraws items for consideration; activists express frustrated with the methods used in the city manager search, and council postpones action; El Concilio is mentioned on a stakeholder list for a zoning change review sheet

This book is not just a compilation of the efforts of Decipher City. We would like to thank that tireless efforts of staff at the Briscoe Center for American History, the Benson Latin American Collection staff, and the folks at the Austin History Center. They are a wealth of information and they are always willing to help, even for researchers willing to give Austin a bad reputation. We would like to thank all the activist groups who have been thanklessly fighting for decades; we can only hope they are pleased at the additional exposure to their efforts. Dr. Kenyatha Loftis of Solutions by L.SMURPHE.F., thank you for being a woman of color with government experience who was willing to look over our musings. Christine Havens, thank you for responding to a plea for edits as an Austin resident who was willing to see beyond the liberal reputation. There are many other people over the past two years that help fan the flames of this book, and we would be arrogant to believe we could name all of them, but we thank all of you, including our blog readers, because we could not get out our message without you.