

COMMUNICATIVE PLANNING IN REVITALIZATION EFFORTS:  
A CASE STUDY OF EAST GAINESVILLE, FLORIDA

By

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To Patrick, my friends and family, EGDC, and Fern

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

4As	African-American Accountability Alliance
BSRC	Bedford-Stuyvesant Restoration Corporation
CAP	Community Action Program
CBO	Community-Based Organization
CDBG	Community Development Block Grant
CDC	Community Development Corporation
CHN	Cleveland Housing Network
CRA	Community Redevelopment Agency
EGDAP	East Gainesville Development Action Plan
EGDC	East Gainesville Development Corporation
EGRP	East Gainesville Redevelopment Plan
EGDTF	East Gainesville Development Task Force
HUD	Housing and Urban Development Department
HUDC	Harlem Urban Development Corporation
MTPO	Metropolitan Transportation Planning Organization
NCFRPC	North Central Florida Regional Planning Council
PEG	Plan East Gainesville
SEGRI	Southeast Gainesville Renaissance Initiative
SIP	Special Impact Program

Abstract of Thesis Presented to the Graduate School  
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Revitalization efforts in economically distressed communities involve a diverse group of stakeholders including residents, non-profit agencies and government officials. Communication between resident and government actors can determine the ability for a neighborhood to effectively utilize existing resources. Scholars identify harnessing social capital—existing social networks and contacts—as a critical asset in redevelopment. My study evaluated how social capital partnerships influence community empowerment and development strategies in a minority-majority, distressed neighborhood in Gainesville, Florida.

Qualitative and quantitative methodological tools measure the neighborhood's ability to mobilize resident empowerment through communication with stakeholders and government actors. An analysis of adopted Eastside plans, newspaper articles, and interviews with community development leaders suggests that underlying, and perhaps competing, interests between government institutions and resident social groups continue to be overlooked. Participant observation and interviews with representatives from the East Gainesville Development Corporation (EGDC), a non-profit organization based on the community's initial action plan for resident empowerment, assess the role of communicative planning and influence social capital networking has on Eastside's redevelopment.

Attempts to harness social capital networks in Eastside illustrate the negative effect proliferation of disparate community groups can have on empowerment programs. Over ten years, adoption of more than five development plans for Eastside and competition of non-profit groups for survival have caused a division among area residents regarding the neighborhood's vision for development. The EGDC's recent campaign to create a consortium of stakeholder groups offers a means to re-unify East Gainesville to encourage resident decision-making power in redevelopment plans. Before empowerment is accomplished, stakeholder groups must set aside their vested interests in order to combine their resources to create a sustainable revitalization plan for Eastside. These findings suggest that harnessing social capital alone does not garner successful revitalization and empowerment of distressed communities. Rather, communities should continually work in a consortium of stakeholder groups, including both resident and government representatives, to maintain the momentum needed for effective revitalization.

## CHAPTER 1 PLANNING REVITALIZATION: OVERVIEW OF CURRENT SITUATIONS IN DISTRESSED NEIGHBORHOODS

Inner cities and inner ring suburbs across the nation face issues of urban decay and distress as suburban areas continue to dominate economic development projects. For example, Washington D.C., the capital of the United States, is known for its national monuments and museums, but struggles with high levels of crime and impoverishment. Government employees choose to live in neighboring suburbs such as Alexandria, Virginia or Bethesda, Maryland, leaving a majority of low-income residents in city neighborhoods. Urban planners, government officials, and community activists are currently working to reverse the negative perceptions of urban centers through innovative community development programs.

Recent community development programs emphasize empowerment as a goal or mission for their efforts. Community empowerment engages residents in creating development and investment in their neighborhood. Typical community development efforts include the interests of the following parties: city and county regional governments, grassroots community groups, local religious groups (churches), schools, business owners, and finally, the residents themselves. The ability to incorporate the objectives of each stakeholder group into a unified vision can be difficult. Harnessing social capital in planning efforts brings stakeholders together in an effort to facilitate effective collective action in communities. As community development groups have become more prevalent since the 1960s, utilizing social capital networks has become an imperative aspect of community development (Green & Haines, 2002). Community empowerment must incorporate stakeholder-focused consensus building approaches. This thesis evaluates how social capital partnerships influence community empowerment and development strategies in distressed communities. Social capital partnerships are mutually beneficial relationships between multi-sector groups or individuals that collect untapped resources in order

to achieve each party's goals through consensus-based initiatives. The investigation of social capital partnerships addresses three critical research questions:

- Does social capital exist in the community and how is it distributed?
- Are social capital resources and partnerships balanced between community groups and government institutions?
- How does the distribution of social capital resources and partnerships influence the outcome of empowerment in revitalization efforts?

Analysis of these research questions focuses on the partnerships that exist between groups rather than individuals. While individuals can lead revitalization efforts, scholars argue community groups such as community development corporations (CDCs) are better agents of collecting, forging, and maintaining social capital partnerships between government institutions (which are group-based rather than individual based) and residents.

### **Collaborative Approaches to Planning Redevelopment**

Planning scholars cite evaluation of past planning programs, empowerment realization, and harnessing social capital as integral to collaborative redevelopment (West, 2006; Hustedde & Ganowicz, 2002; Narayan, 2005; Wiewel & Gills, 1995; Colclough & Sitaraman, 2005; Green & Haines, 2002). Successful communication is inherent to productive collaboration between diverse stakeholder interests. Communicative planning provides tactics for planners to reconcile diverse interests among stakeholders with the intent to ensure both discussions and outcomes are clearly documented for planning purposes. Further, communicative planning provides a means for developing consensus among stakeholders to adopt a unified vision (Healey, 2003). Using the Empowerment Structuration model derived from a combination of community and international development scholars (as outlined in Chapter 3), empowerment is measured by the mediation between structural and institutional climates (opportunity structure) and social capital

assets (community agency). In the following case study, past plans for East Gainesville (also known as Eastside) along with primary source data provide a context for the evaluation of the East Gainesville Development Corporation's (EGDC's) current mediation efforts as a non-profit group.

### **East Gainesville as a Case Study**

In Gainesville, Florida, East Gainesville is a historically segregated, economically depressed neighborhood that is the current focus of economic development in the region. Ten years ago, the East Gainesville Development Corporation (EGDC), a grassroots community group, was commissioned to spearhead Eastside's economic growth as a facilitator between government and other community groups.<sup>1</sup> This study examines the communication and mediation efforts of EGDC as a measure of achievement against one of its primary goals to serve as a leader of community empowerment. By examining EGDC, a meaningful evaluation of issues involved in coordinating community development efforts between grassroots groups and government officials provides insight for other communities invested in revitalizing their distressed neighborhoods.

Florida's population is projected to increase more than 17 million to almost 36 million by 2060 (Zwick & Carr, 2006, p. 2). Gainesville, established in 1854, and the surrounding area of Alachua County in north central Florida, comprise a fast growing community with a population that increased 3.1 percent from 1990 to 2000 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000). Santa Fe Community College is located near the city's northwest boundary, and the University of Florida is located directly west of downtown. Santa Fe Community College also has a satellite campus in East

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<sup>1</sup> When initially given this responsibility in 1997, the name of the group was the East Gainesville Development Task Force, but upon the group's incorporation as a non-profit, it changed its title to the East Gainesville Development Corporation. More about this group is discussed in Chapters 4 and 5.

Gainesville. As a bustling community with a transitory student population, the Alachua County-Gainesville region attempts to encourage long-term sustainable development while also serving short-term residents through services and other initiatives such as increased public transportation near education centers. East Gainesville includes roughly 20 percent of Gainesville's population and 16 percent of Alachua County's population (Renaissance Planning et al., 2003, p. 3). Due to the area's history, current focus on revitalization, and presence of highly involved community actors, Eastside provides an ideal context for a study on communication among stakeholder groups.

### **Study Progression**

The following chapters address the factors involved in revitalization of distressed neighborhoods that contribute to or impede community empowerment. Chapter 2 provides a broad literature review of historical forces that shaped center cities and adjacent neighborhoods along with a description of communicative planning, community development, empowerment, and social capital. The methodology used in the case study of EGDC's partnership strategies with government and community stakeholders is outlined in Chapter 3. The Empowerment Structuration model is a hybrid model that combines the frameworks proposed by sociologist, Anthony Giddens (Hustedde & Ganowicz, 2002) and international development scholars Deepa Narayan (2005) and Patti Petesch, Catalina Smulovitz and Michael Walton (2005). Measuring empowerment entails participant observation, interviews, and knowledge of the structural climate of community development in Eastside provided through archival research of newspapers as well as past and present adopted plans. Chapter 4 evaluates East Gainesville redevelopment plans adopted by Gainesville, Alachua County and the Gainesville Community Redevelopment Agency. In addition, grassroots resident programs are described along with resident commentaries on development in Eastside. Mediation efforts of EGDC as a facilitator

of revitalization are evaluated in Chapter 5. Information drawn from public and group meetings as well as stakeholder interviews documents the diverse attitudes towards collaboration and assesses whether a unified vision for East Gainesville currently exists. Concluding arguments in Chapter 6 incorporate the findings from the Eastside case study into the larger picture of inner city collaborative redevelopment.

Assessing community development initiatives requires an understanding of community history, politics, and existing social networks. Scholars have applied multiple methods and theories to gauge these factors' influence on collaborative development. The following chapter reviews academic and practitioner findings related to inner city development and the elements involved in effective revitalization.

## CHAPTER 2

### REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE: NAVIGATING THE INTRICATE WEB OF PLANNING, COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND GRASSROOTS INITIATIVES

The development efforts by the East Gainesville Development Corporation (EGDC) are entrenched in issues of planning, community development, empowerment, and social capital. Historical forces have left inner city communities institutionally, financially, and socially disadvantaged. This chapter uses history, theory, and case study research to frame the evaluation of Eastside revitalization strategies. First, an evaluation of urban and regional planning history indicates how political agendas and institutional racism affected growth in these communities. In response, current efforts in the field advocate equity and social justice. Understanding the history of planning, nationally and locally, provides the context in which residents and government stakeholders act to promote a vision for Eastside development. Second, literature drawn from communicative planning, community development and empowerment outline methods necessary to conduct a meaningful evaluation of EGDC and Eastside's development efforts using social capital (networks and relationships that result in productive outcomes) as a measure of empowerment. Finally, the convergence of planning history and empowerment methodology occurs at the community development corporation (CDC) level. Case studies of other CDCs and their efforts in distressed communities suggest these community organizations (such as EGDC) are centrally poised betwixt and between the historical forces that generated distressed central cities and the current actors in revitalization processes.

#### **Planning and Inner City Disparity and Reform**

Theoretical paradigms adopted by planning directly shaped the development of America's landscape. For example, 1960s urban renewal programs implemented a modernist approach to remove blight from downtowns by displacing low-income (and minority) residents from established neighborhoods to promote redevelopment. Since its inception in the early 20<sup>th</sup>

century, the role of planning has been debated within the discipline while being simultaneously praised and criticized for its efforts. The position of planning between government and residents has consistently been controversial as the discipline has been used as a tool for institutional racism as indicated in the urban renewal example above. Eastside resident attitudes towards planning are informed by the history of planning practices used in Gainesville that resulted in a lack of investment in minority-majority neighborhoods<sup>1</sup> and by the broader theoretical paradigms that guide current equity-focused planning practices.

### **Planning Paradigm Development: The Cyclical Nature of Progressive Movements and its Influence on Government-Planning-Resident Relationships**

Planning emerged as a profession during the Progressive Reform era with a focus on alleviating the plight of inner city residents. For Victorian reformers, planning offered a means to eradicate poverty and unsanitary conditions in central city slums. As planners became professionalized, drafting zoning maps, locating new roads and recording plats, they increasingly took on roles as pragmatic technocrats. The philosophical transition from “progressive reformist” to “technocrat” paralleled an institutionalization of government incentives, many established at the federal level, that valued suburbanization rather than inner city revitalization. As federal, state, and local government programs and regulations grew to include the Federal Housing Administration’s (FHA) liberalization of mortgage lending followed by the urban renewal and highway construction programs, inner city areas suffered as the new suburbs thrived. Many center cities and inner ring suburbs continue to display the impacts of urban decay, social stratification, and discrimination as a result of these programs. Scholars argue past and current efforts to address inner city issues fail by not providing a comprehensive approach to view,

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<sup>1</sup> Minority-majority neighborhoods are communities where minorities (i.e. racial, ethnic, gender, age, religious, etc.) of a larger geographic space such as a city, county, state, or nation have congregated to become the majority in a smaller geographic space such as a neighborhood.

analyze, plan and implement inner city reform (Campbell, 2003, Fainstein, 2003). Answering the issue of inner city disparity requires balancing planning's priorities within a newly reformed theory that reifies the fragmentation of planning while promoting public engagement to create effective and holistic progressive policies.

Campbell (2003), an environmental planner, proposes a triangular model that outlines the planner's role as successfully negotiating the planning priorities of: social justice, environmental protection, and overall economic growth and efficiency (p. 437; Figure 2-1). Planners have the difficult task of "holistically harmonizing" planning priorities to achieve sustainable development—planning that is environmentally conscious, profitable, and socially fair (Campbell, 2003, p. 436). The planner's ability to achieve sustainable development is conflated by the conflicts that are inherent between the three pillars of planning: property conflicts between economic growth and social justice, development conflicts between social justice and environmental protection, and resource conflicts between environmental protection and economic growth.<sup>2</sup> Current planning movements to address the plight of distressed areas provide innovative methods to incorporate resident input and promote justice, but often do not fully incorporate the three pillars of sustainable, comprehensive planning proposed by Campbell (2003).

Healey, a communicative planner, asserts that political economy is central to successful planning and views policy as, "processes in terms of power struggles between capital and community, between factions and capital, economic growth and environmental quality" (2003, p.

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<sup>2</sup> Campbell (2003) identifies the conflicts between each priority as such: property conflict "generated when private sector simultaneously resists and needs social intervention given the intrinsically contradictory nature of property" the resource conflict "business resists the regulation of its exploitation on nature, but at the same time needs regulation to conserve those resources for present and future demands" and the development conflict "environment-equity disputes come from the difficulty of creating subsistence existence for working people and sustainable conditions for the environment" (p. 438-439). Each of these disputes is situated within the local political economic context.

239). Hence, the struggles between social justice, environmental protection and economic growth defined by Campbell (2003) are representative of political economic struggles. The political economic structure causes the integration of planning and government to be problematic. Planning agendas are governed by government decisions which may or may not address problems in communities. Dear, an urban geographer, asserts the political economic position of planning:

Planning is about power. It is concerned with achieving urban outcomes that serve the purposes of powerful agents in society...[the] planning apparatus has becoming highly ensconced as a part of the bureaucratic apparatus of the state (2000, p. 120).

For example, mid- 20<sup>th</sup> century programs administered by the U.S. government facilitated suburban development rather than inner city reform. Since power often dominates rationality, planners must balance the specific political economic interests of the government and the community (Flyvberg, 2003, p. 325).

According to planning historian Peter Hall (2002) the early cooperative, alternative societies envisioned by early planners were, ironically, physically translated through state agencies that eventually advocated for commercial redevelopment on the edge of blighted downtowns rather than cheap housing for poor inner city residents. The poor in the center city were neglected as planners moved away from their progressive roots and towards economic development-focused planning. Though supported by local governments, this transition ignored the other two vital pillars of comprehensive planning. Concurrently, planning divided into numerous specializations resulting in the disconnection from a holistic definition of planning while causing a stronger adherence to government definitions of planning processes. A comprehensive definition of the role of the planner requires a resurgence of social progressivism instead of adherence to regulations in order to reinstate equitable development policies for poor inner city communities. Past efforts to answer the issues of central cities failed because policies

did not fully address urban problems. While attempts have been made by modern planning theorists to revive the discipline's progressive roots, none have achieved a comprehensive methodology including socio-political, environmental, and economic issues. Evaluations of past planning theories and practices trace the formation of the plight of the modern inner city.

### **Progressive roots to modernist intervention and back**

Current dilemmas in center cities were constructed by historical, political, and economic policies that placed economic development as the apex of city planning. Early attempts to improve the quality of inner cities employed idealistic visions of “what society ought to be” rather than addressing the structural problems inherent in capitalist society. Howard, Geddes, and Corbusier each developed city plans that required demolition of the entire city in order to achieve the desired “self-governing commonwealths” (Hall, 2002, p. 3). Idealist planning strategies were translated by early planners such as Clarence Stein into the context of the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century city to:

...respond to inadequate housing and the problems of poverty, congestion, and transport, that were so evident, and planners [Mumford, Stein, and Bauer] sought to address those problems directly within the urban context (Teitz, 1997, p. 775).

In the early 1930s, planning was integrated into the government bureaucracy. Beginning with New Deal programs, utopian visions advocated by the discipline's originators became tools of capitalism—focused on middle class development more so than eradicating poverty-stricken inner cities. The progressive New York urban planner, Clarence Stein's, attempt to create a Howardian “Garden City” in Radburn, New Jersey became an upper-middle class model suburb rather than a city that met diverse housing needs at various prices. Meanwhile, federal public housing policy, beginning with the Housing Act of 1937, forced less fortunate groups into inner cities. Early public housing programs concentrated the poor in areas that received inferior provision of education and health care. Catherine Bauer, an advocate of public housing,

indicated her dismay over the management of public housing within the capitalist bureaucratic system:

[In 1957, public housing] still drags on in a kind of limbo, continuously controversial, not dead, never more than half alive...The weaknesses [in the government's execution of the program] were in part inherent in the physical design of the high-density, high-rise buildings, where interior space was deficient and there was no private outdoor space. Such standardized housing inevitably became stamped by the same 'charity stigma' that was attached to veterans' hospitals and orphan asylums (Bauer, 1957).

Bauer's disillusionment with the outcome of public housing occurred as the planning discipline fully embraced a modernist perspective.

This objective, modernist perspective ignored the political and economic structure of cities while producing social, economic and environmental disparity within inner cities. Modernist planners, "technocrats," claimed an adherence to scientific objectivism that characterized the discipline as apolitical. The modernists' claim was dependent on the economic dynamics of industrial cities, the rise of the middle class and public funding infrastructure to support "favorable business climate[s]" through public-private partnerships (Teitz, 1997, p. 782-783). As a result, planners and politicians encouraged and accommodated white residents moving from the city to the suburbs, while segregating minorities within the inner city. White suburbanization and formation of segregated center cities created a two-fold social disparity based on race and class that will be addressed in the following section (Silver & Moeser, 1995).<sup>3</sup> Modernist planning failed at solving inner city issues because it disproportionately focused on commercial and white urban development. By the 1970s, the concentration of inner city poverty resulting from urban renewal and associated economic development initiatives caused planning to re-think its apolitical "technocratic" strategy.

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<sup>3</sup> Particularly, African-Americans were segregated into older inner city neighborhoods that were consistently denied infrastructure based on the idea that black-majority neighborhoods were a poor economic investment. Such ideology was translated into official policy such as redlining, blockbusting, and predatory lending.

In response, Paul Davidoff's advocacy planning replaced pro-business with socio-economic conscious development. Instead of ignoring the problematic political-economic position of planning, Davidoff proposed "placing planning [or recognizing planning's place as] overtly in a political agenda," in order to, "raise planner's consciousness about political, socio-cultural, and economic contexts in which [planning was] conducted" (Beauregard, 2003, p. 121-122, 130). The position of planning was too fixed within the structure of government for the discipline to fully adopt advocacy. Planners continued to exercise their power within the bureaucratic system typically taking an, "ambivalent stance between goals of economic growth and economic justice" in exchange for job security and plan approval (Campbell, 2003, p. 436). The absence of a holistic perspective from which to determine and create effective sustainable plans and policies has led to:

...a nightmarish return of the oldest of urban problems, which more than any other originally brought [planning] into being gave it its legitimacy: the problem of the urban underclass waiting as a sullen and disaffected mass outside the gates, (Hall, 2002, p. 425-426).

The plight of the modern center city is the legacy of ineffective government policies that influenced real estate, banking, construction, and community development:

Current issues [of inner cities] are similar [to the Victorian era], but [are] compounded by the outcome of [the] long and complex process of urban economic change and migration from rural to urban areas that has left some inner city minority populations...in a state of deprivation...(Teitz, 1997, p. 776).

Recent attempts to incorporate equity planning, a more inclusive variation of advocacy planning, fail to promote the holistic perspective necessary to affect responsible change in central cities.

### **Post-modern planning practice**

Recent initiatives to reintroduce reformist approaches, such as New Urbanism and the Just City, incorporate progressive ideals advocating sustainable and equitable development (Fainstein, 2003). Yet, both fail to fully consider economic, social justice, and environmental

issues. Equity planning illustrates the fragmentation of the planning discipline into social, economic, and environmental specializations rather than a comprehensive, holistic practice. Planners must choose “which type” of planner they want to become rather than considering complex issues simultaneously.<sup>4</sup> Teitz (1997) recognizes the influence of new progressivism within the context of cities:

Cities [in the 1990s and today] seem to be groping for approaches to be new economic environments—causing them often to grasp at quick or temporary solutions to fiscal problems, for which they will pay in due course (p. 790).

Adopting progressive theories that focus on only one pillar of planning does not provide an adequate solution to existing problems in the modern central city. In-depth analysis of each of these movements reveals the inefficiencies of each theory.

According to New Urbanists, a desirable modern city, “create[s] a close-knit social community that allows diverse elements to interact,” allowing integration rather than segregation of poor or lower class communities (Fainstein, 2003, p. 181). However, New Urbanism falters by assuming that a change in physical environment alone solves social inequality in cities. Creation of a New Urbanist “traditional neighborhood” promotes an “unrealistic environmental determinism” that ignores the position of communities and planning within a political-economic context in exchange for an idealized fantasy of suburban living (Fainstein, 2003, p. 182-183). Subscription to design-oriented idealism prevents New Urbanists from developing neighborhoods that appropriately consider the socio-political relationships within communities. Dear’s (2000) account of participation in a New Urbanist development plan demonstrates the movement’s lack of interest in the everyday life of communities:

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<sup>4</sup> Beauregard (2003) indicates that “the post-modern fragmentation of planning theory would have been acceptable if it paralleled a corresponding form of integrative framework that critiqued society and advanced planning practice,” (p. 118). Within this work, I attempt to provide the framework Beauregard asserts is missing from the current discipline of planning.

...I suggested that we actually leave the office in order to go and look at the sites in question. This crudely utilitarian advice was immediately rejected because the intrusion of urban actualities, so my [New Urbanist] colleagues believed, [would] hinder the visionary process (p. 117).

The movement's unsuccessful attempt at progressivism is evidenced by the current New Urbanist communities that have become centers of the upper-middle class more so than low-income, urban minority communities. Applications of New Urbanist criteria have demonstrated that changing one factor or priority in the planning process will not produce effective revitalization results. In order to adequately address current issues in established distressed neighborhoods such as Eastside, planners need to incorporate resident socio-economic concerns.

Planning theorist, Susan Fainstein's, Just City model combines social and economic aspects of planning. Just City planners encourage "a social ideal" that works within the current capitalist American city, recognize the biases that exist in government, incorporate public participation, and consider economic growth solely a tool to bolster the current capitalist system (Fainstein, 2003, p. 186). The Just City's integrative approach characterizes planning as conflict between social justice and economic growth, but does not account for how power politics can be overcome to benefit the underrepresented populations in central cities. In particular, Fainstein's (2003) case for publicly funded mixed-income housing fall victim to the same critique of New Urbanism—a change in physical environment does not change the socio-economic structure of a community even when surrounded by middle-to-upper class neighbors.

The progressive foundations of urban planning became incorporated into a model of government regulation that frequently changed in response to popular political views leading many theorists such as Hall and Teitz to garner a pessimistic outlook regarding the affect planners can have on the plight of inner cities. Teitz (1997) states:

Virtually no major planning journal gave the underclass much attention as there have been remarkably little published research on the issues that it raises, despite their relevance to the future of the older inner cities (p. 780).

A comprehensive perspective for planning in distressed center cities provides the tools needed to observe, analyze and elicit meaningful solutions for existing urban problems.

A solution to inner city disparity requires a perspective that incorporates the priorities of economic growth, environmental protection, and social justice. New planning efforts require the return of planning's focus to the underclass of central cities in conjunction with providing safeguards against discrimination and neglecting community needs. Grassroots community groups such as EGDC attempt to fill this void. The role of the planner is redefined within a political economic perspective emphasizing an increase of in-depth understanding of inner city communities to accommodate and encourage socially, economically, and environmentally responsible change. Incorporating a progressive and holistic approach reifies the fragmentation present in planning by integrating all specializations under a universal goal of creating a balanced planning strategy. This thesis analyzes Eastside redevelopment plans against the characteristics of a comprehensive revitalization effort. In order to apply such a perspective in the case of the East Gainesville, a detailed discussion of race and planning is required.

### **Race and Planning**

East Gainesville hosts the largest concentration of low-income and minority residents in the city (Renaissance Planning et al., 2003, WilsonMiller, Inc. et al., 2007). As discussed in the previous section, privileging suburbanization and infrastructure development have left many central city and inner ring suburbs like Eastside in a state of disrepair. Inner cities are often minority-majority areas as, "more than 70 percent of the [American] population would have to move to achieve full integration," (Krumholz, 1997a, p. 112). From the 1950s to the 1970s, government policies openly embraced forms of institutional racism from redlining to strategic

urban renewal (labeled by some scholars as “minority removal”). Long-term resistance to civil rights laws over the past thirty years has perpetuated “Black, urban, poor” stereotypes. Misperceptions that inner-city Blacks lack job skills, are apathetic, and have dysfunctional behaviors that keep them from attaining middle-class status maintain racial and income segregation in cities (Rabin, 1997; Thomas, 1997a). The following section provides an overview of the persistence of the inner city minority poor, failed attempts to solve racial inner city poverty, and an evaluation of current planning efforts to balance inner city inequities. These combined issues relate to the perceptions connected to Eastside and the resident’s apprehension concerning increased government involvement in their neighborhood.

### **Post-Civil Rights Maintenance of Inner City Poverty**

Post civil rights planning policies that did not correct discriminatory practices resulted in the persistence of concentrated minority, low income communities. Civil rights laws that prohibited “racial discrimination in the benefits of federal programs, public accommodation, voting, employment and housing” were passed in Congress as early as 1963 (Rabin, 1997, p. 97). However, the laws were not enforced. While studies confirmed the obvious existence of racial isolation within inner cities, none suggested methods to eradicate the problem (Rabin, 1997, p. 98). Subsequently, federal and state infrastructure programs that were supposedly “racially neutral” had extremely negative effects on minorities such as transportation policies that located roads, isolating black neighborhoods from white neighborhoods and limited access to services, commercial centers and public transportation. Further, programs designed to improve distressed Black communities had mixed results.

The Model Cities program proposed by Lyndon Johnson in 1966 illustrates how attempts to improve Black inner city neighborhoods have, “suffered from inadequate resources, local political battles, uneven performance, and poor federal leadership,” (Thomas, 1997a, p. 144).

President Johnson designed Model Cities as a program that would encourage Black urban citizens to participate in neighborhood improvement. While the program increased citizen empowerment and access to power in some cases, it lacked the ability to “manage... meaningful cooperation [and] internal conflict within inner city communities” (Thomas, 1997a, p. 150). In the end, “the noble goal of citizen participation proved very difficult to accomplish—handicapping Detroit’s program and apparently killing Cleveland’s and the process of empowering residents was fitful and painful” (Thomas, 1997a p. 159). Program management problems on the ground along with lack of governmental support caused the demise of the Model Cities program. Successive federal programs attempted to be less contentious. The combination of surface-level, quick fix civil rights laws and discriminatory execution of “neutral” polices have led to a “self-reinforcing process” that maintains the existence of inner city disparity (Rabin, 1997, p.95-6).

The civil rights backlash within the political arena inhibits the creation of progressive policies for inner city residents. Rabin (1997) argued the following:

[Cynical politicians] have skillfully employed race-coded images to portray Blacks as undeserving dependents on public welfare and threats to public safety, to discredit those perceived to be sympathetic to civil rights, and to characterize those who support social programs as advocates of Black interests (p. 101).

Race-coding has led to the “flawed assumptions” that: 1960s civil rights laws removed all racial barriers, racial discrimination can be solved only for those who can provide evidence of direct discrimination, achieving equality for Blacks leads to inequality for Whites, and current remnants of disparity between Whites and Blacks are due to Black inferiority (Rabin, 1997, p. 101-102). Together, these assumptions have caused the plight of minority inner city residents to be continually ignored or minimized in political debates. Present efforts attempt to improve the

plight of distressed, minority neighborhoods by implementing equity programs and engaging social justice planners.

### **Current Planning Efforts to Fix Urban Inequality**

Efforts to improve the status of distressed communities such as Eastside aim to pour vital resources (technical, social, and financial) back into communities that face issues of racial and resource-based inequity. Krumholz (1997a) proposes equity planning as a means to redefine the role of the planner as defender of the public welfare, while Thomas (1997b) advocates for a unified diversity perspective to be adopted in planning education. Both Krumholz and Thomas acknowledge the disparity in inner cities while also celebrating diversity.

Krumholz (1997a) defines equity planning as similar to Johnson's goals for Model Cities:

[Equity planning is] a conscious attempt by some professional urban planners to devise and implement redistributive policies that move resources, political power, and participation toward low-income groups (p. 109).

Thus, planners must provide better futures for *all* residents. Equity planners attempt to reduce inequalities in cities while traditional planners consider, "the value of real property, while trying to fulfill local objectives" (Krumholz, 1997a, p. 110). Planning efforts centered on disadvantaged neighborhoods result in the realization of beautiful cities by eradicating slums and answering the needs of officials (Krumholz, 1997a). Similar to Davidoff's advocacy planning tactics discussed earlier, equity planners identify, clarify and publicize the interests of community stakeholders who oppose government initiatives (Krumholz, 1997a). Equity planning also involves public participation in the distressed community. Krumholz's study of affordable housing efforts in Cleveland touts the success of the Cleveland Housing Network (CHN), "an umbrella organization made up of 13 neighborhood-based organizations and now the most important producer of low- and moderate-income housing in Cleveland" (Krumholz, 1997b, p. 52). The consortium of non-profit stakeholder groups, however, did face obstacles.

The variability of private and government funding inhibited projects from being implemented. Additionally, in order for CHN activities to be sustainable, Krumholz (1997b) argues projects must be connected to a comprehensive neighborhood improvement strategy that includes government, resident and non-profit stakeholder interests. An equity planning strategy to identify the opposing stakeholder interests could provide CHN with the collaboration needed to implement empowerment programs. Krumholz's argument for the proliferation of equity planning must be supported by educating planners in the needs and perspectives of minority populations.

Thomas' (1997b) unified diversity in planning education bolsters equity planning execution in center cities. As described above, the initial progressive perspective of planning efforts evolved into technocratic methods focused on scientific results. Unified diversity redefines traditional planning education to include diverse faculty and students that are supportive of diverse cultures. A multicultural curriculum emphasizes social action leadership (Thomas, 1997b, p. 268-9). Curriculums that connect minority interests with development processes can lead to more equitable planning practices (Thomas 1997b, p. 258). Thomas (1997b) links unified diversity planning education to equity planning arguing:

Embracing a stronger, more activist vision of diversity may create a new focus for fragmented, conflict-ridden efforts to help train more effective [and equitably-focused] planners than can traditional education programs (p. 259).

Scholarly arguments to refocus planning education and practice on revitalization of disadvantaged communities continue to be adopted by planning programs. Critiques of contemporary government policies intended to alleviate distressed communities illustrate the delicate balance of equity and development in planning for these areas.

## **Critiques of Current Planning Efforts for Black, Urban, Poor Communities**

Although many local governments have adopted the positions of Krumholz and Thomas, implementation of government programs can still garner unfair results. The failures of past planning practices have caused some Eastside neighborhoods to distrust planning efforts as another attempt by public officials to poach area resources.<sup>5</sup> For example, marliyn thomas-houston's (2006) critique of the Housing and Urban Development (HUD) Department's HOPE VI program in South Carolina portrays how government programs manipulate "equity" jargon to implement non-equitable policies. A HOPE VI project in Saxon Homes, a predominantly Black community, used rhetoric of empowerment and social change to justify removal of residents from their homes (thomas-houston, 2006, p. 131). Mass communication of such "equity" jargon is a method of "mythification and mystification" that:

deploy[s] social movement language while putting into place, demobilizing tactics as an offensive to further subjugate historically oppressed peoples and use public opinion to cajole public housing residents into submission by taking the very language used by the [minority] underclass to empower themselves [the underclass] and sway public opinion (thomas-houston, 2006, p.133).

Federal programs that reportedly aim to equalize the disparity in central cities continue to effect inadequate hardships on the poor rather than eradicate urban decay. A new method and theory of planning mends the void between planners, community members and government actors by forcing planners to examine themselves and the communication of planning critically to avoid superficial quick-fixes and enforce accountability.

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<sup>5</sup> Chapter 4 discusses negative perceptions that some Eastside residents have developed over time of affordable housing projects as concentrated areas of poverty that become neighborhood liabilities. Additionally, overabundance of institutional uses in Eastside cause residents to feel that local governments view Eastside as a dumping ground for unwanted institutions such as prisons and homeless shelters.

## **Informing Methods: Communicative Planning, Community Development, Empowerment and Social Capital as Keys to Revitalization**

East Gainesville stakeholders include government officials, residents, community groups, and outside special interest groups (i.e., conservationists). Combining appropriate methodologies and theoretical perspectives from communicative planning, community development and community empowerment provides a comprehensive method to evaluate existing revitalization efforts in Eastside. Communicative planning's approach to bring together diverse stakeholders to provide more consensus-based outcomes form the basis of the case study's methodology (Chapter 3). Models for community development and empowerment in state-society contexts (government-resident) suggest how stakeholder influences and interactions affect the ability of communities to come to consensus regarding revitalization programs—in Eastside, resident empowerment is equated with decision-making in revitalization efforts. Within development/empowerment models, social capital is defined as a key asset to promote resident involvement. In the following section, each of these factors are discussed separately to provide a complete examination of the development of these fields and their contributions to distressed neighborhood revitalization. These factors and their combined use in the Eastside case study will be further developed in Chapter 3.

### **Communicative Planning as a Solution to Racial Inequities in Distressed Communities**

Planning within minority inner city communities requires the planner to acknowledge and understand the historical biases and current issues facing disadvantaged communities. East Gainesville's history as an ignored, racialized community requires such attention. Communicative planning acts as a method to integrate previously ignored community members in discussions and decision making with government officials and planners. Communicative

planning may not always result in consensus, but provides a shared means for different groups to develop policy decisions (Innes, 1998, p. 52).

According to Healey (2003), the progressive element in communicative planning is based on deconstructing the underlying interests of stakeholders in order to identify possible social and political relationships. By doing so, the ability to come to consensus and implement a strategic plan that incorporates all stakeholders increases (Healey, 2003, p. 240-253). Communicative planning addresses issues of past discrimination in planning practices, inadequacies of early programs (such as Model Cities), as well as race and planning issues by:

. . . recognizing that we are diverse people living in complex webs of economic and social relations, within which we develop potentially varied ways of seeing the world, of identifying interests and values, of reasoning about them, and of thinking about our relations with others . . . [Communicative planning] seeks to develop normative principles which we might use to judge our discussions and to build interrelations across our differences which will enable us to undertake strategic consensus-building work through which to create interculturally sensitive strategies for managing our common concerns in urban region space (Healey, 2003, p. 239).

The key to realization of such strategies lies within inclusionary argumentation, public reasoning that includes and recognizes all members in a political community (Healey, 2003). Methods to accomplish communicative planning and inclusionary argumentation are discussed in Chapter 3. Disadvantaged communities benefit from inclusionary policies that create open communication lines between government and community members.

Innes (1998), a communicative planner, defines the importance of information in public planning decisions that can influence public action. Information enters the public realm by “becom[ing] gradually embedded in the understandings of the actors in the community, through processes in which participants, including planners, collectively create meanings” (p. 52).

Communicative planning strategies recognize the influence information has on public action, “in the thought, practices, and institutions of a community,” (Healey, 2003, p. 55). Focus on the use

of information is essential in understanding the motivations and actions of grassroots development groups such as EGDC. Policies that result from consensus building include agreement of information and attitudes about the issue being discussed (Healey, 2003). In order to establish the use of information to seek consensus all stakeholders must be present and hold an equal amount of power in discussions. Moreover, discussions must focus on providing valid reasoning and allowing stakeholders to test the claims and options provided by other speakers (Healey, 2003). Following Innes' guidelines, while incorporating Healey's approach, offers a model for inclusionary argumentation and decision-making for disadvantaged communities.

Communicative planning places the planning process within a context of diverse interests. Baum (2003) notes focusing solely on general consensus may ignore intracommunity disputes, and advocates planners, "must overtly acknowledge differences, rules should correspond to the extent and intensity of real group differences," (p. 293). The steps for assuring inclusion argued by Innes minimize the effects of intracommunity disputes. Even though some actors involved in the planning process may be negatively affected, communicative planning does not ignore those sacrifices and recognizes that some participants benefit more than others in order to reach consensus (Healy, 2003). Communicative planning provides a legitimate process that incorporates issues of race and planning through participatory community discussions rather than the rhetorical inclusion witnessed by thomas-houston (2006) in South Carolina. Disadvantaged communities are recognized as voices that are integral for planners and officials to understand in order to enact effective policies. Focusing on the context of communication and information within East Gainesville requires elaboration on the importance of community development in disadvantaged communities.

## **Community Development**

Community development tactics attempt to catalyze investment and ownership in communities. Community development has many nuanced definitions emphasizing solidarity, inclusionary communication and social action. Avis Vidal (2004), a scholar on minority planning, defines community development as “asset building that improves the quality of life among disadvantaged neighborhoods” (p. 165). General definitions describe the procedural aspects of community development as “a comprehensive process for managing change that involves citizens in a dialogue on issues to decide what must be done and then involves them doing it” (Vincent in Vidal, 2004, p. 2). Bhattacharyya (1995) describes community development as the creation or advancement of solidarity and agency (Hustedde & Ganowicz, 2002, p. 3). Before community development can be examined in terms of its history, theory and importance in disadvantaged communities, the term community must be defined.

### **Defining community and the history of community development**

“Community” is an amorphous term, taking on different meanings in various contexts. A person can be a member of multiple communities or have allegiance to one community over another. Colclough and Sitaraman (2005) define two types of communities: simple and complex. Simple communities are typically place-based, containing one or few small groups, where members choose to participate and share a single dimension of their daily activities. Complex communities include multiple groups that participate in various activities within the lives of their members (Colclough & Sitaraman, 2005, p. 478). Simple or complex communities can either be based on place (location) such as neighborhoods or common interests such as church groups (Green & Haines, 2002, p. 4). The case study of EGDC and Eastside consists of both simple (EGDC) and complex (Eastside) place-based communities. Communities come in

diverse forms with varying interests and goals for their futures. Community development, from its inception, aimed to provide resource-poor communities with increased economic investment.

Arising from New Deal legislation, community development focused on revitalizing distressed communities. Often, racial discrimination was present in the execution of community development programs as referenced earlier. Mid-1960s programs provided more qualitative support through the Community Action Program (CAP), Model Cities and the Special Impact Program (SIP). Community participation and governmental distrust caused these programs to be discontinued. Nixon introduced Community Development Block Grants (CDBG) to address poverty issues. Though the program began facing cutbacks under Reagan's administration, CDBG continues to be a major tool for community development today. President Bill Clinton attempted to revitalize communities through Empowerment Zones/Enterprise Communities in the early 1990s, while simultaneously cutting other community development programs (Green & Haines, 2002). Federal community development policy is often critiqued for being race neutral and "ignoring the role of racial discrimination in generating high poverty rates in minority communities" (Green & Haines, 2002, p. 28). The issue of whether community development programs should confront racial discrimination directly continues to be debated. Currently, basic tenets of community development focus on confronting issues of inequality in more general terms.

### **Basics of community development: practice and theory**

Community development has been associated with social action and practical implementation strategies more so than scholarly discussions of the effects of development within the broader context of planning (Hustedde & Ganowicz, 2002). As practitioners of community development, EGDC continues to focus on practical implications, but the role of

EGDC must be considered within the theoretical perspectives of community agency and solidarity.

Community development includes four major functions and roles: organizers, developers, planners, and resource providers. Organizers center efforts on advocacy and empowerment of community members. Developers focus on developing projects that can be completed. Planners provide vision for future courses of action. Finally, resource providers financially assist community development planners, developers and organizers. West (2006) suggests two basic questions must be asked by any community development organization (CBO): What do we want to do? and; Is there anyone already doing this (p.114)? West (2006) warns of the consequences of overzealous and unorganized involvement in community development:

[The] best interests of the community...are not served when there are others [working on the same project]...just be sure you [CBOs] are not fragmenting scarce community resources with [the CBO's] admirable zeal to do good (p. 114).

Fragmentation of community efforts negates the basic tenet of community development that all people should have a voice in community decisions “and have the potential to contribute resources...and [be responsible] for community action and outcomes” (Vincent, 2006, p. 2).

Facilitating working groups that encompass all perspectives without turning into personal arguments is difficult. Communicative planning can be an effective method to incorporate all stakeholder perspectives in the workshop phase of community building (Vincent, 2006, p. 4).

Theories of community development concentrate on understanding the inner workings of communities.

Hustedde and Ganowicz (2002) evaluate community development theory using Bhattacharyya's definition of community development as both solidarity and agency building. The authors identify three major interrelated concerns that influence the community development practice: structure—groups that play a role in solidarity and capacity building, power—

relationships with those who control resources; and shared meaning—social meaning that people give to their community (Hustedde & Ganowicz, 2002, p. 4). The three concerns transfer into the theoretical frameworks of structural-functionalism, conflict, and symbol interactionism. Structural-functionalism addresses capacity building through interpreting social systems as “interdependent structures” that perform specified functions to maintain the overall structure of the system. Practitioners who follow structural-functionalism focus efforts on building linkages with larger social systems to build capacity (Hustedde & Ganowicz, 2002, p. 5-6). Conflict theory encompasses Marxist, Foucault, and Wallerstein ideals that “power is about who controls or has access to resources [and that] conflict is an integral part of social life” (Hustedde & Ganowicz 2002, p. 6-7). Conflict theory-oriented community developers use conflict as a means to organize and understand competing interests. Finally, symbolic interactionism argues that “meaning of a situation is not fixed but is constructed by participants as they anticipate the responses of others [through interpretation of symbols/signs]” (Hustedde & Ganowicz, 2002, p. 9). Practitioners draw from symbolic interactionism to deconstruct the development of shared meanings within communities. Hustedde and Ganowicz (2002) argue that community development practitioners should follow Giddens’ (1984) structuration argument as a theoretical foundation to bridge the gaps between structural-functionalism, conflict theory, and symbolic interactionism.

Structuration theory most accurately describes the exercise of social agency and establishment of solidarity within and against present societal divisions (Figure 2-2). Giddens’ structuration theory combines macro (structural-functionalism and conflict) and micro (symbolic interactionism) theories to form a process-oriented model of community development. Giddens’ (1984) model offers a third dimension, modalities “an ‘inbetween’ level of analysis [that

includes] cultural traditions, beliefs, norms... and how the actors draw upon those in their behavior” (p. 12). Actors use modalities to identify themselves in their interactions with other community stakeholders. Modalities represent the interaction between group solidarity in the form of norms and the structure of actor activities creating a “dualism” where norms cannot exist without structure (Hustedde and Ganowicz, 2002). Placed within the context of community development, structuration theory strongly resembles the consensus approach advocated by communicative planners. Agents of community change are not viewed as powerless in the face of structural constraints, but can draw upon cultural patterns to influence “power imbalances” (Hustedde & Ganowicz, 2002, p. 16). Structuration theory is particularly important in the case of EGDC where issues of cultural norms influence issues of power, solidarity and empowerment.

### **Community Empowerment**

A primary goal of community development promoted by EGDC is resident empowerment. Scholars and practitioners within the field link empowerment with community participation as an objective, necessity and end result. A successful empowerment approach must include people as “invaluable partners” since they contain the motivation to change (Narayan, 2005, p. 3). Narayan (2005) defines empowerment as:

... the expansion of freedom of choice and action to shape one’s life; implies control over resources and decisions... the expansion of assets and capabilities of... people to participate in, negotiate with, influence, control, and hold accountable institutions that affect their everyday lives (p.4-5).

Recent efforts to increase participation levels and resident-decision making power in community development simultaneously promote the, “economic, political, social and cultural transformation” needed to cause sustainable positive social change (Mayo & Craig, 1995, p. 1). The conceptual framework of empowerment identifies the key factors needed to assist disadvantaged communities towards self-reliance.

Narayan (2005) provides a pragmatic description of the elements that work together to improve a group's power: institutional climate, social and political structures, individual assets and capabilities, and collective assets and capabilities (p. 5; Figure 2-3). Characteristics of empowerment include, but are not limited to:

Empowerment emerges as a result of the relationship between people and their environment.

Empowerment requires both top-down changes in institutions and organizational processes and bottom-up changes in community organizations and networks and in their individual assets.

Intervention or entry points vary depending on the nature of constraints and barriers (Narayan, 2005, p. 6)

According to Narayan's model, empowerment is determined through interactions between the agency of individuals or groups and opportunity structure. Opportunity structure refers to the removal of institutional barriers that inhibit poor people from controlling efforts to improve their position within society. Institutional reform requires four basic elements to lead to empowerment: access to information, inclusion in decision making, accountability (political, administrative, and social/public), and local organization capacity—the ability for community to mobilize and solve issues together (Narayan, 2005). In disadvantaged communities, established social structures can prevent empowerment:

When social structures and social cleavages are deep and systemic, opportunities and access to services are determined less by individual characteristics [agency, assets, etc.] than by a culture of inequality that discriminates and excludes entire social groups (Narayan, 2005, p.9).

One method to overcome inequality includes establishing laws that enable disadvantaged communities to interact with governments effectively while providing basic services and access to justice and legal aid (Narayan, 2005, p. 12). The context of government and community interactions must be an integral part of the evaluation of Eastside empowerment strategies.

A causal framework for empowerment within state-society contexts (Petesch et al., 2005) suggests the underlying influences on Eastside community groups and government officials that affect their ability to positively interact (Figure 2-4). Within the model, the primary interaction between agency and opportunity structure that can result in community empowerment is influenced by characteristics that define social group agency and institutional structures. Influences on agency: economic and human capital, capacity to aspire and organizational capacity, combined, determine a social group's ability to make purposeful actions to improve their community. Opportunity structure is influenced by openness of institutions, fragmentation and behaviors of dominant groups, and government implementation capacity; create the environment in which agency can be exercised (Petesch et al., 2005). The causal framework for empowerment will be elaborated in Chapter 3. While community empowerment has become widespread in international community development, it has also been implemented in distressed communities in the U.S.

Eastside's techniques to elicit resident empowerment face challenges similar to those faced by resident mobilization efforts in other distressed U.S. cities. Community action in America has progressed since the Alinsky model of the 1940s and 50s to incorporate broad levels of organization that eroded traditional boundaries and divided organizing from coalition building. Saul Alinsky developed the approach to "bring existing community organizations into a coalition" to synergize development efforts and produce concrete results (Miller et al., 1995, p. 112). Miller, Rein and Levitt (1995) identify six approaches to organization witnessed since the Alinsky model that encourage and yield increased levels of community empowerment. Organizations with memberships based on residence, consumption (i.e., labor unions), identity,

self-help/mutual aid (i.e., Mothers Against Drunk Driving), advocacy, and mixed models<sup>6</sup> each attempt to empower communities through involvement and participation (Miller et al., 1995). Linking broad values or ideologies associated with a community's interests can engender empowerment.

A current issue faced by many organizations is an overwhelming presence of leadership, but an insignificant amount of public following that “weakens the organization politically and...limits the possibility of empowerment” (Miller et al., 1995, p. 121). American community developers have hoped that “poor and low-income groups can become a cohesive political force because of common economic interests [but] identity groups cut across such class lines” (Miller et al., 1995, p. 124). Fragmentation threatens empowerment due to the competition it creates among issues along with the diffusion of support. Empowerment strategies must specify what a certain group's empowerment will accomplish (Miller et al., 1995). For example, within the EGDC, the residents of East Gainesville are the subjects of empowerment with the goal to improve resident livelihoods and control decisions made about the redevelopment of their neighborhood. Empowerment strategies used in other areas emphasize the importance of strategic partnerships.

Wiewel and Gills (1995) chronicle the positive impacts of coalition-building in minority neighborhoods. Alinsky's model was first implemented in Chicago and resulted in the increased involvement of CBOs (community-based organizations) in the political process (Wiewel & Gills, 1995, p. 129). There, the Neighborhood Movement, as it came to be called, eventually led to professionalization and loss of grassroots control over CBOs in the 1980s. In Chicago, CBOs became delegate agencies of the local government under Washington's progressive mayoral

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<sup>6</sup> Mixed models include combined approaches such as multi-ethnic resident coalitions formed in the Dudley Street Initiative in Boston, Massachusetts.

administration to act on behalf of the city government. While CBOs gained decision-making powers, access to information, as well as implementation and evaluation rights, they lost independence and initiative after the administration changed. The lesson learned from the Chicago Neighborhood Movement is that:

the community-building process necessarily includes both development practice and empowerment activity, but is only sufficient to the extent that new capacity is derived by communities to continue some new level of activity once the development stimulus disappears...Broad coalitions are necessary to maintain support for neighbourhood development (Wiewel & Gills, 1995, p. 134-135).

Further, effective leadership sustains community development initiatives. Empowerment efforts that lack government partnerships and a trained, committed leadership quickly lose momentum (Wiewel & Gills, 1995). The ability to gain community empowerment becomes entangled in matters of leadership, structure, accountability, and collaboration.

The issue of measuring levels of empowerment among diverse groups with competing interests becomes equally problematic. Community empowerment among disadvantaged communities requires collective efforts by community members to mobilize and organize in order to be recognized by government “on their own terms, to be represented, and to make their voices heard” (Narayan, 2005, p. 11). Social capital allows members to “increase access to resources and economic opportunities” that can become a measurable unit of empowerment (Narayan, 2005, p. 11).

### **Social Capital**

Successful development relies on the ability of groups and coalitions to build and utilize social capital. Eastside’s strong political and social history make social capital one of the community’s largest assets. Social capital is a critical resource in community development:

...building social capital can be a powerful mechanism for planners who seek to promote greater equity in and across cities, if we can learn how to foster and engage it in the service of disadvantaged communities (Vidal, 2004, p. 164).

There are different types of capital, or assets, which exist within a community including human (workers' skills and productivity), physical (existing infrastructure), financial (money), environmental (natural resources), and social. According to Green and Haines (2002), social capital contributes to the growth of the other four forms of community capital. The ability for a community to engage in building intra- and inter-community social capital increases the ability for a development group to engage in positive social change. The role of social capital as a function of the socio-cultural milieu and institutional infrastructure can act as a model for neighborhood change (Temkin and Rohe, 1998). High levels of social capital lead to stable neighborhoods.

Social capital builds community capacity, specifically, "networks of relationships based on trust, norms of reciprocity, mutual obligation, cooperation, and so on that lead to 'productive' outcomes for individuals and groups" (Colclough & Sitaraman, 2005, p. 475). Social capital is credited by scholars in determining community members' mobility and satisfaction within their respective community's relationship network (Colclough & Sitaraman, 2005, p. 476). Social capital is also used as a control, goal, and resource:

...social capital is conceptualized as (1) a quantity and/or quality of resources that an actor (be it an individual or group or community) can access or use through (2) its location in a social network (Lin, 2000, p. 786).

As a resource, social capital can transform the status quo. Employed as a goal, it may produce desired outcomes. Finally, when used as a control method, social capital can include and exclude members to maintain hierarchical structures (Colclough & Sitaraman, 2005). Social capital is gained by encouraging participation and harnessing existing strengths within the community (Temkin & Rohe, 1998).

Social capital networks must be separated from definitions of simple and complex communities since different circumstances garner different outcomes. For example, social capital can be used positively to effect social change as well as to maintain disparity within larger, complex communities such as cities.<sup>7</sup> Social capital “express[es] a rational, instrumental side of human relations where networks become activated to accomplish specific tasks and trust based on people’s ability to contribute” (Colclough & Sitaraman, 2005, p. 494). In distressed neighborhoods, developing certain types of social capital networks determine community development success rates (Green & Haines, 2002; Vidal, 2004).

Social capital acts as either a bonding or bridging agent. Bonding capital involves bringing people together who already know each other, while bridging capital for the purpose of building new social ties brings groups together who do not know each other (Green & Haines, 2002). Four strategies increase community capacity in disadvantaged communities:

- Enhance abilities of individuals
- Make organizations stronger
- Build links among individuals
- Build links among organizations (Vidal, 2004, p. 165).

The first two strategies encourage community development strategies that include social capital as an asset, while the second two strategies directly build social capital (Vidal, 2004). Bridging social capital, the fourth strategy, provides the best method for improving community capacity.

In disadvantaged communities, bridges “forge new connections among disadvantaged groups

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<sup>7</sup> Colclough and Sitaraman (2005) examined the following variations of social capital networks in simple and complex communities in their research: community leads to social capital in a simple, local community with a diffuse network of social capital; social capital leads to communities in overlapping occupational and ethnic social capital networks. Communities can lack social capital in complex ethnic communities; social capital can be used as a tool to maintain inequality in concentrated networks within communities that limit resource use and mobility of members; and social capital can exist without community under certain circumstances.

and between them and others with more resources [that] holds greater promise as an approach to increasing opportunity and voice for the poor [while] bridge building fits more readily and centrally into planning practice” (Vidal, 2004, p. 166). These arguments reflect the central tenets of community development that CBOs “should always remember they are a part of a broader community” (Vidal, 2006, p. 122). Scholars have found the process of building social capital bridges within communities to be difficult in minority-majority areas.

Alinsky’s coalition building model and the Chicago Neighborhood Development Movement discussed earlier illustrate that bridging social capital networks garners results when networks are maintained by community members (Wiewel & Gills, 1995). Bridging social capital in disadvantaged communities allows previously disinvested members to interact with mainstream development activists as a means to influence policy and empower residents (Vidal, 2004, p. 166). In order to accomplish empowerment as an end result, community capacity should be the central goal of social capital and development networks since “efforts to cultivate neighborhood capital can lead to failure or disappointment” if community capacity is not improved (Vidal, 2004, p. 166). Social capital’s link to community capacity—the credibility and influence of organizations to achieve results—is vital to central city revitalization. Building social partnerships between stakeholder groups can unify longstanding political disputes that have created tension within the community. By focusing on consensus rather than debate, positive social bridges catalyze empowerment within disadvantaged neighborhoods.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Diversity within communities including conflicting viewpoints must be ameliorated by: (1) Conducting an assessment that is inclusive of major groups and that determines the community’s condition and the strategies to address that condition. (2) In the case a proposal lacks community support, efforts should be taken to create stakeholder consensus as soon as possible as lack of consensus could prevent access to external (financial) support. (3) If stakeholders demonstrate a willingness to collaborate, it increases the chance of external partnerships and investment. This can lead to social capital bridges with city-level institutions (Vidal, 2004).

Community Development Corporations (CDCs) create social capital networks in order to implement community-led development projects.

### **The Stew Pot of Planning History, Empowerment, Development, and Social Capital in Inner Cities: The CDC**

The role of CDCs as an intermediary between government and residents forces EGDC (and other CDCs) to balance the negative impacts of long-term lack of investment with collaborative efforts to rejuvenate distressed communities. As such, CDCs serve as the optimum location to study resident and government interactions to develop consensus (a unified vision) for community revitalization. The CDCs are grassroots community development non-profit organizations that serve specific geographic areas that are typically controlled by the area's residents (Green & Haines, 2002; Vidal, 1995). Their organizational structure includes a membership-elected board of directors, small paid staff, and volunteers to execute programs. Collaborative efforts determine the ability of CDCs to accomplish development strategies aimed to solve problems unique to the community (West, 2006). A historical analysis of CDCs and their abilities outline the role of grassroots community development organizations in central city development.

### **Impetus and Evolution of Community Development Corporations (CDCs)**

Beginning in the 1960s, CDCs were designed to be community-controlled organizations that developed into professional community development networks. Community Action Programs (CAPs) contributed to the government structure for the organization of the first CDCs, providing “comprehensive development, technical expertise, [and] entrepreneurial [support needed to] shape [the] development process [through] community vision and needs” (Green & Haines, 2002, p. 64). Early CDCs focused efforts on housing provision and received the majority of their funding from federal programs. Professionalization of CDCs in the 1980s and

90s witnessed continued specialization of particular organizations and loss of activism that led to a “growing tension between CDCs and intermediaries because of [the] influence control of resources generates” (Green & Haines 2002, p. 66). While current CDCs attempt to build community capacity, they continue to be criticized for their ideological shift from activist to professional. An examination of two early organizations in New York illustrates the precarious placement of CDCs between external institutional support and their “unique position that enables them to build social relationships among...institutions and organizations in the community, which can serve as assets for future development” (Green & Haines, 2002, p. 67).

Johnson (2004) compares the accountability of the Harlem Urban Development Corporation (HUDC) to the Bedford-Stuyvesant Restoration Corporation (BSRC) to indicate how the historical development of CDCs determines their level of accomplishment, stating:

[The] specifics of each organization’s early development played an important role in how community was defined and the role of community in the CDC’s development and also had implications for how the CDC approached the issue of accountability to the community (p. 110).

Governor Nelson Rockefeller organized HUDC in order to improve relations with New York’s Black leadership, while BSRC partnered with Robert Kennedy creating two organizations: one community/Black led and one business/White led. HUDC exhibited conflicts early as community leaders fought amongst themselves and with the Governor “producing ambitious plans” that were never realized (Johnson, 2004, p. 116). Conversely, BSRC had initial success due to its connection with powerful White leaders, but the White-led organization, Bedford-Stuyvesant Development and Services Corporation, held the majority of decision-making power. When the White-led and Black-led organizations finally integrated in 1974, the BSRC “found itself [like HUDC] facing the same issues of organizational drift, limited productivity, and alienation from the community” (Johnson, 2004, p. 121). The comparison case study of HUDC

and BSRC highlight the issues CDCs continue to face: political alienation, reliance on external support and difficulties in motivating community residents.

### **Community Development Corporations (CDCs): A Solution to the Plight of the Inner City**

Despite the flaws observed in current CDC organizational capacity, these grassroots groups continue to hold the best hope for channeling community development that encourages resident empowerment and builds social capital. A CDC's ability, to "understand the neighborhood from the residents' perspective is critical...to effectively serve [the] population" (Basolo & Strong, 2002, p. 84). Presently, there are 1,500 to 2,500 CDCs across the United States that generally have a staff of seven and a budget of \$175-700,000 that serves as "gap fillers" for disadvantaged communities (Vidal, 1995, p. 208). Assessment of past CDCs efforts indicates these corporations are able to identify underlying issues hindering community development other organizations continue to ignore (Vidal 1995).<sup>9</sup> However, CDC weaknesses such as high levels of turnover in leadership, small staff numbers and failure to foster long-running collaborative partnerships suggest CDCs continue to struggle with harnessing sustainable social capital partnerships (Temkin & Rohe, 1998).<sup>10</sup>

Basolo and Strong (2002) provide a collaborative model for CDCs to follow that incorporates higher levels of understanding neighborhood issues with effective programmatic strategies. To understand community needs, CDCs should survey residents, include neighborhoods in project development, enlist volunteers from the communities, and encourage

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<sup>9</sup> Vidal (1995) also argues CDCs provide a promising strategy to correct the spatial disparity and inequality in minority center cities since they: can respond to spatial gaps in opportunity in a strategic way—having a clear strategy is one of the primary factors contributing to their success; are entrepreneurial, flexible and persistent, displaying tenacity, willingness, and ability to work; are effective in targeting benefits to improve poor communities; and have passed a sort of market test since their numbers are growing, displaying market potential; and the growth in the number of CDCs and their systems of support is mutually reinforcing.

<sup>10</sup> Temkin and Rohe (1998) also applaud CDCs in their ability to promote associative relationships with stakeholders.

regular communication with CDC leaders and the community at large (Basolo & Strong, 2002). The key to CDCs providing access to quality services to residents is tapping into “existing or evolving networks whose members share information, resources, and access” (Harrison et al., 1994 p. 8). The CDCs such as EGDC must amalgamate social capital, community participation, and institutional opportunity structures in order to execute development programs that truly benefit and empower center city communities that have been isolated by institutional racism.

An evaluation of the EGDC comprises issues of planning history, progressive reform, theoretical models of empowerment and development, and realities of practicing in disadvantaged communities. The methodologies implemented in the Eastside and EGDC case study draw from both academic and practitioner literatures to provide a measurement to evaluate the CDC’s ability to build social capital bridges and empower residents.

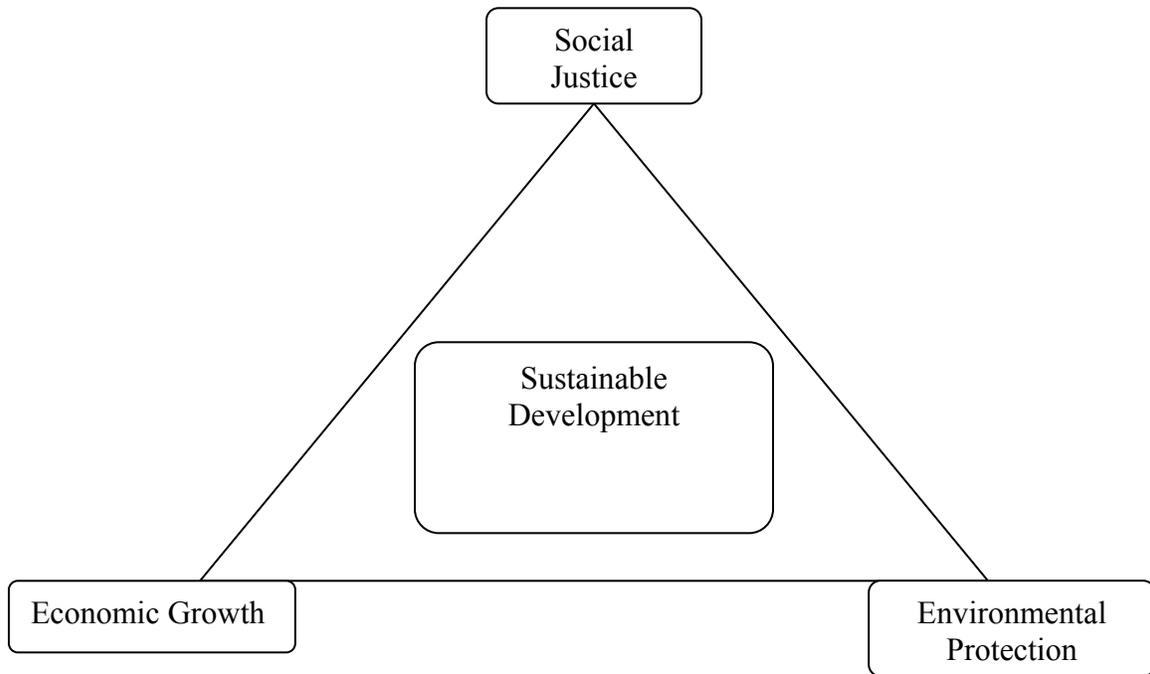


Figure 2-1. Campbell's Model for Sustainable Development (Reprinted with Permission from Blackwell Publishing, Ltd. Campbell, 2003, p. 437).

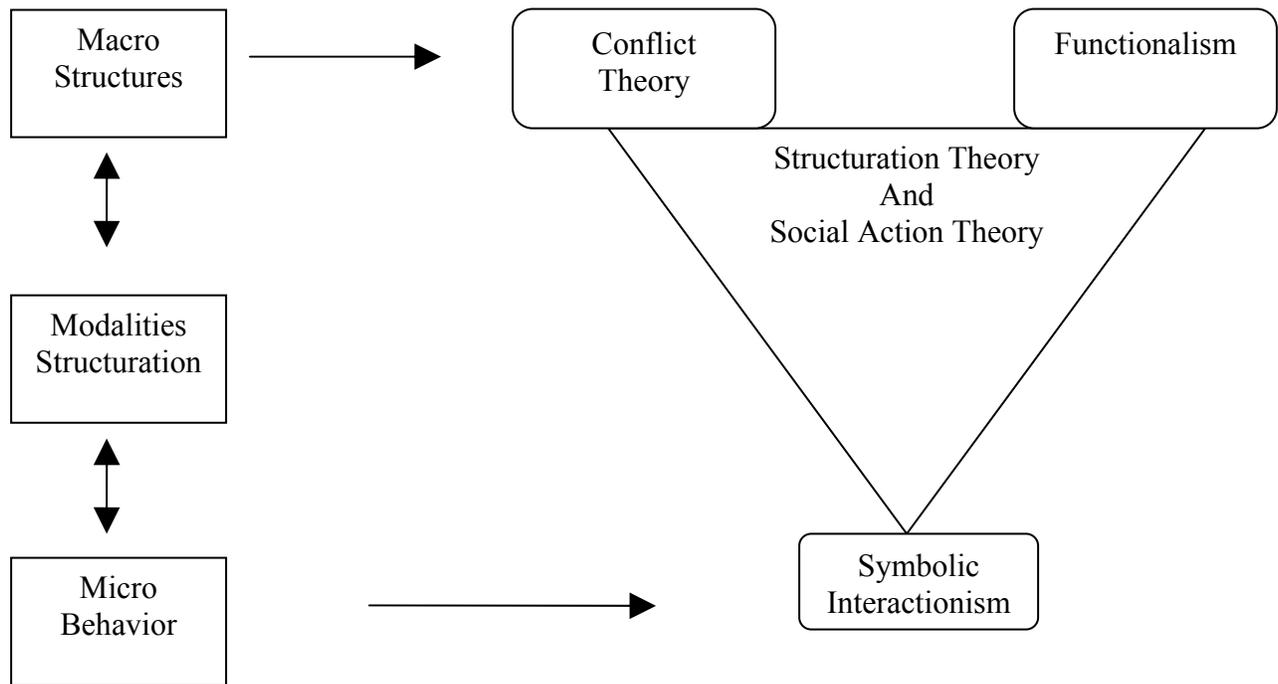


Figure 2-2. Giddens' Structuration Model: The Link to Social Change at the Macro and Micro Levels (Reprinted with permission from The Journal of the Community Development Society. Hustedde & Ganowicz, 2002, p. 12).

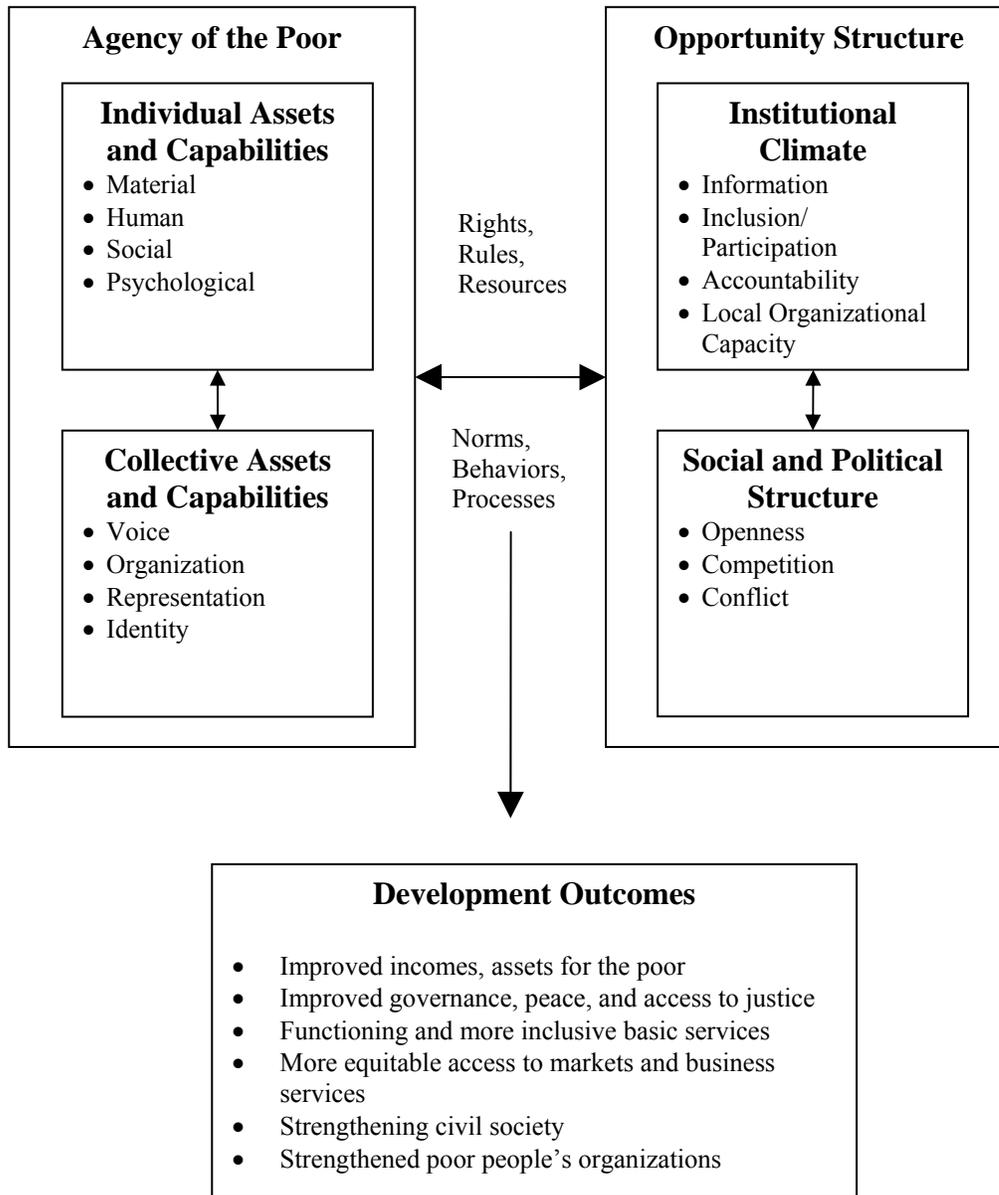


Figure 2-3. Narayan's Community Empowerment Model (Reprinted with permission from the World Bank. Narayan, 2005, p. 7).

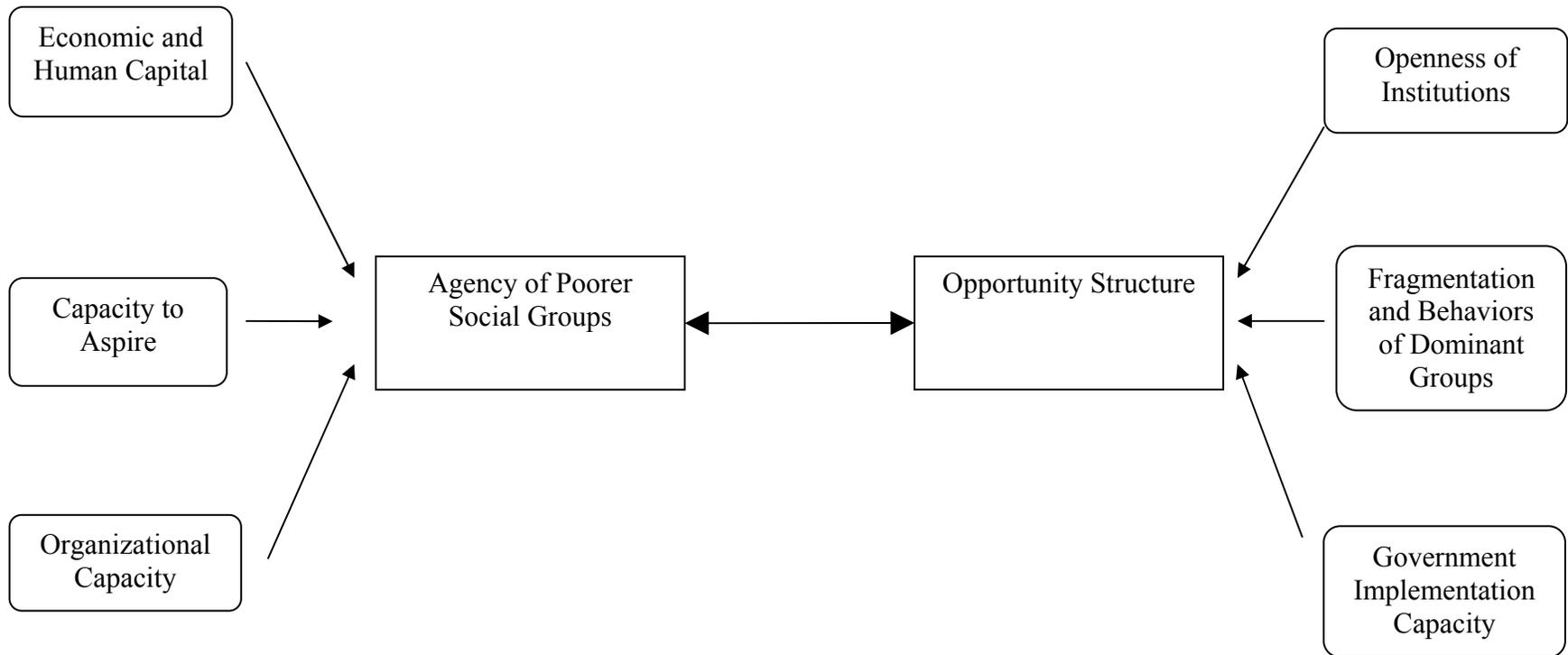


Figure 2-4. Petesch and Colleagues (2005, p. 42) Causal Framework for Empowerment in State-Society Context. (Reprinted with permission from the World Bank.)

## CHAPTER 3 METHODOLOGY

The research design of a case study of the East Gainesville Community Development Corporation draws from the literature in the previous chapter to evaluate grassroots community development through communicative planning techniques using social capital as a measure of empowerment. In this chapter, the Empowerment Structuration model evaluates the functional, conflicting and normative interactions between the agency of community groups and the opportunity structures (government institutions) in which agency can be exercised (Narayan, 2005; Petesch et al., 2005). The methodological tools of communicative planning drawn from Healey (2003) and Innes (1998) can be used to analyze social capital networks, project consensus and stakeholder interactions. Both primary and secondary sources provide a historical analysis of East Gainesville revitalization and current interactions between government and Eastside social groups. Together, these data sources provide a comprehensive examination of how EGDC and Eastside stakeholders harness social capital as a means to promote resident empowerment and successful revitalization.

### **Empowerment Structuration Model: Methodological Basis for EGDC Evaluation**

The relationship between the major factors and struggles within and outside Eastside are identified in order to examine the organization's institutional structure and capability to develop social networks and programs. Combining Giddens' Structuration theoretical model for social action (Hustedde & Ganowicz, 2002) with Petesch et al.'s (2005) model for community empowerment in state-society contexts provides a framework from which to explore social capital partnerships in revitalization efforts.

The Empowerment Structuration Model analyzes relationships between government and social groups (Figure 3-1). The model indicates a causal framework for empowerment as a four-

part process in which empowerment may or may not be able to occur. The primary interaction for empowerment occurs between opportunity structure and the agency of social groups. A balance, or mutually beneficial relationship, must exist between opportunity structure and social group agency in order for empowerment to occur. Empowerment of social groups is “a product of the interaction between the agency of these groups and the opportunity structure in which this agency is potentially exercised” (Petesch et al., 2005, p. 41). Opportunity structure consists of the present institutional climate and social and political structures in a community. Agency of social groups consists of individual and collective assets and capabilities (Narayan, 2005).

The relationship or interaction between opportunity structure and social group agency is affected by several factors specific to each component (Petesch et al., 2005, p.41). Social group agency is affected by economic and human capital (existing resources, safety nets and skills), the group’s capacity to aspire (culturally formed ability for visioning future goals), and organizational capacity (ability to participate in both informal and formal groups to draw collective action) (Petesch et al., 2005). Influences on opportunity structure include the openness of institutions (the ability of social groups to influence government policy), fragmentation and behaviors of dominant groups (cleavages among elites against and for minority empowerment), and government implementation capacity (ability of government to successfully complete projects). However, influences on opportunity structure and agency do not occur within a vacuum. Relationships within and between influencers can determine the modalities (attitudes, interests and biases) that agency and structural stakeholders bring to revitalization efforts.

The process of resident empowerment must confront the historical biases, vested interests and personal visions that comprise the modalities of primary stakeholders. Within the Empowerment Structuration model, modalities are represented by the “Relationship Filter”

(Figure 3-1). Drawing from Giddens' structuration theory, stakeholder influencers (identified as economic and human (social) capital, capacity to aspire, and organizational capacity) can have functional, conflicting, or symbolic relationships (Hustedde & Ganowicz, 2002; Figure 3-1). For example, a social group's capacity to aspire may be incredibly high while the existing economic and social capital in the community is low. The relationship between influencers affects the agency of social groups in their interactions with the broader existing opportunity structure. Moreover, the inner relationships between social groups and government can determine the ability for each party to effectively communicate their goals and vision for empowerment. Resident empowerment and social action result when the influences on agency of social groups and opportunity structure result in a positive and unified relationship between stakeholders and institutions. Identifying existing social capital in both community social groups and government institutions and how they relate is essential to understanding the success of redevelopment initiatives. The ways in which these elements interact with or against each other determine a community's ability to promote empowerment and positive development programs for East Gainesville.

The study of EGDC focuses on the relationship between the agency of Eastside and EGDC community stakeholders and the opportunity structure established by city and county government. The result of the study will not only provide an evaluation of EGDC, but also a test for the legitimacy of the Empowerment Structuration methodological model. Within the model, communicative planning techniques evaluate the ability of EGDC to develop consensus between government and social structures. Measuring social capital through qualitative and quantitative data determine whether consensus or empowering development outcomes (social action) exist. The research questions that will be examined include:

- Does social capital exist in the community and how is it being distributed?
- Are social capital resources and partnerships balanced between community groups and government institutions?
- How does the distribution of social capital and partnerships influence the outcome of empowerment in revitalization efforts?

Combining these methodological techniques and measurements to address the questions above requires a wide range of data collection methods. Social capital indicators are measured to determine if social capital exists within the community and how it affects bridges within and between community groups and government actors.

### **Does Social Capital Exist in the Community and How is it Distributed?**

Community development requires social action that transforms the current situation for disadvantaged communities. Narayan (2005) recognizes social capital's role in empowerment since "the extent of trust embedded in public institutions and the nature of civil society are critical aspects to state-society relations" (p. 19). EGDC's role as an intermediary between community members and governmental institutions creates the opportunity for the organization to harness social capital essential to its success in revitalization efforts. The community development literature identifies empowerment of residents as a major goal (Green and Haines, 2002). Yet, empowerment is difficult to measure as it is a latent phenomenon (Narayan, 2005). The number of positive social capital partnerships fostered by EGDC and community stakeholders provides a measurable indicator of the empowerment.

The case study of Eastside focuses on measuring strategic partnerships as catalysts for empowerment (Vidal, 2004; Green and Haines, 2002). Bridging social capital between two different social groups or a social group and a government or private sector organization gives both parties access to new resources they may have not been able to obtain by themselves

(Narayan, 2005, p. 11). Social capital in EGDC is measured using Temkin and Rohe's (1998) factors of sociocultural milieu (relating to social group agency) and institutional infrastructure (relating to organizational capacity of social groups and opportunity structure). Within the Empowerment Structuration model, sociocultural milieu is assessed through a combination of participant observation and document (newspapers and adopted plans) research. Sociocultural milieu is used to evaluate the presence of strong social capital partnerships among Eastside community stakeholders (Economic and Social Capital, Capacity to Aspire and Organizational Capacity; Figure 3-1). Temkin and Rohe's indicators for institutional infrastructure are used to evaluate the strength of social capital partnerships between government and Eastside community stakeholders (Openness of Institutions and Organizational Capacity of Eastside community; Figure 3-1). Indicators for social capital based on Temkin and Rohe (2002) include:

Sociocultural Milieu

- Feeling that community is spatially distinct
- Level of social interaction among residents
- Degree to which residents work and socialize in the community.

Institutional Infrastructure

- Presence and quality of neighborhood organizations
- Visibility of neighborhood to city-wide officials.

Drawing from these characteristics, the EGDC's and the larger Eastside community's social capital network and its influence within the Empowerment Structuration model is evaluated.

Methods to determine social capital and identify key stakeholders draw from communicative planning tactics to determine if social capital is balanced between community groups and government institutions.

### **Are Social Capital Resources and Partnerships Balanced Between Community Groups and Government Institutions?**

Community Development Corporations, including EGDC, must have a thorough understanding of a community's needs in order to execute programs that will empower and

improve resident's lives. The Empowerment Structuration model identifies modalities of interaction—how government and community stakeholders draw upon norms, beliefs and traditions in their interactions with each other—as the integral point where strategic partnerships and cultural identities of the CDC and Eastside community meet with the rules and regulations of the government. As stated above, the interaction between community groups and government institutions must be balanced or mutually beneficial for empowerment to occur and be sustained. Communicative planning techniques can be used to understand how decisions are made through communication at meetings, use of information and development of consensus to determine if the EGDC is able to balance their available resources and community's needs with government programs and policies.

As stated in the previous chapter, communicative planning draws upon ethnographic techniques to discover the underlying relationships that propel the planning process while defining the role of planners as facilitators between citizens, other private interests and government. Strategic development planning requires both community collaboration and consensus building. Figure 3-2 identifies Healey's (2003) criteria for consensus building that will be used to examine EGDC. The five areas of consensus building are evaluated through participant observation during EGDC meetings (Figure 3-2). Participant observation involves active engagement with a group over a period of time to fully understand the internal and external issues of the community. Planners can choose to bring in a social scientist or community leader that is approved by the community or actively engage with the community themselves to use pertinent knowledge of the community and its inner-workings to plan development. In the case study of EGDC, the researcher acts as the planner and social scientist

to understand the underlying issues and motivations of individual members, communication between members, and development of consensus.

Healey's (2003) criteria evaluate consensus will be coupled with Innes' (1998) rules for equitable planning outlined in Chapter 2 to determine whether equitable practices are being employed in Eastside. The rules include

- Individuals representing all the important interests at issue must be at the table
- Stakeholders being equally empowered
- Discussions occurring on terms of good reasons
- Discussions allowing all claims to be tested
- Participants assessing the speaker's claims by evaluating the speaker's ability to speak honestly, hold a legitimate position, speak comprehensively, and be factually accurate
- Groups seeking consensus (Innes, 1998, p. 67).

Determining EGDC and government official's adherence to the rules proposed by Innes requires in-depth analysis through open-ended interviews with EGDC members balanced by East Gainesville community leaders not involved directly with EGDC (Appendix A includes Institutional Review Board materials). Interviews include questions regarding past development efforts, perspectives on EGDC, community leaders, changes in local government, changes in the overall East Gainesville community, and evaluation of current revitalization projects in the area. Open-ended interviews, along with participant observation at EGDC and public meetings related to East Gainesville redevelopment provide a barometer for the CDC's ability to provide transparency and equality in organizational and programmatic decision-making. The benefits of open-ended interviews allow the researcher "to interpret and make sense of stories and complex interactions" (Innes, 1998, p. 62). The results from the analysis of communication in EGDC formal meetings and interviews represent the ability of EGDC to effectively bridge social capital.

Combining the evaluation of social capital resources and the analysis of relationship between community groups and government actors indicates how social capital partnerships influence redevelopment.

### **How Does the Distribution of Social Capital Resources and Partnerships Influence the Outcome of Empowerment Efforts?**

The final research question explores how social capital partnerships move through the Empowerment Structuration model. Findings from the two prior research questions merge within the model providing a holistic framework for social capital partnerships between social group agency and opportunity structure. Temkin and Rohe's indicators of social capital within the sociocultural milieu are used to determine the social group agency influencers in the Empowerment Structuration Model. Social and employment activity (a social capital indicator) of residents determines the amount of economic and human capital among community stakeholders (a social group agency influencer). Similarly, resident interaction and area spatial distinctiveness (indicators) provides a measure for the community's capacity to aspire (influencer), while presence of neighborhood organizations (indicator) represents the area's organizational capacity (influencer). Opportunity structure is measured using a combination of Temkin and Rohe's indicators and plan review. Visibility of government officials, a social capital indicator, is used to evaluate the openness of institutions. Archival newspaper research and plan review, discussed in the following section, indicate the government's implementation capacity and fragmentation and behavior of dominant groups. The interactions between these influencers reveal whether a balanced relationship exists between social group agency and opportunity structure.

By investigating whether social capital resources are balanced, one can determine whether the interaction between community groups and government actors results in

empowerment. Participant observation and interviews with primary stakeholders inform whether influencers have a functional (reinforcing), conflicting, or symbolic interaction (normative) relationship that strengthens or weakens social group agency and opportunity structure, respectively. If influencers on both sides of the Empowerment Structuration model have a functional relationship, then a balance will most likely exist between community groups and government actors. The integration of the first two research questions allows the researcher to determine how social capital partnerships relate to the interaction of structure and agency in communities. Qualitative and quantitative data sources are used in this study to provide a comprehensive analysis for Empowerment Structuration.

### **Data Collection Sources for the Eastside Case Study**

Using a variety of resources, the researcher can establish the history of Eastside's development and thus the context for current efforts to empower residents through the revitalization process. Evaluating EGDC's revitalization efforts includes plan review, archival newspaper research, open-ended interviews and participant observation. The following section describes methods for reviewing these sources and their limitations.

#### **Eastside Plan Review**

In her analysis of two Harlem CDCs, Johnson (2004) emphasizes the influence "the early history of an organization [can have on] its later performance," selection and use of strategies, and efforts towards community accountability (p. 109). The historical context of the EGDC and East Gainesville redevelopment draws primarily from examinations of previous planning documents. In the past ten years, four government plans have been written concerning the redevelopment of East Gainesville. Comparisons of these plans reveal how government and resident attitudes towards community problems and solutions changed over time. While reviewing plans, key terms that were repeated in each of the plans were recorded. Key terms

include: resident participation, negative perception, interconnectivity, conservation, social conditions, and lack of investment. Comparisons were also made between the geographic areas the plans focused on as well as the government agency that authored the plan. Quantitative data from East Gainesville plans also provides information on the socio-economic and physical conditions of Eastside neighborhoods. Limitations to plan review include lack of information concerning the success of resident participation, the ideas that were presented but not incorporated into the plan, and inter-governmental attitudes towards the execution of the plan. In an effort to augment the limitations of plan review, newspaper research and interviews are used to understand the climate in which these plans were created.

### **Archival Newspaper Research**

An analysis of newspaper articles from the past five years frames previous planning efforts executed by both community groups and government actors. A large portion of newspaper articles draw from *The Guardian*, a weekly newspaper that focuses on East Gainesville events and issues. While *The Guardian* is an excellent resource for understanding community attitudes towards planning efforts, it has only recently been circulated (beginning in 2004). Additional articles from the city-wide daily paper, *The Gainesville Sun*, provided information on East Gainesville prior to 2004, but the amount of articles that focused on Eastside were limited. Newspaper articles related to the topics of development, planning, building siting, and community groups were reviewed for the purposes of this study. Articles provided commentaries from both government officials and Eastside residents concerning the redevelopment of the area. Limitations to archival newspaper research include the bias of the author of the article (such as whether they sided with the city or resident on the subject of the article) and selectivity of stories that were covered. Due to these limitations, interviews with

primary community stakeholders provided another means to understand the history of Eastside redevelopment.

### **Interviews with Primary Stakeholders**

Three primary stakeholders were interviewed in the Eastside case study: the Director of the CRA, Anthony Lyons; the Gainesville Planning Commissioner who represents Eastside, Scherwin Henry; and the current chairman of EGDC, Nona Jones. Interviews between one and two hours in length were conducted in January 2008 at either the homes or offices of interviewees (Appendix A includes Institutional Review Board materials). Discussions centered on the history of planning and development in Eastside, the effectiveness of adopted plans, current issues in Eastside, attitudes of resident groups and government institutions, current efforts to revitalize Eastside, and each interviewees vision for Eastside redevelopment. All questions asked in interviews were open-ended to engender meaningful and candid dialogue. The fact that only three interviews were conducted with primary stakeholders is a limitation to the study. Eastside is a small area, but comprised of many government actors and community leaders. However, time constraints inhibited the researcher from interviewing all persons considered primary Eastside stakeholders. Instead, the three stakeholders interviewed were chosen due to the amount of influence, interaction and presence they exhibit within the community. As mentioned earlier, the focus of this study is the interaction of community groups rather than individuals. Since entire groups could not be interviewed for the study of Eastside, the three primary stakeholders are interpreted as representatives of the overall opinions and attitudes of Eastside groups and government institutions. Participant observation of community and government redevelopment efforts provides another method to investigate social capital partnerships.

## **Participant Observation and the Influence of the Researcher**

Interactions between government and community groups are documented in participant observation at EGDC and public community meetings. Over the course of one year, ten community meetings were observed. During meetings, attention was paid to whether actors took steps (outlined by Healey (2003)) to come to consensus or to develop partnerships, how Eastside problems were discussed, how residents and government groups were described, and how people present at meetings interacted (verbally and nonverbally) in reference to Eastside issues. A major limitation of participant observation is the influence the researcher may have on the community at large.

As an urban and regional planning student, I was introduced to the intricacies of Eastside revitalization efforts through a community development class. I chose to continue my research on Eastside after witnessing evidence of a strong community identity and will to better the community from key Eastside leaders. My impressions of Eastside groups and leaders may have an influence on how the community reacted to my desire to document their efforts. By approaching the community, I may have given leaders a new feeling of importance that caused them to behave differently in my presence. However, due to my interaction with community members over the course of one year, I feel this is not the case. My involvement in the community did have some implications. For example, when I approached the EGDC to attend meetings, I became involved with the organization as a volunteer intern conducting small research projects when needed. In an effort to remain objective, I have attempted to separate any of my contributions to EGDC's work from my observations of the organization, their interaction with government actors, and my interpretation of revitalization in Eastside overall. The use of multiple resources balances the limitations of each data source in order to present an objective,

holistic analysis of the role social capital partnerships play in community empowerment and revitalization efforts in East Gainesville.

Community empowerment engages residents to take part in progressive development plans within their own neighborhoods to combat disparity. Measuring empowerment within community development is difficult since “empowerment is said to have occurred if it results from the agency of the person who feels empowered” (Narayan, 2005, p. 22). EGDC is a community development group centered on catalyzing empowerment for residents within a minority, disadvantaged neighborhood situating the CDC as an organizer for social groups with the purpose of synergizing revitalization efforts. The Empowerment Structuration model measures empowerment through the use of positive social capital partnerships and their influence on the interactions between Eastside stakeholders and government officials. The model will define pathways to empowerment within the Eastside community as well as current constraints impeding social capital partnerships and empowerment programs.<sup>1</sup> Participant observation at EGDC meetings provides the researcher with an understanding of community and organizational constraints and methods of intervention being employed to address those constraints. Tracing social capital according to Temkin and Rohe’s (2002) indicators through interviews, historical and quantitative analysis and surveys reveals the pathways that led to both positive and negative development outcomes for residents. The evaluation of both Eastside and EGDC’s ability to transform social capital partnerships into empowerment provides a paradigm for similarly situated CDCs to navigate revitalization efforts through the Empowerment Structuration model.

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<sup>1</sup> This concept for measuring empowerment draws from Narayan’s (2005) claim that “measuring empowerment is most useful when done in a framework that defines the role of empowerment in achieving positive development outcomes and defines pathways of causation depending on the type of intervention and the constraint being addressed” (p.23).

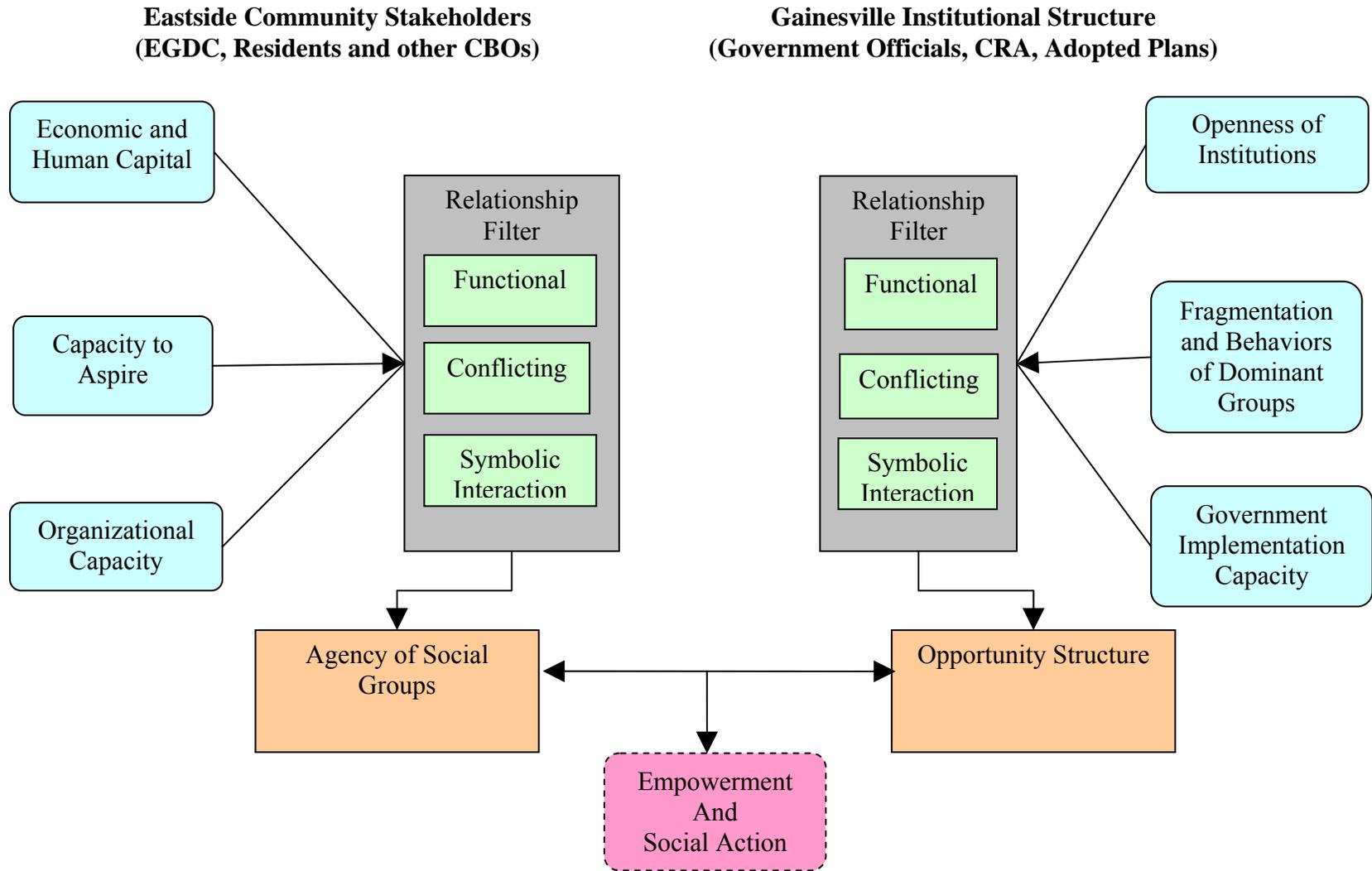


Figure 3-1. Empowerment Structuration Model (Author).

- 1) Arenas for discussion
  - a. Reading the opportunity for strategic review
  - b. Setting up arenas
  - c. Adopting an inclusionary ethic
  
- 2) The Scope and Style of discussion
  - a. Selecting an inclusionary style
  - b. Working with multiple languages
  - c. Calling into presence non present members
  
- 3) Sorting through the arguments
  - a. Acknowledging facts, values, and rights
  - b. Grasping different points of view
  - c. Drawing out common threads
  
- 4) Creating a new discourse
  - a. Using discourse keys
  - b. Exploring different storylines
  - c. Checking who belongs in a story
  - d. Acknowledging what is ignored in a strategy and why
  
- 5) Agreement and Critique
  - a. Developing an explicit approach to conflict resolution at the start
  - b. Building in rights of challenge to the position of consensus
  - c. Adopting principles for redeeming such challenges
  - d. Building in opportunities for regular reflexive challenge to the consensus

Figure 3-2. Healey's (2003) Methodological Tasks for Communicative Planning-Based Consensus Building (Reprinted with permission from Blackwell Publishing, Ltd. p. 252).

## CHAPTER 4 TEN YEARS OF PLANNING IN EASTSIDE

A landmark event occurred in 1997 when residents teamed with the city government to produce an action plan for Eastside. In the following ten years, three additional plans were adopted, each creating a separate vision for East Gainesville. An evaluation of plans developed and adopted by the City of Gainesville, Alachua County, and the Gainesville Community Redevelopment Agency provide the historical context for existing communication channels between government and Eastside resident groups such as EGDC. Primary sources reveal resident and government actors' opinions of redevelopment efforts and interactions between the two parties. This chapter draws from plans, newspaper articles, and interviews with primary actors to illustrate the overlapping, and sometimes conflicting, efforts and definitions that have either enhanced or hindered redevelopment efforts in Eastside. Before government-led plans are discussed, a broad overview of the historical development of Eastside is provided.

### **Eastside's Development: A Broad Overview**

Eastside provides an ideal case study to examine the role of social capital partnerships in distressed community revitalization efforts due to its long-term lack of investment, current focus as an area for Gainesville development and high level of social cohesion. Gainesville, Florida is located in the north central region of the state. The town is well-known for being the home to the University of Florida which was founded and opened for registration in Gainesville in 1906. Long-term planning issues within the town center on the conflict between the University of Florida's growth and resident attitudes towards student-focused development. The area has also maintained a commitment to conservation including the preservation of Payne's Prairie on the south boundary of Gainesville and Devil's Millhopper located near northwest Gainesville. The city maintained a rural character until the post World War II development boom. For example,

between 1948 and 1974 the University of Florida's student enrollment increased by 23,000 students (University of Florida, 2008). The increase in the area's population caused the city to develop and adopt its first comprehensive plan in 1980. However, the passage of the Florida Growth Management Act of 1985 caused Gainesville to re-tool the city's plan to comply with the state's new standards. The first comprehensive plan in compliance with the 1985 act was adopted in 1991 (City of Gainesville Comprehensive Planning Department, 2008). While the western side of Gainesville experienced exponential growth, East Gainesville experienced no new construction between 1970 and 2001 (Dix, 2008).

At a community meeting in March 2008, Ed Dix, an Eastside resident indicated an overview of business development told the story of the area "Today, there is only one grocery store, seven liquor stores, three graveyards, and zero banks in East Gainesville. The area has not experienced development progress in decades" (Dix, 2008). Eastside's history is similar to many other distressed neighborhoods that were negatively affected by institutional racism practices of the early- to mid-20<sup>th</sup> century. Prior to 1960, East Gainesville's position abutting the western edge of downtown resulted in a thriving business and social community that was considered a portion of the city's commercial center. The construction of Interstate 75 during the 1960s encouraged growth west of downtown and the University of Florida. Over time, investment in Eastside declined while abandoned buildings and foreclosed neighborhood businesses became more numerous (City of Gainesville Economic Development Department et al., 1997, p. 1; Renaissance Planning et al., 2003, p. 2). Westward development continued and included large shopping centers, single family and student housing, and services that drew residents away from Eastside. East Gainesville's population includes the largest concentration of minorities (African-Americans) in the metropolitan area. Disinvestment led to increases in the number of low-

income residents and in crime, producing a perception of the community as “unwanted” or “undesirable.” The perception was exacerbated as long-term residents began to move out of the area once they reached higher salary levels. Despite Eastside’s struggles, the area continued to maintain a high level of resident interaction, primarily through symbolic interactionism relationships such as church group involvement, which aids the researcher in identifying existing social capital networks (City of Gainesville Economic Development Department et al., 1997). Continued advocacy from residents combined with unsustainable overdevelopment to the west caused government officials to refocus development visions eastward.

### **Community Approach: East Gainesville Development Action Plan (EGDAP) and Creation of EGDC in November 1997**

The EGDAP rejuvenated redevelopment efforts in Eastside. The project began as a joint venture between the city and the Gainesville Chamber of Commerce to identify ways to encourage investment in Eastside (Figure 4-1 indicates EGDAP’s area boundary). After a meeting with residents on February 4, 1997, the plan quickly transformed into the creation of a community-led document that identified, researched, and analyzed solutions for the existing problems in Eastside. Since the city approached Eastside residents to participate in the plan, its findings addressed all existing development east of Main Street that lay within the city’s boundary. A task force made up of residents was formed that included eight subcommittees: Market Analysis and Data, Land Use and Map Creation, Education and Employment, Marketing and Public Relations, Financing and Investor Identification, Mission Statement, Neighborhood Development, and Barriers to Overcome. After six months of bi-weekly meetings, the East Gainesville Development Task Force (EGDTF), with the aid of the city’s economic development department, produced an Action Plan for Eastside. As part of the action plan, the task force proposed that the resident-led group become responsible for the implementation of the action

plan. The task force chose to become a non-profit agency (renamed East Gainesville Development Corporation) to take charge of implementation and collaborate with partners in order to accomplish the plan's goals and mission statement:

The Eastside of Gainesville will become a thriving business, residential and cultural center that serves its communities by providing goods and services to its residents, increasing business startups and expansions and broadening employment opportunities which will improve overall quality of life (City of Gainesville Economic Development Department et al., 1997, Executive Summary).

The city agreed to provide financial support for EGDC for five years, after which the group hoped to become financially independent.<sup>1</sup> A review of the findings of EGDAP suggests residents' primary concerns in 1997 were economic development and neighborhood pride.

### **The EGDAP Findings**

The EGDTF, along with the Chamber of Commerce and Gainesville Economic Development Department, focused on six areas of concern: Business Expansion, Retention and Attraction, Education and Employment, Neighborhood Improvement and New Development, Marketing and Public Relations, Government Services, and Tourism Development. Table 4-1 provides a broad overview of the plan's primary actors, goals, geographic area focus, areas of concern, identified problems, proposed solutions and plan outcomes (similar tables will be provided for each plan discussed in this chapter). The EGDAP organizers attempted to involve residents in identifying their neighborhood's problems and propose solutions that could be easily achieved.

Residents identified three main problems within Eastside: (1) negative perception of the area, (2) rundown neighborhoods, and (3) lack of business investment. In order to address these issues, participants proposed developing Neighborhood Associations to "empower people to take

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<sup>1</sup> EGDC and its efforts to revitalize Eastside are further discussed in Chapter 5.

ownership of their community.”<sup>2</sup> Associations would organize clean-ups, provide a sense of cohesion, and afford a sense of place to the community. Six years later another Eastside plan, Plan East Gainesville (PEG), would identify eight neighborhood associations formed out of the EGDAP (Renaissance Planning et al., 2003, p. 11; Figure 4-2 illustrates existing neighborhood association locations). One neighborhood association, Lincoln Estates, was featured in *Southern Living* magazine for its successful beautification programs in April 2007 (Tinker, 2007f).

Another success of EGDAP was the Duval Neighborhood Association. As part of its Neighborhood Action Plan, Duval became a part of the State of Florida’s Front Porch Florida program which began in 1999. In 2005, the Northeast Gainesville/Duval Area Front Porch Initiative partnered with the city and the Black on Black Crime Force (a local crime watch group) to construct a building for Reichart House, an Eastside youth program that houses at-risk children and teens to steer them away from crime and towards education (Florida Department of Corrections, 2008). Other solutions included a public relations campaign that the “Sun Always Rises in East Gainesville,” methods to attract businesses, and provision of vocational education to residents. The innovative and community-led action items outlined in EGDAP required continued participation and decision-making control from Eastside residents.

Execution of the plan was assigned to the EGDTF, later EGDC, “to focus the activities of all different organizations which have [the] ability to make improvements in Eastside...working together in public/private partnerships through the creation of new alliances allows sharing of responsibilities and pooling of scarce resources” (City of Gainesville Economic Development Department et al., 1997, 3.01). Attention to public involvement and collaboration sparked a resurgence of government interest in Eastside’s redevelopment.

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<sup>2</sup> Interview with Scherwin Henry, participant in EGDAP, charter member of EGDC, and present County Commissioner for District 1 (East Gainesville) on January 24<sup>th</sup> 2008.

### **Practical Improvements: 2001 CRA East Gainesville Redevelopment Plan (EGRP)**

As a result of the EGDAP, the City of Gainesville began the process of creating an East Gainesville Community Redevelopment District that would be managed by the city's Community Redevelopment Agency (CRA). CRAs are funded through tax-increment financing (TIF) in order to reformatify the CRA district's tax base through capital improvement projects and private sector investment (Gainesville Community Redevelopment Agency, 2001, p. 35). The Gainesville CRA used the EGDAP boundaries to identify a section within the Eastside area that exhibited the largest amount of blight. The section found to have the most significant concentration of blight was located in southeast Gainesville. Table 4-2 displays an overview of the city's East Gainesville Redevelopment Plan. The EGRP used findings from a 2000 needs study and area social conditions based on 1990 census data to establish recommendations for Eastside project priorities. The findings suggested that out of the 720 acres comprising 1,600 households (about 4,000 people) included in the CRA district, 30 parcels had petroleum contamination, 30 percent of the homes were in poor condition, 33 percent of lots were vacant and used as dumps, and 40 structures were candidates for demolition (Gainesville Community Redevelopment Agency, 2001, p.6; Figure 4-3 illustrates Eastside CRA area boundaries). Despite the existing poor physical conditions, the high levels of community interest, support from leaders and officials, as well as development opportunities illustrated Eastside's development potential.

The CRA plan prioritized its projects by focusing on infrastructure and street improvements first, increasing housing quality second, and providing parks and commercial services third. Records indicate that members of EGDC did attend public meetings for the design of the CRA plan, but evidence of any additional involvement is unclear (Gainesville Community Redevelopment Agency, 2001, p. 53). The CRA district presently hosts an Eastside

Advisory Board consisting of neighborhood residents who participate in project development and implementation. The Eastside CRA district quickly began to be a center for change in the community.

### **East Gainesville CRA Projects: Cultivating Unity and Cultural Identity**

Projects within the Eastside CRA district also attempted to reclaim historical sites that had been abandoned to unify the community's sense of place and provide necessary services. A major project being funded by the CRA is the renovation of the Cotton Club, a historically black music hall and theater that hosted B.B. King and James Brown (Figure 4-4). The Cotton Club is located near the western boundary of the Eastside CRA, but represents a landmark that reflects the community's Black identity. The CRA augmented the \$350,000 provided by the Historic Preservation Board and invited University of Florida architecture students to develop a design for the building (Tinker 2005; 2006d). While the cost of the renovation will total \$1.8 to 2 million, the project is expected to be completed as a cultural destination by 2010 (Tinker 2007e). The CRA projects are aimed at unifying the community through the construction of gateways into the neighborhood that welcome visitors and residents. One gateway is located at the corner of East University Avenue and Hawthorne Road that will feature concentric steps with planted trees (Adelson 2007f; Figure 4-5). The CRA plans to continue gateway projects to create a welcoming atmosphere as well as building beautification grants to fix facades in disrepair (Tinker, 2007a). The combined formation of the EGDC and Eastside CRA district opened the door for a major master plan for East Gainesville.

### **A Regional Approach: 2003 Plan East Gainesville (PEG)**

Six years after the EGDAP, a coalition of government and resident groups took a year to develop a master plan for Eastside's future development. The plan addressed both city and county owned lands considered to be within the region of Eastside (Figure 4-6). Since the plan

covered a regional (city and county area), both the City of Gainesville and Alachua County chose to use the Metropolitan Transportation Planning Organization (MTPO), housed in the North Central Florida Regional Planning Council (NCFRPC), as the agency to conduct the study due to its responsibility for coordinating Gainesville-Alachua County transportation development.<sup>3</sup> As such, the geographic boundary of the PEG area includes some portions west of Main Street as part of the transportation plan for Eastside. The boundary was extended to the west to allow for increased traffic interconnectivity between the east and west sides of Gainesville-Alachua County region. Table 4-3 provides a list of the primary actors, problems, and solutions proposed by Plan East Gainesville. Figure 4-7 provides an illustration of the PEG vision. According to Scott Koons, the acting Executive Director of the NCFRPC, who was involved with the development of PEG plan, the study was a positive experience and included no inter-jurisdictional disputes between Gainesville and Alachua County (Koons, 2008). After garnering resident input from design charettes, planners developed a mission statement that included what residents desired from city and county governments:

...[residents ask government to make] a commitment to East Gainesville, and do so in a way that provides a catalyst to propel it in a direction towards sustained revitalization—with expanded options for commerce, housing, transportation, and preserves its unique natural character (Renaissance Planning et al., 2003, p. ii).

The PEG provided a technical plan that incorporated environmental conditions into future land use, conservation, transportation, and implementation programs.

Similar to previous plans, PEG identified major problems in the Eastside area as negative perceptions, lack of investment, and deteriorating infrastructure (roads, utilities, sidewalks, homes). Crime was considered a major cause of the negative perceptions of Eastside since the area accounted for “40% of reported crime in the city, but only 20% of the population”

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<sup>3</sup> The MTPO hired a consultant, Renaissance Planning, to do the actual study.

(Renaissance Planning et al., 2003, p. 7). Yet, Plan East Gainesville referenced the testimony of Sergeant Ash of the Gainesville Police Department in the 1997 EGDAP Plan when he argued that only a marginal difference existed between crime rates in the east and west sides of the city. PEG participants argued “the good news is that the problem of perception may be larger than the actual crime problem” (Renaissance Planning et al., 2003, p. 8).

Economic development continued to be a major concern for residents who wanted higher paying jobs within the Eastside area, since data suggested that workers reaching their peak earning years tended to leave Eastside for better housing in other parts of the city (Renaissance Planning et al., 2003, p. 4). Improving transportation was a major concern of PEG planners considering the involvement of the Metropolitan Transportation Planning Organization. Business corridors located at Waldo Road and Hawthorne Road were proposed as strategic investments that could combine neighborhood development with infrastructure improvements (Figure 4-7). Among the technical plans proposed, PEG strove to solve a major conflict of interest between conservation and development.

### **Development vs. Conservation in Eastside**

Previous East Gainesville plans addressed areas within the city’s boundaries that were already developed. Plan East Gainesville adopted a regional approach that encompassed surrounding county lands into the Eastside master plan. As a result, officials, planners and participants were forced to confront the greater Eastside area’s sensitive and strategic wildlife areas and conservation parks. The PEG geographic definition of east Gainesville illustrates the community’s development limitations as both the east and south boundaries are wildlife conservation areas (Table 4-3 and Figure 4-6). The struggle to balance development and conservation is outlined in the Executive Summary of PEG (Renaissance Planning et al., 2003):

The challenge in the Plan East Gainesville process is to create a framework that balances potentially competing desires for expanded economic, commercial and residential growth with a preference of many in the area for preservation of the natural environment and maintenance of the “peaceful” qualities that make East Gainesville unique (p. i).

The proposed greenways outlined in PEG offered a means to preserve natural resources while also allowing compact, mixed-use development (Figure 4-7). While proposed development projects were similar to previous plans in terms of housing rehabilitation and infrastructure maintenance, PEG also outlined a Special Area Plan that designated key focus areas for development. Hawthorne Road, Waldo Road, and the existing Alachua County Fairgrounds were identified as strategic investment sites. For example, a proposed use for the fairgrounds included an employment center and the main offices for Gainesville Regional Utilities, which would be relocated from downtown. The fairgrounds’ location near Gainesville Regional Airport was argued to be a suitable site for business development (Renaissance Planning et al., 2003, p. 101; Figure 4-4). As the city and county moved forward with the Special Area Plan, the supposed balance outlined in PEG between conservation and development became contested.

### **Current Dilemmas of PEG: Wal-Mart, Hatchett Creek, and Activity Centers**

Since PEG’s adoption in February 2003, the plan has become the primary focus of government development efforts in East Gainesville, particularly within Alachua County. In 2005, news articles contended the plan was “still going strong according to politicians, developers, and neighborhood advocates” (Adelson, 2005a). PEG was integrated into both the city and county’s comprehensive plans, but PEG architect and County Commissioner Rodney Long noted that government-university-community partnerships were still being formed:

We’re getting there. I think communication is the most important thing. We need to all get on the same page with a vision. Plan East Gainesville could be the genesis for that vision. We need to start implementing it. The pieces are there, but everybody’s got to see the same vision (Tinker, 2006a).

Implementation of PEG has gone forward to include controversial development decisions including the approval of a private-sector initiated Wal-Mart Supercenter, tabling of a private-sector initiated high-end residential development and progress towards a dense development plan for a previously low-density residential area proposed by the County Commission.

### **Wal-Mart: A catalyst for community empowerment-driven growth?**

In October 2005, Wal-Mart announced a 204,000 square foot supercenter would be built at the corner of Waldo Road and NE 12<sup>th</sup> Avenue. Currently, this site is part of both the PEG and Eastside CRA boundary areas (Figure 4-4). The proposal was viewed by city and county government as a “watershed event” and “first step toward Eastside growth” (Adelson, 2005b). One year later, Commissioner Long would state the siting of Wal-Mart in February 2007 as the biggest success of PEG thus far (Adelson 2007a; Tinker 2006b). Amidst the economic benefits argued by government officials, residents and planners continue to question the catalyst-effect that Wal-Mart will produce once it opens in May 2008.

Citizens attending a November 2005 public meeting at Bartley Temple United Methodist Church presented concerns regarding crime, lighting and noise that could be associated with Wal-Mart. In response, Commissioner Long stated:

We need to address East Gainesville development. We need to make sure we develop housing for ownership, not renting. You knew Cedar Grove II [a residential development] commercial property was coming and we need to get beyond the point of, “We don’t want it [Wal-Mart]” (Southern, 2005).<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Cedar Grove II is a housing development in the Duval Neighborhood Association area that includes 131 affordable housing units (with front porches and recessed garages) to provide affordable housing and a sense of place to Eastside. The project received Community Development Block Grant, a Special Purpose Grant from the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, and other grants for its completion (City of Gainesville Community Development Department Block Grant Division, September 1998, p. 1). The Wal-Mart supercenter is located near the Cedar Grove II development with the intent to provide employment and commercial and retail services to the neighborhood.

Resident apprehensions echo the argument of some urban planners who suggest the economic stimulus opportunities of “big box” retail (i.e., Wal-Mart) are overestimated. In a proposal for a comprehensive amendment to Alachua County’s comprehensive plan, Gene Boles, a planning consultant argued:

This analysis [of the effects of big box retail] recognizes that chain retail and large scale retail has a place in Alachua County, but that the increasing dominance of chain retail and the emergence of the “superstore” model in particular present challenges to Alachua County both in terms of community character and fiscal integrity. While large scale retail may offer low prices and a variety of consumer choice, the accompanying effects on the local economy, the fiscal health of local governments, affordable housing, poverty levels, and travel patterns may create impacts that cannot be effectively addressed under existing planning, regulatory and fiscal policy (Boles, 2005, p. 32) .

In addition, Wal-Mart announced, in October 2007, its intent to build a second supercenter in the northwest section of Gainesville which could displace possible investment in the Eastside community (Adelson, 2007d). Actions of the Board of Commissioners since the Wal-Mart proposal suggest that allegiance remains with the residents rather than big business. In November 2006, the County Board of Commissioners rejected a contract from a private developer to buy Candlelight Mobile Home Park (located across from the Eastside Wal-Mart Supercenter site) with the intent to develop a commercial strip-mall. The commission’s rejection was based on resident testimony that the mobile home park provided affordable housing that was desperately needed in the area. Meanwhile, the controversy over Eastside development led to another debate over the balance of conservation and development.

### **Hatchet Creek: conservation-development imbalance**

In 2007, after the Wal-Mart siting had been accomplished, the Gainesville City Commission faced another Eastside development controversy. A developer proposed constructing high quality, senior housing within an existing golf-course residential development (called Ironwood) in East Gainesville. Review of the site development plan indicated a large

portion of the construction would occur in a critical wildlife area located adjacent to the Gainesville Regional Airport (Figure 4-4). The project required both a land use and zoning change from the city. In an effort to gain community support, the developer hired influential Eastside community leaders to promote the Hatchet Creek proposed development as “saving East Gainesville” by being integral to the area’s redevelopment. Both the developer and community leaders hosted social events for the community to gain resident support. The campaign worked and caused Eastside residents to view Hatchet Creek as a landmark development critical to the success of the community.

In public hearings, city planners and commissioners questioned the proposal due to the developer’s lack of engineering plans, issues related to mitigation for critical wildlife area development, and the conflict the proposed development had with the future plans for the Gainesville Regional Airport. Eastside residents interpreted the city’s response to the proposed development as hedging in an effort to negate high quality development in their neighborhood based on the area’s minority-majority demographics. At one point, Mayor Hanrahan asked all citizens who provided testimonies at hearings to state if they were being paid by the developer before speaking—causing many community leaders to desist in their promotion of the development.<sup>5</sup> Discussions became so heated that government actors were immersed in the minutia of the proposal in order to serve the interests of conservationists (against the development), the airport (against the development), and Eastside residents (for the development).

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<sup>5</sup> The previous information was provided by City Planning Board member, Robert Cohen, in a public meeting on mediation in planning. Cohen described the stakeholders and conflict that arose in the Hatchet Creek proposal. After the planning board made its decision, Cohen met with District 1 (Eastside) City Commissioner Scherwin Henry and together they separated the positions and needs of each stakeholder (developer, Eastside, Gainesville Regional Airport, and conservationists) and found that the problem most likely could have been mediated to come to a consensus for development, of some sort, on the site.

Months of presentations from city planners and the developer resulted in the commission approving the site plan provided the developer met 36 conditions associated with preparing the site for construction and the actual construction process. The city approved the development of 300 residentially-zoned acres to include 1,199 homes, an assisted living facility, and up to 200,000 square feet of commercial and office space (Adelson, 2007c).<sup>6</sup> In response, the developer warned that the project could be scrapped due to the amount of money it would cost to address the city's conditions. Eastside residents were upset that a project promising to bring higher quality housing would not move forward. City Commissioner Jack Donovan commented on resident qualms stating "Plan East Gainesville says specifically that no one project will turn East Gainesville into a prosperous place" (Adelson, 2007c).

The controversy of the Hatchet Creek proposal, however, did not go unnoticed by Alachua County officials as representing a barrier to the successful implementation of PEG. Commissioner Long referred to the debate between conservationists and developers that resulted in the 36 conditions that halted development in Hatchet Creek at a public meeting on the balance of greenways and mixed land use designations in Eastside on January 24, 2008 stating:

We have a conflict between competing interests in the strategic ecosystem [in Eastside] and of Plan East Gainesville. We don't want to get stuck without development because of the conflict. We need to fix policy with people to see how we can accommodate development and conservation (Alachua County Commission Meeting, 2008).

The balance of conservation and development remains an issue in all Eastside development proposals, particularly when including portions of the county.

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<sup>6</sup> In an interview in January 2008 a leader of an Eastside community group stated that insiders on the City Commission were skeptical of the development and the developer was suspected of never intending to follow through on the development. Specifically, they believed that he proposed to change the land use and zoning for the parcels in order to sell the land at a higher price and never intended to actually follow through on the development.

### **Eastside activity center: PEG follows through**

The adopted 2003 Plan East Gainesville document recommends creating activity centers throughout Eastside that combine employment, retail and commercial services, and recreation. One site suggested for an activity center was a 312-acre area at the intersection of Hawthorne Road and SE 43<sup>rd</sup> Street (Gainesville Planning Department, 2008, p. 1; Figure 4-4). An update to the Eastside Activity Master Land Use Plan (a part of PEG) was presented at a January 2008 County Commission meeting. The proposed land uses included high density employment, residential, mixed-use, and open spaces surrounding Eastside High School. County Commissioners, particularly Commissioner Long, stressed that the plan should be consistent with PEG as well as conform to City of Gainesville land use designations so that “When the land is annexed into the city and may become a part of the CRA [district], it is in compliance” (Alachua County Commission Meeting, 2008).

The commission’s focus on promoting density in this area was protested by some residents. For example, Jim Stringfellow, a longtime resident, argued that the area has always been residential “as it should be around a high school” and beseeched the commission to “think about the history [of the neighborhood]. The property is not ready for what we’re [the county] is putting down [proposing] today” (Stringfellow at Alachua County Commission Meeting, 2008). At the conclusion of the meeting the commission passed an employment-based mixed-use version of the master plan that would “provide more flexibility” for future development (Alachua County Commission Meeting, 2008). The county government’s position to promote more dense development while preserving strips of greenway create a source of conflict between residents who were not ready for development and officials focused on increasing investment in the area. Similar to PEG, a market-based CRA plan also attempts to provide economic development as well as promote a better quality of life.

### **A Targeted Approach: 2007 Southeast Gainesville Renaissance Initiative (SEGRI)**

Under the leadership of a new director as of September 2006, the Gainesville CRA commissioned a private planning firm to produce a market-driven plan for site-specific redevelopment potential in Southeast Gainesville. Southeast Gainesville covers roughly 1,000 acres and 3,800 households with low population density that consists largely of African-Americans (WilsonMiller, Inc. et al., 2007, p. 9). The neighborhood is described as well positioned between the University of Florida, Gainesville Regional Airport, and downtown Gainesville (Figure 4-5 and 4-8). The boundaries of the SEGRI plan were drawn to focus on the largest concentration of poverty and lack of investment in the existing CRA district.

Findings suggest six sites are appropriate for development. A drugstore and health stores are proposed for the first site located on Williston Road near a Rails-to-Trails greenway. The second site is considered ideal for a mixed-use community with roughly 175 townhome and single family units (WilsonMiller, Inc. et al., 2007). The third parcel comprises the location of the now-demolished government assisted Kennedy Homes, which the City of Gainesville recently purchased for \$1.95 million. City officials expected “that buying the property [will] allow them to turn what has been a symbol of neglect on the east side into the center of its rebirth” (Adelson, 2007b). The SEGRI proposes the site be developed into 100 homeownership units priced at various levels. Sites 4 and 5 are combined in a marketing package for a medical village that would stimulate the Eastside economy and provide health care. The last proposed site, located on Hawthorne Road, involves the recommended redevelopment of an existing gas station into a retail destination (WilsonMiller, Inc et al., 2007, p. 29-33; Figure 4-5). Together, the proposed developments mirror the development vision proposed in PEG of higher density mixed-use activity centers.

The SEGRI promotes strategic aesthetic improvements to facilitate the area's sense of place. Southeast Hawthorne Road, Southeast Williston Road, and SE 15<sup>th</sup> Street are each identified as areas for streetscaping projects. Gateways are proposed for the existing four major neighborhoods (Lincoln Heights, Sugarhill, Springhill, and Lincoln Estates) to unify the area (WilsonMiller, Inc et al., 2007, p. 41; Figure 4-5). The combined visual and economic stimulus projects in SEGRI drew partly from several community meetings that focused on eliciting the community's vision for the area.

Public participation in the SEGRI Plan included a public meeting, charette and master plan open house. In June 2007, SEGRI was described as a plan focused on "how to get investment in the area in two years" and garnered positive responses from residents. Vera McCloud, a resident of Norwood Heights who proclaimed "We've been seeing changes around us for so long. Now it's finally our turn" (Adelson, 2007e). The design charette hosted 100 participants as well as a large number at the master plan open house at Lincoln Middle School in the Southeast neighborhood. There, Kali Blount, a community activist, voiced "There is a balance between what the residents of the neighborhood want and desire and what the developers desire" indicating that SEGRI has perhaps reached that balance (Tinker, 2007b). Currently, the CRA is moving forward with the plans to develop the identified six sites. A comparison of the four plans proposed over the past ten years displays areas where residents and community groups may have become confused in their dialogue with government and their visions for Eastside.

### **Evaluation of Ten Years of Eastside Planning and Visioning**

The planning strategies outlined by residents in the EGDAP provided the foundation for re-energized government planning in Eastside suggesting that resident involvement is the key to engendering revitalization. Each plan, whether proposed by residents, a particular government agency, or a coalition, focused on providing economic development coupled with residential

improvements in order to reframe perceptions of Eastside. The issues of different perceptions of the area are apparent when the plans are compared and evaluated. Boundary differences and expectations for the development such as higher density mixed-use development versus conservation of residential and natural spaces create confusion concerning the future vision of Eastside. Disparities between the visions of government agencies also confuse residents and community groups concerning what plans will actually be implemented in their neighborhood. The end result caused misunderstanding and tension in Eastside resident-government interactions.

### **Broad Comparisons: Geography, Problems and Solutions**

In order to interact effectively and develop consensus, all stakeholders at the table must be able to understand basic definitions of place, concerns and existing proposed solutions to those concerns. The four plans were compared based on their geographic definition of East Gainesville, identification of major problems and recommendations for action plan items (Table 4-5). Plans that address different sections of the Eastside area while focusing on similar problems and solutions can cause confusion when residents and community groups come to “sit at the table.”

The definition of East Gainesville is considered both consistent and ever changing. Each plan addressing the area provides a basic definition of “east of Main Street” but displays differences in their southern, northern, and eastern borders (Figure 4-9). The 2001 CRA and 2007 SEGRI plans largely follow the broad definition of “east of Main Street.” However, the City Commission is now surveying neighboring areas to be annexed in the Eastside CRA.<sup>7</sup> Major differences exist between the EGDAP and PEG plans. The EDGAP focused on the area

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<sup>7</sup> The CRA expansion requires a survey to be conducted that positively identifies “blight” within the area. The “blight” survey is being conducted in 2008 (Lyons, 2008).

east of Main Street, but within the city lines. Since the plan involved a coalition of interested parties including Alachua County government, PEG adopts a regional perspective of East Gainesville that stretches the boundaries of the community east of Main Street to Newnan Lake, north to the airport, and south to Payne's Prairie. The City Commissioner for District 1, which comprises East Gainesville, who is also a former chairman of EGDC, states that "spatial confusion" can occur when discussing Eastside plans since "some people think of East Gainesville as east of Waldo Road, or east of Main Street, some people are even trying to move the western boundary all the way up to 13<sup>th</sup> Street to include downtown Gainesville" (Henry, 2008a). While there are a variety of answers to the question "Where is East Gainesville?" consistent problems have continued to plague the community over the past ten years.

Existing Eastside weaknesses identified in each plan typically reference the same issues of low-income, deteriorated neighborhoods and infrastructure that lacks economic investment resulting in a stigma attached to the community. Negative perceptions of Eastside are mentioned in every plan except for the 2007 SEGRI plan that focused on the positive aspects of southeast Gainesville for marketing purposes. The consistency of this stigma over ten years of planning, visioning and project implementation for Eastside suggests that planning can only take a community so far. Communication between residents and government must go beyond superficial problems such as negative perceptions of Eastside to identify underlying issues that maintain current perceptions. In fact, some consider the issue of perception a scapegoat shifting attention away from structural barriers that impede revitalization. According to the current CRA Director, Anthony Lyons "perception has nothing to do with it [existing problems in Eastside]" (Lyons, 2008). Poor street interconnectivity and lack of economic investment is also consistently identified as a problem. Commissioner Henry argues that interconnectivity is in the

eyes of the beholder “Some people [in newer, Westside suburban developments] don’t even see their neighbors, I [live in Eastside] and know everybody on my street. Social interconnectivity is important” (Henry, 2008a). Despite a vague, broad consensus regarding the major problems in Eastside, primary actors in the area’s redevelopment continue to hold distinctive independent assessments on solutions for these problems.

Ten years of planning have progressed, and the results are just beginning to be realized in the form of a new Wal-Mart, beautification programs, resident associations, as well as site-specific and infill development. For example, private developer Ed Dix has built new homes in the area that rival houses on the west side of the city (Tinker, 2007g). Simple problems present simple solutions such as producing higher quality housing, encouraging white-collar employment, increasing vocational education opportunities, and providing a greater variety of retail and commercial services. Each of the plans is in general agreement regarding conditions typical of inner city decay, but propose different tactics to develop Eastside.

Revitalization strategies are being employed, yet the goals these strategies are trying to realize continue to be inconsistent with resident and government attitudes. Each plan’s solution to the negative perception of Eastside is different: EGDAP’s Public Relations Campaign, CRA’s Develop Community Identity solution, PEG’s Balanced Plan (between conservation and development) solution, and SEGRI’s Capture New Residents Focus demonstrate disparate solutions that may or may not work in tandem with one another. Problems that are specific to Eastside, its residents, and their interaction with outside visitors or government agencies produce solutions that lack a unified vision.

### **Evaluation of Eastside Plans 1997-2007: Comprehensive, Collaborative, Implemented?**

Community redevelopment plans aim to identify the source of community needs, propose solutions to meet those needs, and provide the framework to implement the proposed solutions.

In the case of Eastside, community needs can be divided into three broad categories: existing social conditions (including demographics, neighborhood quality, and infrastructure), transportation (multi-modal, interconnectivity), and economic development (retail and commercial services, employment). A plan is considered comprehensive if it addresses each of these issues in detail. Redevelopment plans should be participatory and collaborative in identifying problems and solutions. Implementation of the plan should include residents to promote community empowerment and achievable goals. Each plan was evaluated based on the three categories (comprehensive, collaborative, and implementation) described above to determine the plan's overall efficacy (Table 4-6).

Comprehensive planning is integral to the success of a plan. All factors related to a proposal should be considered before a final action item is decided. In general, each of the four plans attempted to be comprehensive by at least addressing the three major planning issues in Eastside. PEG provides the most complete comprehensive plan due to its incorporation of land-use, conservation, transportation, and economic development foci. EDGAP provides a strong comprehensive perspective as the plan's framers intended to exhaust the problems residents acknowledged within the community. The CRA's 2001 redevelopment plan provides a broad overview of existing social conditions and transportation, but centers primarily on economic development. SEGRI follows suit addressing economic development as the plan's sole objective and providing social and transportation data for context analysis. Naturally, PEG, produced by a coalition of planning departments provides the most complete comprehensive plan, but it should be noted that the EDGAP identified similar community needs and solutions.

Public participation and collaboration in community redevelopment is integral to a plan's success. A community must "buy-in" to a plan of action in order for the proposed plan to ever

be implemented. As a community-led venture, EDGAP produced a document that gathered and analyzed resident concerns and proposed solutions. Due to its intent to establish an Eastside CRA district, the CRA's 2001 redevelopment plan does not include much public participation, but rather relied on EDGAP for resident input. In 2003, PEG invited public participation in the form of a three-day charette but primarily collaborated between planning departments and agencies. Finally, the CRA, along with WilsonMiller, Inc. (the private firm hired to complete the SEGRI market-driven study), held multiple public meetings and consulted the Eastside Redevelopment Agency Advisory Board throughout the plan's process to assure community needs were being met and understood. While each plan involved some form of public participation and collaboration, success varied when implementing the plans.

Successful long-term implementation of each plan relied largely on the availability of resources needed to carry out the plan's action items. The EDGAP resulted in the formation of EGDC, which will be discussed further in Chapter 5. After EGDC broke away from the city government, funding was not as readily available and hindered the organization's ability to communicate closely with the government for resources. Also, the non-profit group found gathering enough resources to fulfill the vast number of action items outlined in the plan difficult. While action items are currently being addressed ten years later, the plan is no longer the document EGDC references to guide what projects it chooses to implement. The CRA's 2001 Redevelopment Plan provided easily attainable goals to start an Eastside CRA district based on citizen and city approval. PEG was adopted as the local government's vision for Eastside and is continuing to be implemented in relation to Wal-Mart and other projects. Some residents remain skeptical arguing "I've watched Eastside since Plan East Gainesville was adopted and haven't seen much change. They [local government] can stick with Plan East

Gainesville, but if there is no momentum to implement it and there is too much bureaucracy, it's time to change" (Jones, 2008). Moreover, overarching responsibility regarding the implementation of PEG is unclear. There is no confirmed contact at the City, County or NCFRPC Planning Departments to assist Eastside residents if they have a question regarding PEG.<sup>8</sup> SEGRI is still a new plan, but is moving forward with site-specific development. Each plan provides a strong argument for redevelopment in East Gainesville, but none seem to have provided a unified "buy-in" of both residents, community groups and government officials needed to promote sustainable investment (resident and economic) and empowerment. Having an understanding of the opportunity (government) structure in Eastside through a review of adopted plans, the agency of Eastside community groups will be addressed in the following chapter. An analysis of communication between each stakeholder group, centering on the experience of EGDC, highlights appropriate methods to unite Eastside's revitalization.

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<sup>8</sup> The information was confirmed after the researcher contacted the City of Gainesville Planning Department asking who an Eastside resident should contact if they had questions or concerns with PEG. The City referred the researcher to the CRA who then referred the researcher back to the City Planning Department. After contacting the City Planning Department a second time, the researcher was referred to the North Central Florida Regional Planning Council (NCFRPC) where the Metropolitan Transportation Planning Organization is housed. The NCFRPC stated they were not the appropriate contact either. Thus, the overall responsibility regarding communication between residents and government actors regarding PEG is not defined. The effects of this lack of clear communication could be the primary reason for the negative attitudes held by some residents towards PEG and its implementation.

Table 4-1. The 1997 East Gainesville Development Task Force Action Plan

Primary Actors	City of Gainesville Economic Development Department Eastside Residents
Goal of the Plan East Gainesville Boundaries	Spark New Growth, Interest and Investment in East Gainesville East of Main Street and within City Lines
Methods	Subject Area Committee Brainstorming Demographic Information
Areas of Concern	Business Expansion Education and Employment Neighborhood Improvement Marketing and Public Relations Government Services Tourism Development
Identified Existing Problems	Lack of Business Development Poor Code Enforcement Ineffective Interaction with City Government Lack of Road Interconnectivity Rundown State of Neighborhood (Abandoned Buildings/Trash) Negative Perception of Eastside as Unsafe, Less Desirable Area
Proposed Solutions	Ensure Business Viability Increase Skill Level of Workforce Stabilize and Enhance Existing Neighborhoods Improve Eastside's Image and Public Perception Improve Government Services to Eastside Enhance Existing Tourist Destinations and Attract New Facilities
Outcome	Formation of East Gainesville Development Task Force to Execute Action Plan

(City of Gainesville Economic Development Department et al., 1997).

Table 4-2. The 2001 East Gainesville Redevelopment Plan (EGRP)

Criteria	EGRP
Primary Actors	City of Gainesville Community Redevelopment Agency Eastside Residents (Included in Design Charettes)
Goal of the Plan	Present a Coalesced Set of Strategies to Improve the East Gainesville Area and Adjacent Lands
East Gainesville Boundaries	East Gainesville Redevelopment District East of Main Street
Methods	Review of Previous Plans Examination of 1990 Census Data Needs Study, December 2000
Areas of Concern	Overall Assets and Constraints Physical Condition Transportation Utility Infrastructure
Identified Existing Problems	Lack of Investment Deteriorating Physical Conditions of Buildings and Lots Lack of Interconnectivity
Proposed Solutions	Increase Inventory of Non-Residential Land Use Encourage Evolution of Employment Opportunities Increase Housing Quality Replace Aging Utility and Infrastructure Facilities Eliminate Street Grid Gaps and Improve Streets Improve Community Identity
Outcome	Established the East Gainesville CRA District

(Gainesville Community Redevelopment Agency, 2001).

Table 4-3. The 2003 Plan East Gainesville (PEG)

Criteria	PEG
Primary Actors	Coalition of: Alachua County City of Gainesville Florida Department of Transportation Gainesville Regional Utilities Gainesville Urbanized Area Metropolitan Transportation Planning Organization (MTPO) Eastside Residents (3-Day Charette Open to Residents and Interviews with Neighborhood Association Leaders)
Goal of the Plan	Creating a Framework to Balances Potentially Competing Desires for Expanded Economic, Commercial and Residential Growth and Preservation of Environmentally Sensitive Areas
East Gainesville Boundaries	North Boundary: Airport East Boundary: Newnan's Lake South Boundary: Payne's Prairie West Boundary: Downtown Gainesville
Methods	Census Data (1990 and 2000) MTPO Employment Projections Previous Plans Annual Crime Reports Interviews with Officials (Police force) Land Use Data Inventory of Neighborhood Associations Evaluation of Major Traffic Corridors, Public Transportation, and Alternative Modes of Transportation Facilities
Areas of Concern	Transportation Special Area Plan Land Conservation
Identified Existing Problems	Negative Perceptions (High Crime, Poor Schools, Poverty, Unclean) Lack of Investment Lack of Higher Quality Housing Lack of Multimodal Interconnectivity Conflict Between Development and Environmental Conservation
Proposed Solutions	Encourage Development of Compact, Walkable Mixed-Use Centers Propose Special Area Plan to Implement Plan Vision Protect Natural Resources via Greenways Develop Road Interconnectivity and Multimodal Trails
Outcomes	Current Government Focus for Planning in East Gainesville Adopted into City of Gainesville and Alachua County Comprehensive Plans Eastside Activity Center Master Plan as Part of PEG Updated in Early 2008

(Renaissance Planning et al., 2003).

Table 4-4. The 2007 Southeast Gainesville Renaissance Initiative (SEGRI)

Criteria	SEGRI
Primary Actors	City of Gainesville Community Redevelopment Agency (CRA) Southeast Gainesville Residents (Shopper Survey and Charettes)
Goal of the Plan	Provide a Real-Estate and Market-Economics Driven Plan, Focused on Site-Specific Redevelopment Potential in SEGRI Area.
East Gainesville Boundaries	Focus of Plan is Southeast Gainesville Largely in Eastside CRA and Expansion Areas
Methods	Market Analysis Site/Property Analysis Demographic Analysis SWOT Analysis (Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, and Threats) Area Parcel Data Primary Data Analysis
Areas of Concern	Focus Site Selection Provision of Higher Paying Jobs Provision of Retail and Services Development of Higher Quality Housing and Mixed-Use Development
Identified Existing Problems	Large Population on Public Assistance Programs Lack of Offices Lack of Private Investment Failure to Capture New Residents
Proposed Solutions	Development or Redevelopment of 6 Sites into: Convenience/Drug Store and Shop development Mixed-Use Community Mixed-Income Community Medical Office and Research Lab Existing Gas Station to Community-Scale Retail
Outcomes	CRA Currently Allocating Funds for Site Development Projects Special Area Plan for SEGRI Currently Moving Forward

(WilsonMiller, Inc. et al., 2007).

Table 4-5. The General Comparison of East Gainesville Plans 1997-2007

	Definition of Eastside	Major Problems Problems Identified	Recommendations
East Gainesville Development Action Plan (EGDAP)	Enterprise Zone: North Main Street Airport/Waldo Road Downtown/Central City	Negative Perception Dilapidated Neighborhoods Lack of Investment Infrastructure Maintenance	PR Campaign; Formation of Neighborhood Associations; Encourage Business Development; Work with Government to Provide Better Services
East Gainesville Redevelopment Plan (EGRP)	Area of CRA District: East of Gainesville's Downtown District	Negative Perception Dilapidated Neighborhoods Lack of Investment Lack of Interconnectivity	Improve Community Identity; Improve Housing Quality; Develop Business Opportunities; Improve Transportation
Plan East Gainesville (PEG)	North Boundary: Airport East Boundary: Newnan's Lake South Boundary: Payne's Prairie West Boundary: Downtown Gainesville	Development/Conservation Conflict Negative Perceptions Lack of Investment Lack of Interconnectivity	Create a balanced plan (Greenways); Develop Mixed-Use Walkable Centers; Implement Special Area Plan to attract Investment; Fill in Grid Gaps and Multimodal paths
Southeast Gainesville Renaissance Initiative (SEGRI)	Southeast Gainesville: Largely in Eastside CRA and Expansion Areas	Lack of Private Investment Failure to Capture New Residents	Market site-specific development opportunities; Provide higher paying jobs locally to retain and capture new residents

(City of Gainesville Economic Development Department et al., 1997; Gainesville Community Redevelopment Agency, 2001; Renaissance Planning et al., 2003; WilsonMiller, Inc. et al., 2007).

Table 4-6. The Evaluation of Eastside Plans from 1997 to 2007

	Existing Social Conditions	Transportation	Economic Development	Public Participation	Communication & Collaboration	Implementation
East Gainesville Development Action Plan (EGDAP)	<b>Very Good</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Addressed Current Concerns of Residents</li> </ul>	<b>Good</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Addressed Traffic as an Issue</li> </ul>	<b>Very Good</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Focus of Plan to Encourage Investment</li> </ul>	<b>Excellent</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Turned into a Citizen-Government Joint plan</li> </ul>	<b>Excellent</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Encouraged Communication within Community and with Government</li> </ul>	<b>Good at Beginning</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Catalyzed Eastside Regeneration</li> <li>Too Many Action Items to Implement</li> </ul>
East Gainesville Redevelopment Plan (EGRP)	<b>Good</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Identified Issues and Needs</li> </ul>	<b>Good</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Identified Issues and Needs</li> </ul>	<b>Very Good</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Developed Action Plan to Encourage Investment</li> </ul>	<b>Good</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Plan Reaction to Residents Desires</li> </ul>	<b>Adequate</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Needs Assessment Drawn from Census Data</li> </ul>	<b>Good</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Served as Basis for CRA Projects in Eastside</li> </ul>
Plan East Gainesville (PEG)	<b>Excellent</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Provided East Gainesville Profile as Context</li> </ul>	<b>Very Good</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Involvement of MTPPO</li> </ul>	<b>Very Good</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Special Area Plan Identified Areas for Development</li> </ul>	<b>Very Good</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Included Residents in Interviews and Charettes</li> </ul>	<b>Very Good</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Collaboration of Various Government Entities and Social Groups</li> </ul>	<b>Good</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Focus of Current Eastside Development</li> <li>Attempt to Balance Growth and Conservation Still a Barrier</li> </ul>
Southeast Gainesville Renaissance Initiative (SEGRI)	<b>Adequate</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Broad Overview as Social Aspect Not Focus of Plan</li> </ul>	<b>Adequate</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Provides Opportunities for Multimodal Improvements</li> </ul>	<b>Excellent</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Identifies Site-Specific Areas for Economic Stimulus</li> </ul>	<b>Very Good</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Included Residents in Interviews and Charettes</li> </ul>	<b>Good</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Worked with CRA and Community</li> <li>Received Approval from City Government.</li> </ul>	<b>Good</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Currently in Process of Implementation</li> </ul>

(City of Gainesville Economic Development Department et al., 1997; Gainesville Community Redevelopment Agency, 2001; Renaissance Planning et al., 2003; WilsonMiller, Inc. et al, 2007).

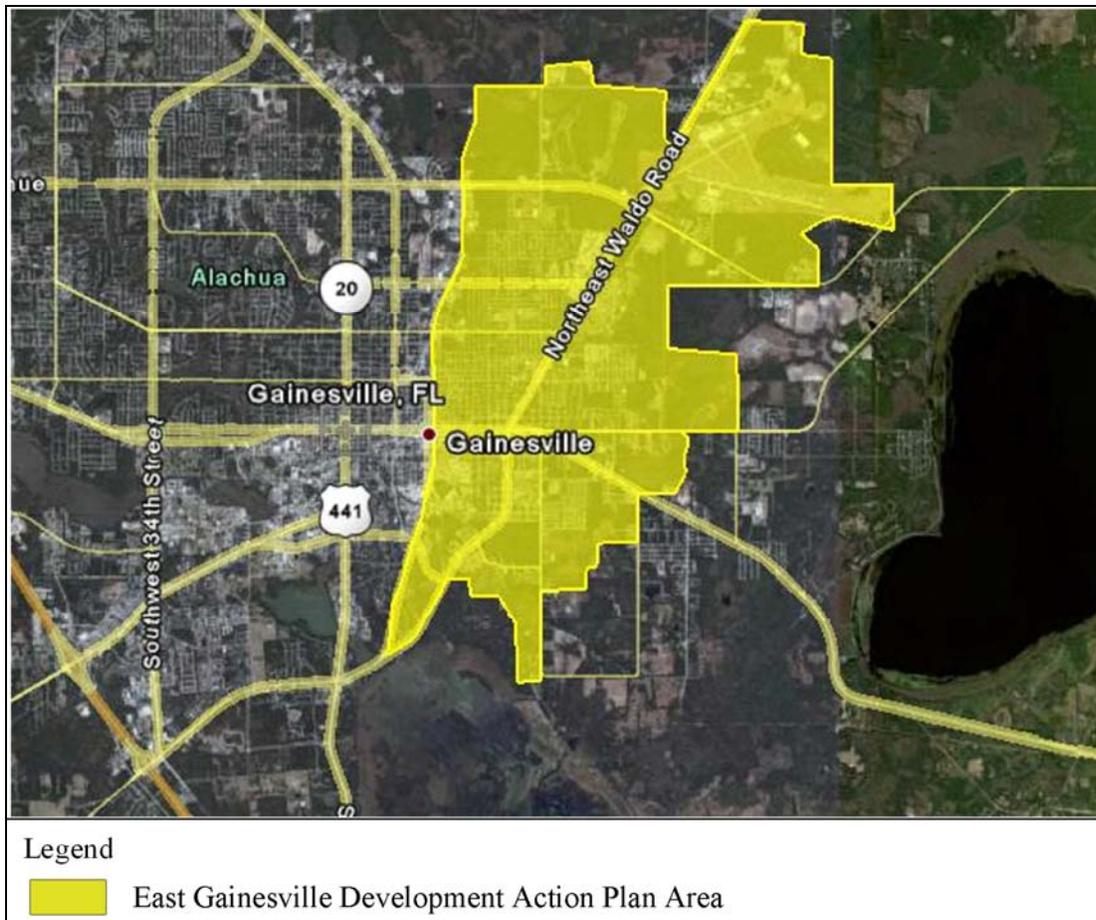


Figure 4-1. The EGDAP Boundary Area (Based on City of Gainesville Economic Development Department et al., 1997).

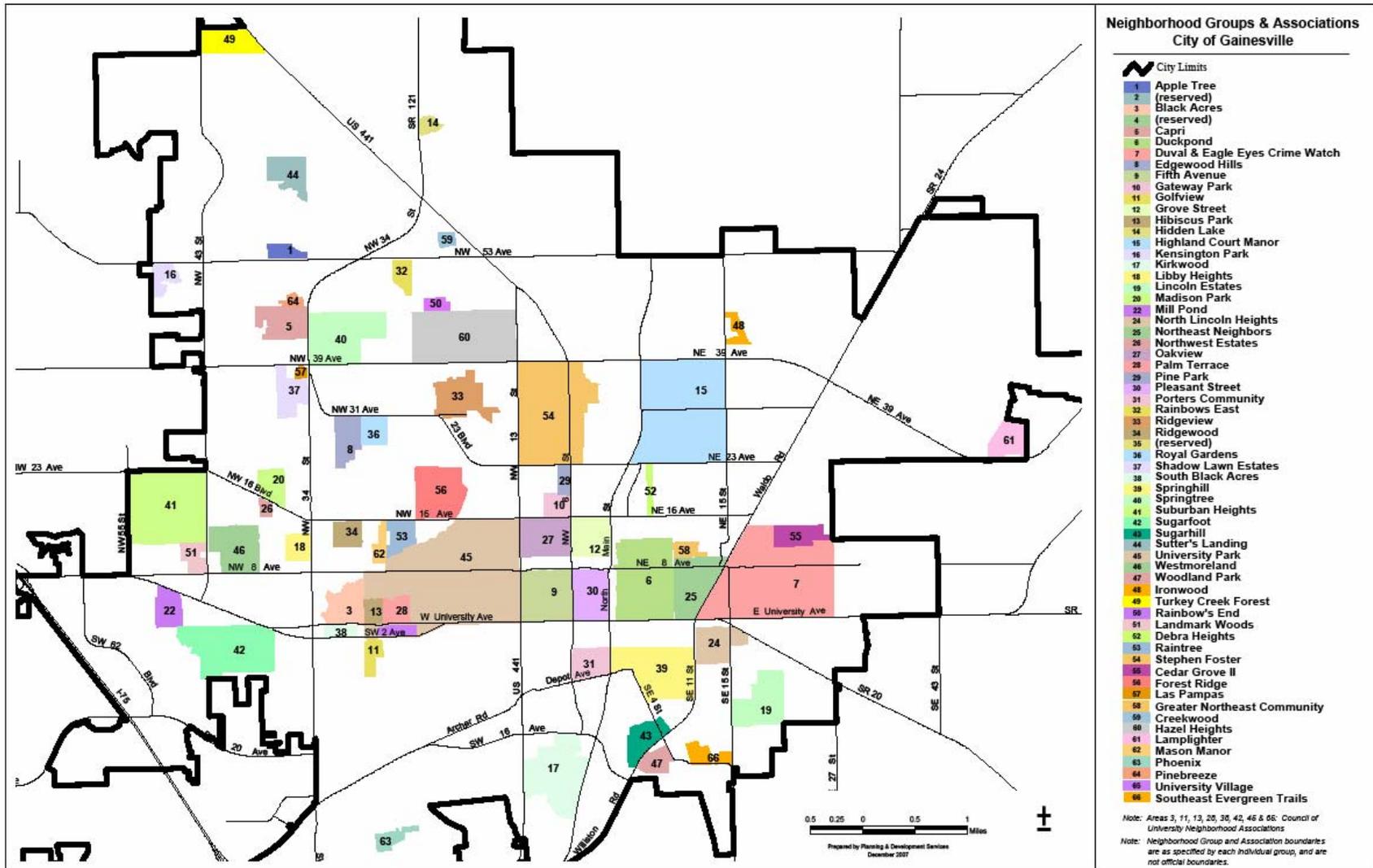


Figure 4-2. Existing Gainesville Neighborhood Associations and Groups (Reprinted with permission from City of Gainesville, 2008).

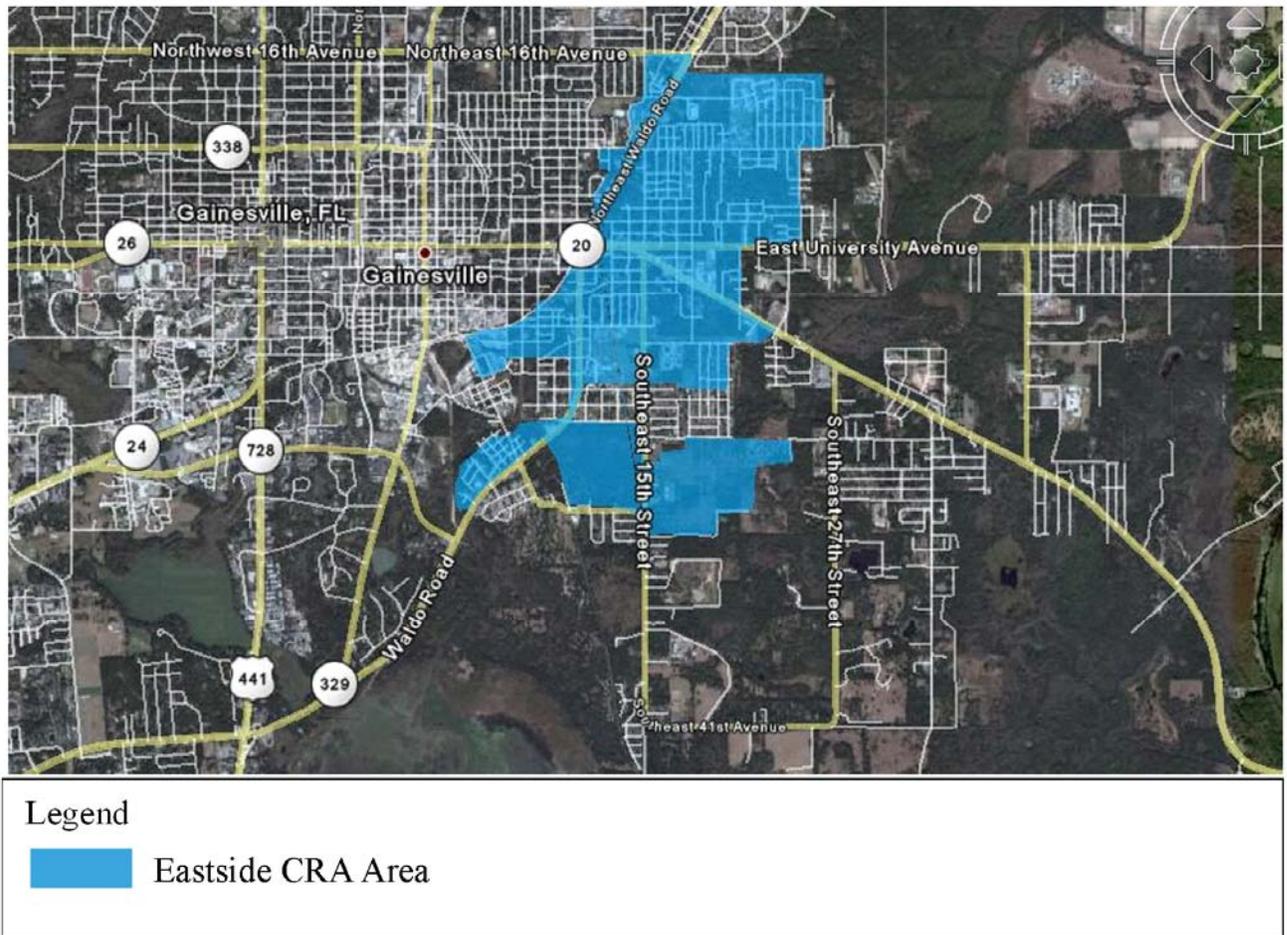


Figure 4-3. Eastside CRA Boundary Area (Based on Gainesville Community Redevelopment Agency, 2001).

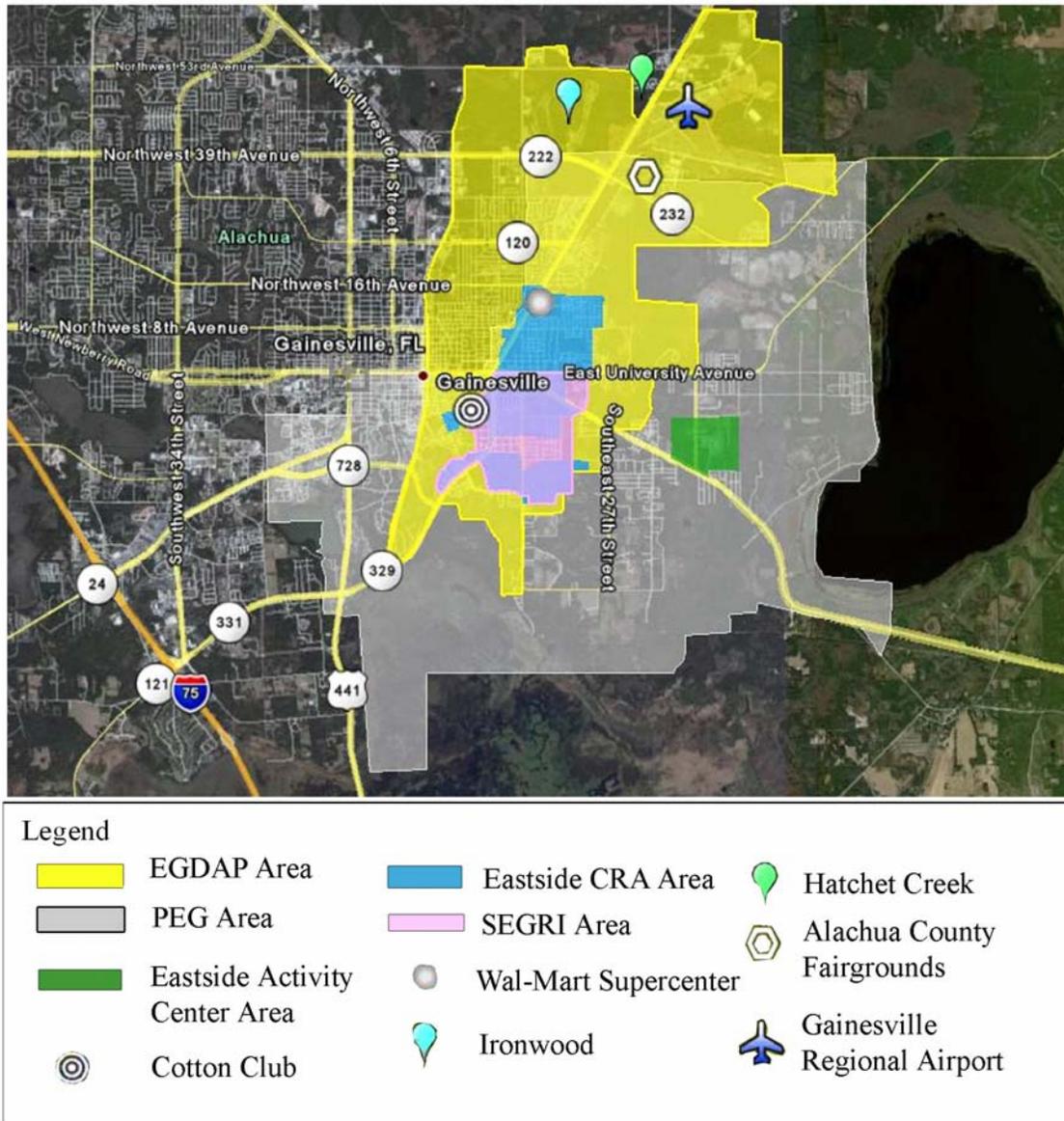


Figure 4-4. Plan Boundary Overlay with Critical Landmarks (Based on City of Gainesville Economic Development Department et al., 1997; Gainesville Community Redevelopment Agency, 2001; Renaissance Planning et al., 2003; WilsonMiller, Inc. et al, 2007).

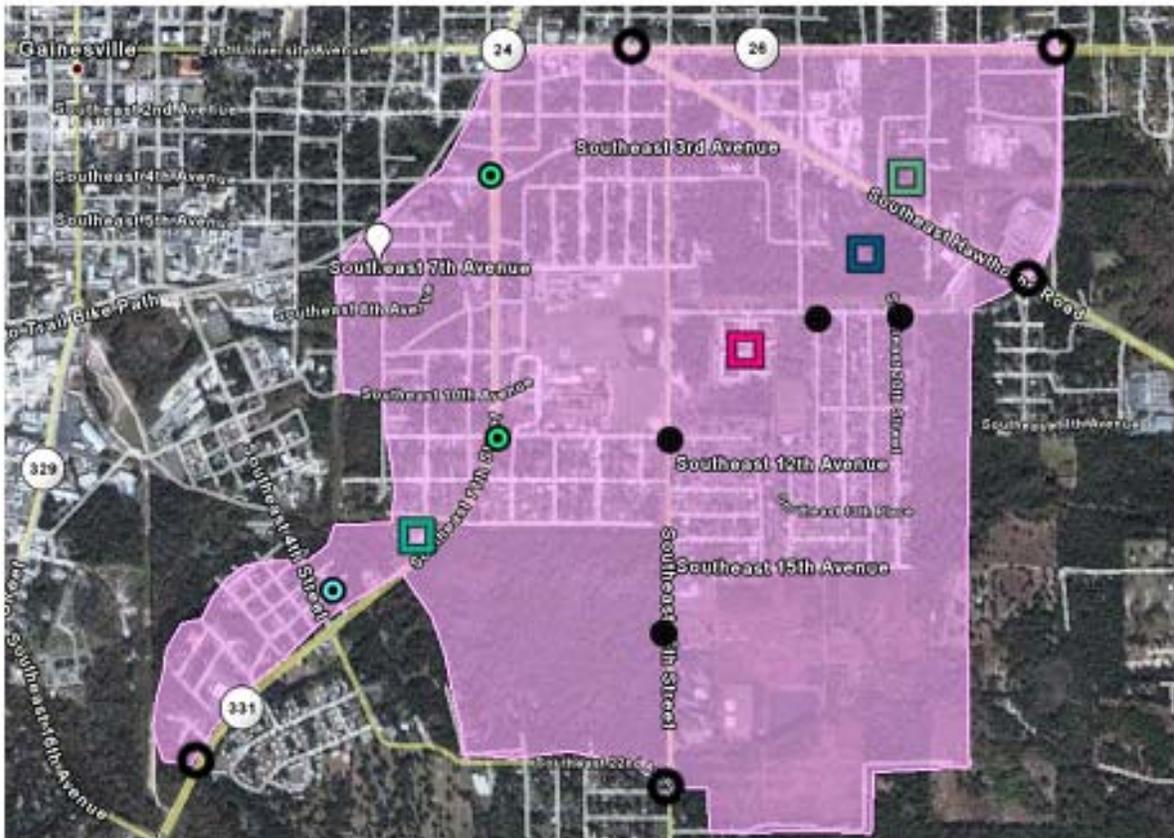


Figure 4-5. The SEGRI Master Plan (Based on WilsonMiller, Inc. et al., 2007.)



Figure 4-6. Plan East Gainesville Boundary Area (Based on Renaissance Planning et al., 2003).



Figure 4-7. Master Plan Vision for Plan East Gainesville (Reprinted with permission from Renaissance Planning et al., 2003, Appendix A, p.7).

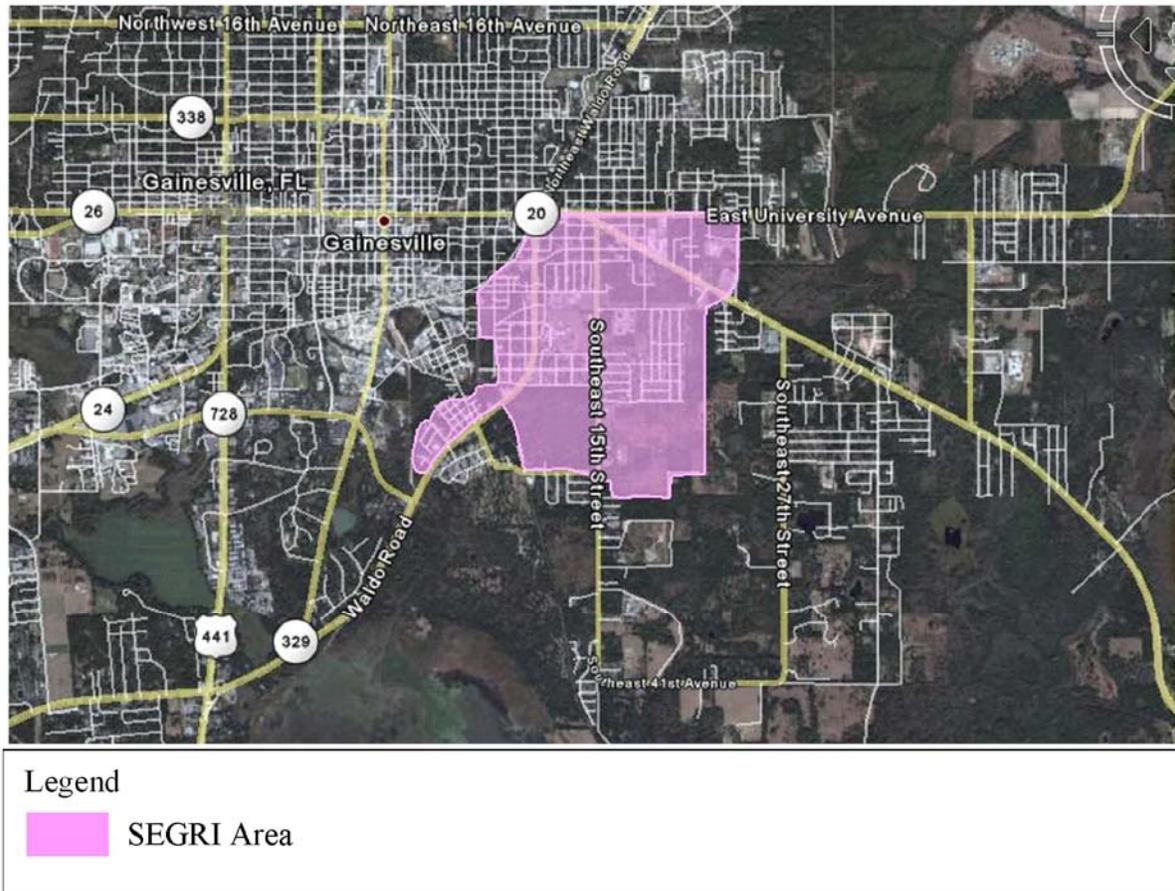


Figure 4-8. Southeast Gainesville Renaissance Initiative Boundary Area (Based on WilsonMiller, Inc. et al., 2007).

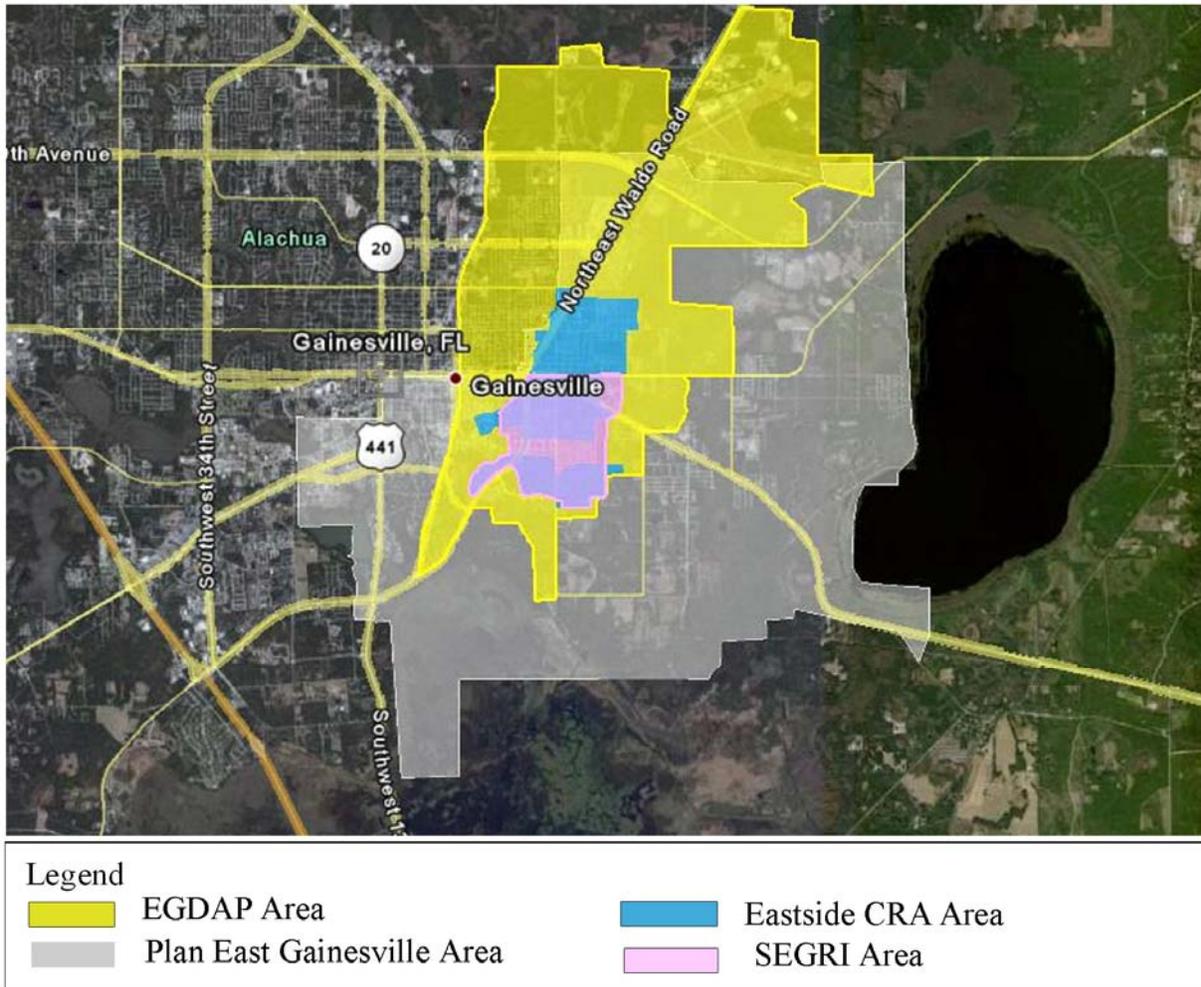


Figure 4-9. Eastside Plan Boundary Overlay Master Map (Based on City of Gainesville Economic Development Department et al., 1997; Gainesville Community Redevelopment Agency, 2001; Renaissance Planning et al., 2003; WilsonMiller, Inc. et al, 2007)

## CHAPTER 5 THE EGDC AND COMMUNICATION IN EASTSIDE REDEVELOPMENT

The EGDC's progression from a corporation assigned the responsibility to fulfill EGDAP action items in 1997 to its present status as an economic development non-profit provides a case study of how communication channels function in Eastside. The corporation underwent three major phases, adopting different communication strategies with varied results. This chapter describes the success rate of communication aimed at building strategic partnerships throughout the lifespan of EGDC. Data is drawn from interviews with past and present EGDC and government leaders, employing participant observation at EGDC meetings and public CRA, City, and County Commission meetings and archival newspaper research.

### **The EGDC's Early Years as a Mobilizing Non-Profit Corporation**

The EGDC was formed as a result of a community-led action plan for redevelopment in East Gainesville—EGDAP. The residents who participated in EGDAP chose to form EGDC as a non-profit to provide the group greater autonomy rather than be “bogged down by regulation” as an advisory board to the City Commission (Henry, 2008a). Initial program efforts drew upon the action plan's identified needs for Eastside. Scherwin Henry, who became EGDC's first Treasurer stated “We stuck to the action plan to build off the synergy of what we initially did [drafting the EGDAP]. Prior to that, there was no cohesion [in Eastside] and no communication between city and county government and East Gainesville” (Henry, 2008a). Action plan items included establishing neighborhood associations, trash pick-ups, and bringing state programs such as Front Porch Florida to Eastside neighborhoods with the intention of “empowering the people to take ownership of their community” (Henry, 2008a). Mobilizing residents in order to build social capital and encouraging resident-ownership of Eastside was an integral part of EGDAP and EGDC efforts. While these initial programs display high success rates, EGDC

struggled with maintaining a regular budget and gaining government support. Government funding was fundamental to EGDC's early program implementation. At its formation, the corporation's request from the City Commission for \$25,000 to support staff was approved. Yet, according to Henry "it was a struggle to get funding [at the beginning] and we were existing at the mercy of the city and county, but the area needed an advocate" (Henry, 2008a). Thus, EGDC became a moderator between grassroots and city interests early in its existence.

Communication strategies employed by EGDC between 1997 and 2000 attempted to mobilize resident groups while also maintaining financial ties to local governments for support. The goal of EGDC to "create growth, development and investment that benefits and empowers residents" led members to approach Eastside communities directly for the purpose of organizing neighborhoods to create a sense of place. Creating a sense of place through clean-ups and neighborhood associations would lay the groundwork for realizing EGDAP's action items (Table 4-1). Simultaneously, as a fairly new community group, EGDC did not have established ties with government officials or a long resume of successful projects to gain a substantial amount of support from the City or County Commission. Founding members executed public information campaigns to inform residents of the goals and projects outlined in the EGDAP. Developing relationships with government actors was a secondary objective. The results of EGDC's efforts to mobilize and create neighborhood associations led to a proliferation of Eastside community groups.

### **Eastside Community Group Explosion**

By implementing the EGDAP, EGDC synergized the formation of community groups that executed neighborhood beautification, employment and education, and business development programs. Initial neighborhood associations, located in Lincoln Estates, Duval Heights, and Cedar Grove, gained positive reputations within both government and community circles,

mobilizing other neighborhoods to form associations (Henry, 2008a). As EGDC began to implement action items, such as neighborhood clean-ups and founding community groups, excitement about the organization and the EGDAP grew, leading to an explosion of Eastside community improvement groups. The Eastside groups listed below are currently active in the area; a few were active prior to EGDAP, but most formed after the action plan was completed. Churches are not included on the list. While churches in Eastside are one of the strongest examples of community identity, they have distanced themselves from issues of development except for providing a meeting space for charettes and public meetings (Jones, 2008). The promulgation of groups stretched the allocation of government money. EGDC's mediation and collaboration efforts became stressed, causing the corporation to focus on economic development rather than mobilizing residents.

- African American Accountability Alliance (4As)
- ACTION Network
- Big Brothers/Big Sisters of Mid Florida
- Black on Black Crime Task Force
- Blount Center Advisory Board
- Clinton Portis Foundation
- College Reach Out Program
- CRA Eastside Advisory Board\*
- Cotton Club Restoration Project
- Duval Heights Neighborhood Association\*
- Eagle Eyes Crime Watch\*
- East Gainesville Development Corporation\*
- Fred Cone Center
- Front Porch Initiative (Duval Heights)\*
- Fifth Avenue Arts Festival
- Habitat for Humanity
- Heart of Florida Prosperity Campaign\*
- Kirkwood Neighborhood Association\*
- Lincoln Estates Neighborhood Association\*
- Neighborhood Housing Development Corporation
- North Lincoln Heights Neighborhood Association\*
- Phoenix Apartments After School Education Center
- Porter's Community Neighborhood Association\*

- Pursue Your Business Passion Entrepreneur Group
- Reichert House\*
- St. Francis House
- Santa Fe Community College East Gainesville Initiative
- Springhill Neighborhood Association\*
- Sugarhill Neighborhood Association\*
- UF/East Gainesville Alliance
- Woodland Park Neighborhood Association \*

(Santa Fe Community College East Gainesville Initiative 2008; Renaissance Planning et al., 2003, p. 11).<sup>1</sup>

### **Limited Interaction: Continuing Economic Development with Outside Leadership**

Between 2001 and 2007 EGDC stepped away from its empowerment initiatives allowing government plans such as PEG to becoming the guiding vision for Eastside development. The result had a negative effect on the level of community authority in planning decisions. Balancing program implementation, garnering funds and adhering to the goals outlined in the EGDAP overwhelmed EGDC's leadership. The original plan to maintain a member-based organization eventually evolved into a 13-member board that developed and executed programs. Between 2000 and 2001, EGDC signed a contract with BCN Associates, Inc., a Gainesville consulting company, to act as the corporation's administrative entity. Pat Lee, a BCN employee, was assigned to EGDC to apply for grants to fund programs as well as to conduct administrative duties. Lee and the EGDC Executive Board developed economic development programs and social services for East Gainesville residents. However, due to the growth in Eastside community groups, EGDC began to lose its distinctive identity. During this time, EGDC chose to temporarily assign a portion of its responsibilities to a consulting firm. By delegating their administrative decision-making power, EGDC separated itself from its previous resident-empowerment leadership identity. Further, the corporation re-defined itself as an economic

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<sup>1</sup> Organizations with an asterisk (\*) next to them are groups that were formed as a direct result of EGDC mobilization efforts or indirectly by the proliferation of resident empowerment groups that occurred after the initial neighborhood associations were formed in the late 1990s.

development, entrepreneur-fostering non-profit group that continued to have an impact within Eastside.

### **Program Focus under BCN**

While contracted with BCN, EGDC executed multiple small programs to benefit individual Eastside residents. Beginning in 2003, EGDC partnered with the IRS and the Heart of Florida Prosperity Campaign<sup>2</sup> to offer free tax preparation assistance for Eastside residents:

The program, a coalition of different organizations spearheaded by the East Gainesville Development Corporation, provides free tax preparation to anyone, especially families eligible for Earned Income Tax Credit (Robinson, 2007a).

Between 2004 and 2006 EGDC graduated more than 100 people from its micro-entrepreneurship class taught by Pat Lee (Johnson, 2006). The corporation's micro-loan focus continued in its partnership with the city's Chamber of Commerce and local banks in the Access Loan Program, which streamlined the loan process for new and existing small businesses in Eastside. As a result, EGDC and participating banks were awarded the Chambers of Commerce's Volunteer of the Year Award for 2006 (Blomberg, 2006; Tinker, 2006c). In 2006, *The Guardian*, a newspaper that focuses on Eastside news and events argued in its article "Its Been a Year for Change:"

The non-profit East Gainesville Development Corporation continues to be a major player in helping promote growth, development, among other things in the area, and frequently partners with public and private concerns to offer programs that benefit residents (Chandler, 2006).

Specially targeted programs aimed at business development continued to separate EGDC from its role as a resident-mobilizing force in Eastside, but the corporation continued to maintain a collaborative communication strategy.

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<sup>2</sup> This program was renamed the Dollars and Sense Campaign in 2008 and received a large donation from the Wachovia Foundation.

Communication strategies used during EGDC's association with BCN resulted in ties with banking institutions, government, and other large institutions that could become financial allies. Having struggled through its first few years, BCN and EGDC desired a consistent budget from which to fund innovative economic development programs. Collaboration with City and County Commissions became a focal point of EGDC's communication strategy. In 2006, former EGDC director, Scherwin Henry was elected to the City Commission for District 1 (Eastside), putting a strong ally into office. Pat Lee also met with commission members and Mayor Hanrahan in order to increase EGDC's presence and impact in Eastside. Building partnerships with government leaders and institutions caused EGDC to lose its grassroots identity in the eyes of Eastside residents.

### **Lost Amongst the Crowd: Eastside Group Confusion**

The significant increase in various community groups throughout Eastside after 1997 caused residents to become confused regarding what each group did and the number of groups that existed. EGDC's structural change from a member-based resident empowerment organization to an economic development-focused organization caused the corporation to be forgotten amongst the crowd of Eastside non-profit groups. Consequently, EGDC found that as the number of Eastside non-profit and social interest groups increased, citizens no longer discerned the distinctive goals or projects associated with each group, causing a decrease in resident knowledge of non-place based (i.e., neighborhood associations) Eastside groups. The lack of recognition from Eastside residents negatively impacted EGDC's interactions with government as their efforts became confused with other Eastside groups.

In 2006, EGDC applied for Community Development Block Grants (CDBGs) to fund its entrepreneurial and technical assistance training. A report from the Citizens Advisory Committee for Community Development voted against allocating money to EGDC because "the

Committee believe[d] that these services are already available to the community through Santa Fe Community College [SFCC] and other agencies” (City of Gainesville, 2006). When the application appeared before the City Commission, EGDC was approved for a \$25,000 grant after EGDC members confirmed the Citizen Advisory Committee was confused regarding the focus areas of the various Eastside groups. EGDC’s interactions and communication with the City Commission was strong considering the presence of Commissioner Scherwin Henry (founding member of EGDC), but poor among residents. The corporation took another hit when the Alachua County 2007 through 2008 budget cut all funding to EGDC. As new groups continued to form, EGDC found itself at a crossroads to either restructure its organization or stay on its current path.

#### **Renewal of EGDC under a New Leader: Identity as an Economic Development Resource-Provider**

In 2007, EGDC separated from BCN Associates, Inc. in order to regain control of the corporation’s objectives. A new leader, Nona Jones, became the chairman of the board, which recommitted to the original mission of EGDC to mobilize and empower residents. Jones had become a member of the EGDC board in 2002 while attending the University of Florida and defined the new mission of the corporation as “making East Gainesville a great place to live, work and play with great residential opportunities that appreciate in value and sustainable professional jobs” (Jones, 2008). Remarketing on the EGDAP Jones (2008) states “The plan included too many parties and no accountability. With the large number of action items, I’m not surprised it did not get done.” Strategic communication with other Eastside non-profits, social groups, and government leaders is noted as having a major role in EGDC’s current efforts, particularly in establishing and leveraging partnerships to synergize redevelopment.

Communication within EGDC is consistent, clear, and ruled by consensus. Board members have different connections to Eastside ranging from Samuel Jones, who is a reverend at an Eastside Church, to Cain Davis who is a private developer, consultant, and former Gainesville Housing Authority employee, to Charles Chestnut, who owns Chestnut Funeral Home and whose relatives have held public office at local and state levels. Board meetings adopt an egalitarian tone where members are open to comment on any proposed project at any time. Jones argues “My board is EGDC’s greatest asset. They really care about the community and have the resources to pick up a plan and put legs on it. They are also not stretched too thin, which can be a problem in Eastside” (Jones, 2008).<sup>3</sup> Debates regarding projects typically are not resolved until a consensus is reached. For example, a number of recipients of the Access loans have neglected to make regular loan payments. At a meeting in December, the board discussed appropriate methods or payment plans to offer recipients that would encourage them to resume regular payments. The debate took over twenty minutes with different members having very different opinions on what action the corporation should take. Some members believed that the recipients would never pay back the loan so any term change would not have any effect, while others argued changing the terms to forgive a certain percentage of interest could help recipients view their debt as manageable. The final decision was made by consensus to change the terms of the loan slightly in order for EGDC to hopefully begin collecting payments. EGDC also applies this desire for consensus and partnerships in their relationships with external parties, particularly Eastside neighborhood social groups and government leaders.

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<sup>3</sup> The problem of having the same people on multiple boards will be discussed below.

## **Projects and Partnerships**

In an effort to return to the organization's 1997 role to mobilize resident empowerment The EGDC is currently re-establishing its ties at the community level. Table 5-1 shows the changing goals and communication strategies of EGDC since its inception. Different than EGDC's previous economic development projects that only provided resources, such as tax information, business class, or financial loans to residents, all current EGDC projects partner with either one or more Eastside stakeholder groups and incorporate resident-decision making into the plan's implementation. Jones' social capital partnership-building campaign includes a subsidized utilities program, creation of an East Gainesville Chamber of Commerce, and development of a senior affordable housing project referred to as the John Curtis Project.

Project Empowerment, scheduled to begin in 2008, is a partnership between EGDC and Gainesville Regional Utilities (GRU) to provide grants for utilities to low-income Eastside residents. An advisory board for the program will consist of representatives from the following groups: GRU, EGDC, City Commissioner, Nationwide Insurance, and an East Gainesville resident (EGDC, 2007). The EGDC is also working on creating an East Gainesville Chamber of Commerce that will encourage small businesses and those who graduated from EGDC's entrepreneurship program. The proposed John Curtis Project is the most ambitious project EGDC is attempting. With this project, EGDC hopes to provide an activity center and mixed-use development for low-income seniors that will involve the partnership of other Eastside groups working together as a coalition, rather than as separate entities. The following section discusses this project in more detail. The EGDC's annual meeting will kick off the group's renewed agenda by inviting all major government and community groups together to celebrate the 11<sup>th</sup> anniversary of EGDAP. Jones (2008) explains "The annual meeting will be used to market and position EGDC as a credible group to work with." The EGDC's focus on cultivating

positive relationships to involve all the stakeholders in reviewing these projects is of vital importance to the Eastside community.

### **The John Curtis Project and attempts to build an Eastside consortium**

In February 2008, EGDC began to take steps to create a consortium of Eastside stakeholder groups for the purpose of increasing community ownership of area development. Seven community groups were invited to a meeting at the Gainesville Housing Authority offices to participate in the John Curtis Project. The invited stakeholders included the following government and resident interest groups: Cedar Grove Neighborhood Association, Gainesville Housing Authority, Ebony Awards Appreciation, Focus on Leadership, Northeast Gainesville/Duval Neighborhood Front Porch Initiative, Black on Black Crime Task Force, and Mt. Carmel Church.<sup>4</sup> The initial meeting garnered attendance from the Front Porch Initiative, Gainesville Housing Authority, and Ebony Awards Appreciation.

During the presentation, EGDC proposed a \$4 million development plan to build a 60- to 80-unit apartment complex and activity center, which would serve as both a neighborhood center and meeting location on 15 acres located near Mt. Carmel Church. The development would provide affordable housing for elderly residents. The project addresses the 1999 Duval Neighborhood Action Plan that outlines the need for an elderly affordable housing development and community center (Duval Neighborhood Residents et al., 1999, p. 12). The developer, JOTAR Management Services, Inc. would manage the building for two to five years until payment was completed upon which the consortium of Eastside stakeholder groups would take over management. The presentation of the John Curtis Project not only suggested a one-time

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<sup>4</sup> Ebony Awards Appreciation is a non-profit group focused on Black community empowerment and accomplishments. Focus on Leadership is an annual leadership development program for leaders of Gainesville's Black community that brings government and business officials together to discuss how organizations are addressing issues of the Black community. Mt. Carmel church is an Eastside church that is one of the oldest established churches in the area.

partnership opportunity, but a new way for Eastside stakeholders to work collaboratively on development projects.

The John Curtis Project represents EGDC's current mission to be a "convener of stakeholders and resources to better East Gainesville" and regain control of the area's development (Jones at EGDC, 2008). Referencing the current fragmentation of Eastside interest groups, Cain Davis, an EGDC executive board member, noted "Being partners offers an opportunity for non-profits [currently] out fighting each other in survival mode and not knowing each other to come together in a consortium and develop [meaningful] projects" (Davis at EGDC, 2008). Benefits to partnering in the John Curtis Project presented to meeting attendees were

- Ownership without Financial Expenditure
- Continuous Revenue Stream (3 to 4 Years after Project Completion)
- Long-term Positive Influence of Both Facilities (Apartment Complex and Community Center) and on the Surrounding Community
- Enhancement of Organizations (who Partner in the Project) Portfolios
- Facility to Function as a Community Meeting Place and Events Center
- Model for Future Partnerships
- Catalyst for Future Development and Opportunity to Have Direct Impact on the Eastside Community
- Ability for Non-profits and Residents to Directly Determine What Will Be Built in the Eastside Community (EGDC, 2008).

The EGDC members present at the meeting emphasized the consortium would first involve sweat equity contributions from partners. Partners would be required to engage in at least one program (i.e., home ownership education, life skills, and recreation activities) for the apartment complex or neighboring community annually. Governance of the consortium under the John Curtis Project entails drafting an agreement all partners must approve, developing a written annual plan, actively attending monthly meetings to strategically plan activity programs to report on executed programs, and annually reviewing failures and successes. The dialogue between

potential partners that followed EGDC's presentation indicated conflicting interests needed to be confronted before partnerships could be cemented.

The increase in community involvement in Eastside has changed the methods EGDC uses to form partnerships among stakeholder groups. Since 1997, social capital networks between neighborhood associations, community social groups (such as churches) and government agencies (such as the CRA) have been established that each have their own norms, restrictions and vested interests. For example, the Front Porch Initiative may agree to host a party for the John Curtis Project (located near Duval) in order to gain support for CRA projects within the Duval neighborhood. Community group vested interests in obtaining the scarce government financial support available for revitalization for specific neighborhood projects creates barriers to developing a consortium of Eastside stakeholders since each stakeholder has become attached to a personal agenda. At the John Curtis Project presentation Cain Davis attempted to illustrate the opportunity for a consortium stating:

This is our opportunity to shape East Gainesville. Developers come to East Gainesville and we [residents/stakeholders] have no part in the process—things go up in our community we have no say in. The East Gainesville Development Corporation does not need partners, but wants to show what we [a united consortium of stakeholder groups] can do. You have Plan East Gainesville and a million other things [plans] out there developed by people who either don't have money or don't want to spend it [money] to do it [implement a plan]. We have the opportunity to actually do something and set an example (EGDC, 2008).

Davis' comments gained support from the Ebony Appreciation Awards and Gainesville Housing Authority, but the representative from the Front Porch Initiative remained skeptical. The representative argued "We have enough low income. It will be OK if its elderly, but not just regular low income housing—we [the Front Porch Initiative] don't want any more of that" (EGDC, 2008). Re-integrating stakeholder groups within a unified project, plan or consortium

will require a detailed vision process that addresses the vested interests and underlying motivations of each stakeholder group.

### **Fragmentation and Empowerment in Eastside Communications**

The case study of East Gainesville reveals how the distribution of social capital partnerships between community groups (social group agency) and government institutions (opportunity structure) affects community empowerment. Revitalization efforts in Eastside began ten years ago and have continued through resident and government initiatives. Government plans addressed different areas of Eastside through the use of different boundaries causing project implementation to be inconsistent across the area. Currently, the focus is on the PEG vision. The changing communication strategies of EGDC indicate community groups continued to build social capital partnerships within the community and with government institutions over the past ten years (Table 5-1). The disjointed nature and imbalance between community and government-led initiatives keep empowerment elusive from Eastside residents.

### **Does Social Capital Exist in the Community and How is it Distributed?**

According to the Temkin and Rohe's (1998) indicators, Eastside has a large amount of social capital that has become stretched thin among the variety of community groups (Table 5-2 and 5-3). In terms of Eastside community social capital, the level of resident interaction is high as residents regularly interact with one another in various contexts, ranging from day-to-day neighborhood interaction, church and social group interaction. Social and employment activity of residents is also fairly strong. Many Eastside residents are involved in multiple groups: neighborhood associations, churches, non-profit groups, and educational agencies. The employment activity of Eastside continues to suffer from a general lack of investment, but the opening of the Wal-Mart Supercenter combined with the future implementation of the SEGRI plan indicate employment activity will soon improve. The area's spatial distinctiveness is

relatively strong, but is not defined consistently across Eastside plans. Having poorly defined government-drawn boundaries makes it difficult to identify community stakeholders. The most significant indicator of social capital in Eastside is the presence of neighborhood organizations. While there is no comprehensive list of active Eastside community groups a rough estimate totals nearly 40 groups in the area. The strength of neighborhood organizations is both a positive and negative characteristic of current Eastside revitalization efforts. While neighborhood organizations promote resident pride and involvement, the presence of so many groups spreads social capital resources and partnerships thin.

The apparent proliferation of interest groups in East Gainesville that were formed after the establishment of EGDC in 1997 caused a fragmentation of assets and unconnected development projects within the community. The competition for resources is also partly due to the available resources from the government opportunity structure. Often, there exist limited resources for revitalization of particular communities. With nearly 40 organizations, the finite funds available for East Gainesville result in a large number of groups receiving small amounts of funding hindering their ability to accomplish large scale projects. In addition, citizens became confused between the goals of the 4A's, Santa Fe's East Gainesville Initiative, EGDC, the CRA Eastside Advisory Board, and many others. Conversely, the government opportunity structure's social capital is both united and strong. Government officials are visible to residents and make attempts to frequent community events. The strength of social capital at the government level (opportunity structure) combined with limited resources and the fragmentation of Eastside social group partnerships hinders Eastside revitalization and empowerment efforts.

## **Are Social Capital Resources and Partnerships Balanced Between Community Groups and Government Institutions?**

In Eastside, there is an imbalance between the agency of social groups and government opportunity structure. Figure 5-1 indicates how EGDC's efforts at bridging social capital move through the Eastside community in the Empowerment Structuration Model. Influences on the agency of Eastside stakeholder groups reveal a high level of fragmentation reflecting a conflicted relationship between stakeholder groups. The negative relationship between Eastside influencers hinders the ability for Eastside to use its existing capital and agency effectively. In terms of opportunity structure, the city and county government display a positive, functional relationship that allows PEG to continue to dominate revitalization efforts despite resident criticisms.

As stated above, the dominance of diverse vested interests among the Eastside organizations fragments existing resources. Conversely, influences on the governmental opportunity structure are generally unified. Despite inconsistencies between adopted East Gainesville plans, PEG has been incorporated by government agencies as the "vision for East Gainesville." The openness of government institutions and government implementation capacity has a positive, collaborative (functional) relationship based on the implementation of the PEG plan. The existing opportunity structure in Eastside is bound by the agenda attached to PEG, even though negative opinions of the plan are present among residents and stakeholder groups. Therefore, Healey's and Innes' inclusionary argumentation and consensus-building approaches, respectively, are not able to occur since resident group attitudes are not being adequately represented "at the table."

## **How Does the Distribution of Social Capital Resources and Partnerships Influence the Outcome of Empowerment in Revitalization Efforts?**

The combined lull in empowerment initiatives by Eastside residents (and groups) and government adoption of PEG has kept the goal of empowerment from being achieved in East

Gainesville. Among Eastside social groups, social capital is disjointed causing partnerships to be less productive and resources untapped. The lack of consensus between Eastside groups concerning a vision for Eastside limits social capital partnerships to being small-scale and project-based. Social capital partnerships between groups are not often long-term. The government opportunity structure depends upon the social capital partnership between the City of Gainesville and Alachua County that was born out of the adoption of PEG. As a result, interaction between the fragmented Eastside social groups and the existing opportunity structure results in only small-scale empowerment and social action projects. For example, the Cotton Club restoration empowers a relatively small segment of the Eastside population while maintaining the PEG's vision to maintain the character of Eastside. The EGDC's social capital partnership campaign must navigate between the competing interests of current stakeholder groups to harness economic and human capital resources. Unifying resources from various organizations could cause a change in the agency of Eastside residents, encouraging broad empowerment and social action revitalization efforts.

### **The EGDC as a Vehicle for Existing Social Capital Partnerships**

The EGDC's history of initiating partnerships with institutions and other groups gives the corporation an advantage in gathering all the stakeholders together "at the table" to collaborate. Jones indicated that other community groups have not approached EGDC to partner with them "I cannot think of one time when another [Eastside] organization has come to us [EGDC] to partner on a project" (Jones, 2008). Jones commented further that she would welcome other Eastside organizations if they were to approach EGDC with the intention to partner on a project, commenting "We [Eastside residents and organizations] need to build partnerships in order to implement sustainable programs. The EGDC is now attempting to set that example in order for

that practice to become the norm” (Jones, 2008). When asked about her approach in collaborative projects, Jones stated:

You have to approach the right people. Some people are territorial and want to put their names on many small projects rather than one large project that could have a longer-lasting effect [on the community]. Sometimes they would rather form a new group and fragment Eastside efforts than attach themselves to something somebody else is already doing. I am strategic in who I approach and usually receive a positive reaction [when I propose a partnership-based program] (Jones, 2008).

The EGDC’s identity as the first resident-based community group delivering collaborative projects places the group in a prime position to re-unify the vision of and efforts in Eastside.

Based on the findings from the Eastside case study, a four-fold strategy must be applied to balance community and government initiatives for Eastside Redevelopment in order to achieve empowerment and sustainable social capital partnerships.

### **Recommendations for Improved Revitalization in Eastside**

The historical contexts of Eastside planning and community group visions have created a web of confusion for residents, social and non-profit groups, and even government officials and agencies. A large number of community groups have splintered and at times compete with one another. Government plans are slowly moving forward with mixed reactions from residents.

The master plan for East Gainesville’s future development involves development consistent with PEG for some, preservation of the current residential character for others, and participatory development projects for another Eastside stakeholder group. For example, when three community leaders (governmental, institutional, and grassroots) were asked to identify East Gainesville’s largest asset and liability, they provided completely different answers. Assets included the residents, area churches, and development opportunities in the area. Liabilities identified by leaders varied from none at all to area churches, lack of land, presence of environmentally sensitive lands, and the perception of Eastside as a dumping ground for

institutional uses and buildings (Henry, 2008; Jones, 2008; Lyons, 2008). Four critical steps should be taken to assure all stakeholders agree on a vision for the future of the community.

### **Step 1: Re-Unify Vision**

Leaders should re-unify resident, community group and government visions for Eastside by amending the EGDAP plan. A major component of this visioning process should address long-standing Eastside problems. These problems include the negative perception of the area and the conservation versus development debate. Each of these issues is loaded with preconceived beliefs that stakeholders bring to the table. In order for consensus to be reached, stakeholders must get to the root of these issues by deconstructing what is causing tension in the development process that creates barriers for revitalization in East Gainesville. Stakeholders with differing interests debate the future of Eastside rather than identify projects that address all stakeholders' interests. During the visioning process, stakeholders should identify their shared interests from which to construct a plan for Eastside and minimize their differences. There is evidence that leaders, such as Nona Jones are already beginning to do this as she stated "It [success] depends on the residents. You have to own your own community. [For example], the question isn't, 'What do you do with the trash?' it's, 'Why is the trash there in the first place?'" (Jones, 2008). Open communication and creating consensus will also bridge social capital networks between the fragmented community groups, residents and government. Addressing elusive issues allows stakeholders to move forward with a clear vision that can be translated into an amended plan.

### **Step 2: Incorporate Community Vision into Government-Adopted Plan**

The next step after re-unification requires governments and planners to re-examine PEG to incorporate the unified vision of Eastside stakeholders. Citizen involvement is also required in updating the master plan. Collaboration with communities should include more than a few

charettes to assure that residents fully buy-in to the updated plan. Resident buy-in is necessary for successful implementation of any plan. Local government will also need to approach community groups to determine what barriers to projects currently exist in the community. Recognizing these barriers and partnering with community groups can lead to streamlined implementation of the final plan. The planning update process should increase collaborative communication between stakeholders.

### **Step 3: Revisit Underlying Issues**

Underlying issues in Eastside revitalization should have first been addressed in Step 1 of the reunification strategy. Yet, it is integral to the success of Eastside for underlying issues to be addressed again after the visioning process is completed by the community and incorporated into the city and county's adopted plans. Issues concerning conservation and development, defining Eastside's boundaries, and persisting negative perceptions of the area require long-term attention. Intergovernmental committees that involve both government and community stakeholders should be established to assure these vital issues continue to be addressed. As evidenced in the prior two steps, creating resident-intergovernmental committees will also promote a collaborative and balanced relationship between community groups and government opportunity structure in order to engender empowerment in revitalization efforts.

### **Step 4: Maintain Communication Channels**

After re-unification and planning updates have occurred, efforts should be made to maintain increased communication with stakeholders. EGDAP sparked Eastside resident involvement and empowerment, which quickly dissipated when the plan proved to be too large for one small group to implement. Preserving partnerships will aid in project development, gaining community approval and achieving community empowerment. Stakeholders will have a vested interest in the outcome of the plan due to their increased and prolonged involvement. The

EGDC’s strategies to develop partnerships need to engage other stakeholders in Eastside in order to achieve a revitalization that more comprehensively incorporates community interests. The case study of EGDC’s communication strategies indicates social capital partnerships have a direct influence on community development success, but it is not a universal solution, particularly in organized, but fragmented communities.

The case study of East Gainesville combines community development, empowerment, and planning techniques to identify the effect of social capital partnerships within resident-government discourses to revitalize distressed neighborhoods. As in any development effort, multiple stakeholders can exhibit conflicting or vying interests in their vision for their community. Effective revitalization should concentrate on bringing stakeholders to a consensus for development that will result in increased resident decision-making and sustainable empowerment. The EGDC’s campaign to convene social capital resources in an Eastside consortium illustrates the organization’s initiative to make Eastside resident empowerment a reality.

Table 5-1. The EGDC Communication Efforts between 1997 and 2008

	Communication Strategy	Project Focus
1997-2000	Build Social Capital with Residents to Complete Projects Focused on Resident-Ownership of Area	Creation of Neighborhood Associations
2001-2007	Build Social Capital with Government and Institutions	Micro-loans Entrepreneurship Tax Help
2007-Present	Build Partnerships with all Stakeholders to Synergize Development in Eastside and Create Coalitions	Economic Development Affordable Housing Utilities Services Business Development

(Author).

Table 5-2. Eastside Institutional Infrastructure Social Capital Indicators

Institutional Infrastructure Indicators	Eastside Institutional Infrastructures
Presence of Neighborhood Organizations	<b>Excellent</b> Large numbers of active organizations.
Visibility of Government Officials	<b>Good</b> Officials are visible, but have their own agendas.

(Author; Based on Temkin and Rohe, 1998).

Table 5-3. Eastside Sociocultural Milieu Social Capital Indicators

Sociocultural Milieu Indicators	Eastside Sociocultural Milieu
Area Spatial Distinctiveness	<b>Good</b> Distinct in a broad sense, but detailed boundaries are debated.
Resident Interaction	<b>Very Good</b> Residents interact within neighborhoods in community groups.
Social and Employment Activity of Residents	<b>Good</b> Social activity is high, but employment in area is variable.

(Author; Based on Temkin and Rohe, 1998).

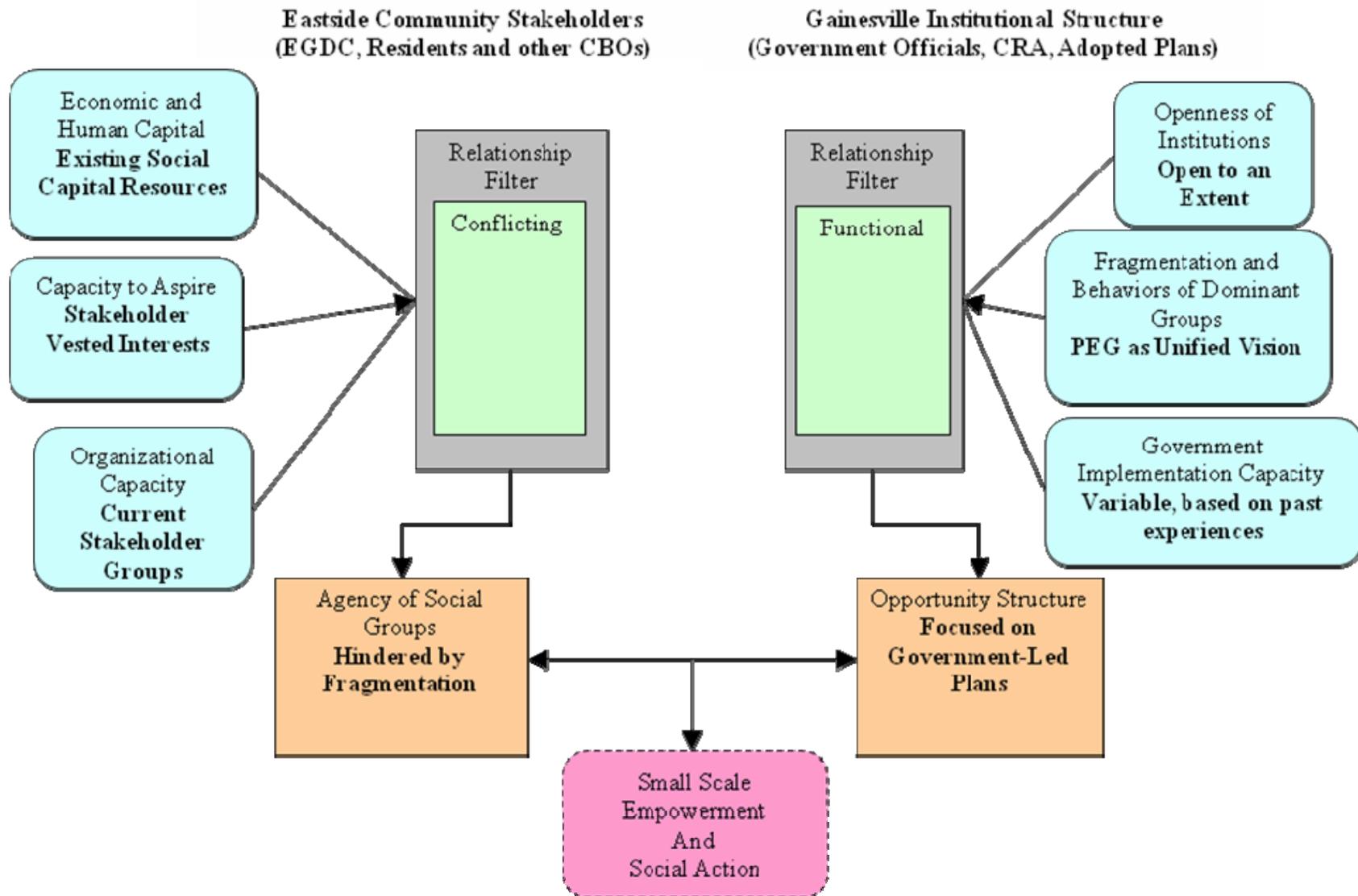


Figure 5-1. Eastside Empowerment Structuration Model (Author).

## CHAPTER 6 NECESSITY OF COLLABORATIVE APPROACH IN REVITALIZATION OF DISTRESSED COMMUNITIES

Community development involves a delicate balance between government institutions and community-based organizations. This thesis explores how multi-sector partnerships influence the dialogue between CBOs and government stakeholders. Strategic partnerships can engender mutually beneficial relationships that empower community residents in the development process. The case study of EGDC in East Gainesville reveals the barriers and catalysts to encouraging revitalization efforts that involve community visioning and decision-making in distressed neighborhoods. Harnessing social capital provides a mechanism for coalition-building processes, but must be accompanied by an effort to (re)construct and maintain a community vision.

### **The Reality of Empowerment: EGDC Conclusions**

East Gainesville's revitalization efforts began with an innovative planning process that empowered residents in the decision-making process, but quickly transformed into a government-led strategy with public participation as only an element of the process. The City and the EGDAP Task Force's decision to assign EGDC the sole responsibility of executing the EGDAP plan with little government involvement splintered efforts and communication between both parties. Subsequently, the proliferation of neighborhood associations and CBOs spurred fragmentation of both social capital networks and the empowerment strategy initiated by EGDAP. As a result, the "delicate balance" between CBOs and government became dominated by multiple government-led plans while CBOs struggled independently. EGDC is currently positioned to lead a campaign to unify CBOs and re-establish the balance of community development.

The EGDC's partnership strategy encompasses three of the four major functions of community development outlined by West (2006): organizers, developers, and resource providers. The John Curtis Project proposed by EGDC attempts to *organize* a coalition of CBOs to invest in a joint venture to *develop* a project that can be implemented and *provides resources* directly to community residents. While EGDC does have a vision for the community, the fourth function of community development, the corporation would rather revisit their vision while fully engaging community input in the process to create a stakeholder-led plan. The EGDC's communication strategy relies on bridging social capital between CBOs and government leaders to refocus development in East Gainesville to include residents as decision-makers rather than project-receivers. The corporation confronts barriers to its strategy when key actors are stretched too thin among the various CBOs and planning visions. As a result, stakeholders cannot separate themselves from their personal vested interests. Communication and relationship management strategies must therefore work to re-unify the community's vision and incorporate resident authority.

Future plans for East Gainesville's revitalization must address the perspectives CBOs, residents and government actors bring to the table to form a consensual vision for the community. Green and Haines (2002, p. 229-230) identify five key actions to promote community development including: build upon past successes, create a space for community visioning and planning, provide professional training for CBOs, form a consortium of CBOs to work together, and encourage community-based decision-making. Plans to update the 1997 EGDAP suggest that these actions may be implemented in East Gainesville fairly soon. The plan update will draw from the past "empowerment success" of EGDAP while creating a space for residents to make decisions concerning their vision of East Gainesville. Dialogue should

emphasize inclusionary argumentation that recognizes the ideas, concerns, and opinions of all participants in the planning process (Healey, 2003). The EGDC's communication outreach strategy to create a consortium of CBOs that will provide project and training partnerships represents another arena where communication in community development in East Gainesville is being improved. Narayan's (2005) argument that empowerment requires both top-down (institutional) and bottom-up (CBO) changes illustrates the general agenda that should be adopted by East Gainesville stakeholders. The success of these efforts depends upon the willingness of CBOs and government actors to set aside their personal goals for East Gainesville in order to re-integrate stakeholders under a unified vision. The case study of Eastside contributes to the literature by addressing the role of communicative planning from the perspective of a local CBO involved in long-range revitalization efforts in an economically distressed community.

### **Integrating Involved, Distressed Communities into the Established Literature**

Involvement in East Gainesville initiatives and projects became disjointed as planning visions changed and were not maintained. The majority of literature on economically distressed community development focuses on communities that have little to no involvement. The findings from the Eastside study suggest that more studies should be done to evaluate how to balance social capital partnerships between community groups and government opportunity structure in active, but distressed communities.

### **Does Social Capital Exist in the Community and How is it Being Distributed?**

In non-involved communities, bridging social capital is seen as the primary method to begin grassroots community empowerment and development (Colclough & Sitaraman, 2005; Green & Haines, 2002; Lin 2000; Temkin & Rohe, 1998; Vidal, 1995; Vidal, 2004).

Maintenance of a grassroots approach that bridges social capital is imperative to implementing a

community-based vision (Wiewel & Gills, 1995). The case study of EGDC reveals bridging social capital is effective but not a universal quick-fix to promote community development in distressed communities. Communities that are already involved face different obstacles to harness social capital into an effective means of project development.

### **Are Social Capital Resources and Partnerships Balanced Between Community Groups and Government Institutions?**

Few studies address how to reintegrate local organizations that are currently involved in revitalization but have splintered their efforts and become territorial. Communicative planning approaches for building consensus address general planning conflict issues, but do not incorporate the specific barriers faced by distressed communities. Based on this study of the EGDC, maintaining social capital bridges in CBOs could have increased resident decision-making authority in government plans for East Gainesville.

Guidelines for sustaining a balance between government and grassroots efforts could have led to plans where residents and CBOs felt involved and empowered. Krumholz's inference regarding the Cleveland Housing Network's obstacles to sustainable revitalization indicates that a consortium of non-profit groups must be guided by a collaborative comprehensive strategy led by government agencies (Krumholz, 1997b). As of now, PEG is not the "unifying vision" Commissioner Long had hoped it would be. Other than Krumholz (1997b), the literature does not adequately address how multiple revitalization visions of stakeholder groups in active, distressed communities have caused conflict among stakeholder groups.

### **How Does the Distribution of Social Capital Resources and Partnerships Influence the Outcome of Empowerment in Revitalization Efforts?**

Empowerment cannot be realized if there is not a mutually beneficial or balanced relationship between community groups and government opportunity structure. Social capital resources and partnerships influence the strength of social group agency and opportunity

structure, respectively. Thus, social capital partnerships influence the ability for a community to achieve resident empowerment in redevelopment efforts. The nuances of social capital networks within active, distressed communities have not been fully researched in the fields of community development or planning and require further study.

### **Policy Implications and Future Research**

The nuances of community development in involved, distressed communities should become a main area of study to determine best practices to maintain long-term resident involvement and government-community group partnerships. In East Gainesville, the issues that will be addressed in the update of EGDAP and visioning process could provide meaningful policy implications regarding how communities (re)create cohesive revitalization efforts. Communities with active community groups that are currently splitting rather than collecting social capital resources should engage in a four-step process of

- (Re)Unifying the Community Vision
- Incorporating the Community Vision into the Government-Adopted Plan
- Revisiting Underlying Issues
- Maintaining Communication Channels.

Following these four policy practices will (re)energize and balance community group and government collaboration. Once a balance and mutually beneficial relationship is established between community groups and government opportunity structure, community members are empowered and affirm decision-making power in planning decisions.

The case study of Eastside and EGDC provides a stepping stone to fully investigate the particulars of social capital partnerships and their influence on community empowerment. Limitations of the study included its focus on social groups rather than individuals, limited

interviews with stakeholders, and lack of comparison case studies. Centering on the role of Eastside social groups assumed that the groups involved in the study represented the attitudes of Eastside residents. This assumption is inherently faulty. Communities have many members, each of which has varied opinions. The adopted missions of community groups will never reflect the attitudes of every single community member the group attempts to represent. Secondly, due to the time constraints of the case study, only three primary stakeholders were interviewed. Additional interviews may have revealed different opinions on the interactions within the community and between Eastside and the city's and county's government institutions of the city and county. Finally, the qualitative nature of the Eastside study along with time constraints, kept the researcher from conducting a similar case study in a different community. A study of a distressed community that was white, rural and poor may have garnered different results.

Future research to address these issues could examine how well EGDC reflects the Eastside resident attitudes by conducting house-to-house interviews with community members concerning EGDC and Eastside revitalization efforts. An investigation of EGDC's campaign to form a consortium of CBOs through the John Curtis project could include additional interviews with community stakeholders to further evaluate grassroots consensus-building and bridging social capital. Case studies comparing other similar communities can test the findings of the East Gainesville case study to determine the importance of maintaining a community vision in relation to social capital partnerships.

Despite the limitations of the Eastside case study, the findings and methods can be easily applied to different community contexts. While the Gainesville study addresses issues of race, university-resident (town-gown) conflicts, and southern urban development, the issues of

scarcity of financial resources, plethora of community groups, and importance of social capital partnerships in determining resident empowerment are applicable throughout the U.S. and the globe. As more communities turn to revitalization as an alternative to urban sprawl or growth, communication in revitalization processes becomes increasingly relevant. In these efforts, planners, CBOs, residents, and government actors become more than their job titles. Each actor becomes part of a communication process that will define the future for a community as well as the community's authority in determining its own future. Methods and strategies to build consensus and inclusion in revitalization efforts will increase the success rates across cities and towns.

At the 2008 EGDC Annual Meeting, Planning Commissioner Scherwin Henry stated, "So goes East Gainesville, so goes the rest of Gainesville" (Henry, 2008b). As indicated by Henry's sentiments, revitalization and development efforts in distressed communities not only affect residents, but determine the future of an entire city's development. Almost every urban area has a neighborhood that is considered the "bad part of town." Most often, these "bad parts of town" used to be thriving communities that hosted major business, commercial and community centers, but were ignored as development became focused on the outer rings of the city. The major obstacle facing many distressed communities is negative perceptions. Revitalization offers an opportunity to transform negative perceptions into knowledge of area history, community members, and the planning process. Once communities view the success of revitalization, they often turn their focus to redeveloping other troubled areas. East Gainesville's active leadership presents a positive case where community-based organizations continue to make a difference. Creating a revitalized neighborhood, however, does not just include the planners and other government actors, but those residents in the neighborhood. Effective communication in

revitalization efforts not only transforms the physical appearance of communities but can also empower the community members themselves.

APPENDIX  
INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD CONSENT FORM

**Informed Consent**

Communicative Planning in Revitalization Efforts: A Case Study of East Gainesville, FL

**Please read this consent document carefully before you decide to participate in this study.**

**Purpose of the research study:**

As a graduate student researcher at the University of Florida, I, Allison Abbott, state the purpose of this study is to examine the efforts of community development in East Gainesville to measure social capital networks and extent of community empowerment accomplished through development efforts.

**What you will be asked to do in the study:**

If you agree to participate in the study, you will be asked to provide your perspective of development efforts in East Gainesville through a variety of methods: interview, survey, or observation. If you agree to an interview, you will be asked to participate in an interview of no more than one hour. The list of general question topics include: networking in East Gainesville, your knowledge of past East Gainesville development projects, present issues in East Gainesville projects, and your goals for East Gainesville. Your interview will be conducted by phone or at your office or home after I have received a copy of this signed consent from you. With your permission, I would like to audiotape this interview. Only I will have access to the tape, which I will personally transcribe. All tapes will be destroyed by being erased at the conclusion of the research. Your verbal remarks may be included in the thesis document. If this is agreeable to you, please sign the consent form below where indicated.

You may also be asked to complete a survey, given out by the researcher, Allison Abbott, regarding East Gainesville development projects that will focus on your perceptions and networks associated with East Gainesville. The topics covered will be the same as in personal interviews, however, surveys will be anonymous, but associated with the community development group or government group of which you are a member. The survey will not be completed until you have read and signed the consent form. Only I will have access the completed surveys. The survey will be completed for those who agree to participate during a community meeting.

Finally, I may ask to observe your and your group's interactions at public meetings in order to understand communication between members, issues regarding networking and project building for East Gainesville, and potential networking possibilities. Observations will be based on topics covered in open general meetings. Observations will not be recorded until you have read and signed a consent form. With your permission, I would like to audiotape meetings where entire groups have consented to participate. Only I will have access to the tape, which I will personally transcribe. All tapes will be destroyed by being erased at the conclusion of the research. Your identity may be associated with your comments during the meeting. If this is agreeable to you, please sign the consent form below where indicated.

**Time required:**

1 hour

**Risks and Benefits:**

There are no anticipated risks, compensation, or other direct benefits to you as a participant in this interview. You are free to withdraw your consent to participate and may discontinue your participation in the study at any time without consequence.

**Compensation:**

There will be no direct compensation for participation in this study.

**Confidentiality:**

Your identity will be associated with your interview or comments in meetings unless you specifically request that I do not include your name in the thesis. Surveys will be totally anonymous except for being associated with the community development group or government office within which you work.

**Voluntary participation:**

Your participation in this study is completely voluntary. There is no penalty for not participating.

**Right to withdraw from the study:**

You have the right to withdraw from the study at any time without consequence.

**Whom to contact if you have questions about the study:**

Allison Abbott, Graduate Student, University of Florida, Department of Urban and Regional Planning, P.O. Box 115706 Gainesville, FL (540)-383-8174.

Kristin Larsen, PhD, University of Florida, Department of Urban and Regional Planning, P.O. Box 115706, Gainesville, FL (352)-392-0997 ext. 433.

**Whom to contact about your rights as a research participant in the study:**

IRB02 Office, Box 112250, University of Florida, Gainesville, FL 32611-2250; phone 392-0433.

**Agreement:**

I have read the procedures described above and agree to participate in the interview, survey, community meeting (observation) [circle all that apply] for the [title of your thesis]. I agree to have my remarks included and identified as mine in the thesis.

Participant: \_\_\_\_\_ Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Principal Investigator: \_\_\_\_\_ Date: \_\_\_\_\_

I have read the procedures described above and agree to participate in the interview, survey, community meeting (observation) [circle all that apply] for the [title of your thesis]. I do not wish to have my remarks included in the thesis but rather wish them to remain confidential, subject to the protections described above and confidential to the extent provided by law.

Participant: \_\_\_\_\_ Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Principal Investigator: \_\_\_\_\_ Date: \_\_\_\_\_

**Copy of Interview**

If you wish to receive a copy of the thesis, please indicate here and provide your name and address below. I will be happy to provide you a copy with the thesis upon its completion.

YES / NO (Circle one)

Participants Mailing Address:

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## BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Allison Abbott received her Bachelor of Science in anthropology from James Madison University in Harrisonburg, Virginia. She is pursuing her master's degree in both urban and regional planning and master's degree in anthropology from the University of Florida in Gainesville, Florida. She hopes to continue her work with distressed communities, nationally and internationally, through her work toward her Ph.D. in anthropology at the University of Florida.