

EVALUATING THE POTENTIAL EFFECTIVENESS OF COMMUNITY
REDEVELOPMENT AGENCIES TO IMPROVE SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS
WITHIN THE REDEVELOPMENT AREA: A CASE STUDY IN GAINESVILLE, FLORIDA

By

CRYSTAL M. TORRES

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To my mother and my father

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>page</u>
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	4
LIST OF TABLES.....	8
LIST OF FIGURES.....	9
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.....	10
ABSTRACT	11
CHAPTER	
1 INTRODUCTION	13
Community Redevelopment in the Eastside Community	14
Purpose and Organization	16
2 REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE	17
Problems of Low-income Communities.....	17
Jobs.....	18
Health.....	20
Goods and Services	21
Crime.....	22
Policies that have Contributed to Concentrated Poverty.....	23
The FHA and the Interstate Highway Act	23
Local Land Use and Zoning.....	24
Urban Redevelopment Programs	25
Overview of CRA History in Florida.....	27
Legislative Background of Florida CRAs.....	28
Finding of Necessity	28
Tax Increment Financing	29
Criticism of Community Redevelopment Programs	30
Focus on Economic Projects	30
Stakeholder Influence.....	31
Lack of Oversight	32
Alternative Methods to Community Redevelopment	32
Best Practices	34
Summary	37
3 METHODOLOGY	39
Outcome Evaluation	39
Comparison Conditions	40

Criticisms of Outcome-Based Evaluation	41
Data Collection	41
Case Studies	42
Local Government Documents	42
Census Data	43
GIS Mapping	43
Indicators	44
Summary	44
4 FINDINGS.....	50
CRA Activity in the Eastside Community	51
Desired Outcomes.....	52
Relationship to Other Plans.....	55
CRA Outcomes	56
Socio-economic Findings.....	57
Poverty and Unemployment.....	58
Public Assistance	59
Educational Attainment	59
Median Income.....	60
Homeownership	60
Summary	61
5 DISCUSSION	80
Summary of the Study	81
Discussion	82
Despite Government Programs; Poverty and Unemployment Exist	82
Eastside CRA Operates Like a Business	83
Social Objectives Neglected.....	83
Potential of an Unincorporated Eastside CRA to Improve Socio-economic Conditions	84
Implications.....	85
Practical.....	85
Approach.....	86
Limitations.....	87
Final Word on Findings	88
6 CONCLUSIONS	89
Recommendations.....	90
Further Research.....	93
APPENDIX	
A CONDITIONS OF BLIGHT	97
B LOCAL GOVERNMENT DOCUMENTS	98

C CENSUS DATA	99
LIST OF REFERENCES	100
BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH	104

LIST OF TABLES

<u>Table</u>	<u>page</u>
3-1 Socio-economic goals & indicators.....	49
4-1 Eastside Redevelopment Plan objectives and initiatives	76
4-2 Incorporated Eastside Area budget and implemented project list 2006.....	77
4-3 Incorporated Eastside Area budget and implemented project list 2008.....	78
4-4 Incorporated Eastside Area budget and implemented project list 2009.....	79
6-1 Examples of partners in local Workforce Development system	95
C-1 Census Data.....	100

LIST OF FIGURES

<u>Figure</u>	<u>page</u>
3-1 Incorporated & Unincorporated Eastside census block groups	47
3-2 Incorporated & Unincorporated Eastside census tracts.....	48
4-1 Percent of population living below poverty	62
4-2 Unemployment rate	63
4-3 Percent of households receiving public assistance	63
4-4 Percent of population 25 years and older with a high school degree.....	64
4-5 Percent of Population 25 years and older with a bachelor's degree	65
4-6 Median household income.....	66
4-7 Rate of homeownership.....	67
4-8 Incorporated CRA & Unincorporated CRA (proposed)	68
4-9 Alachua County population (2000)	69
4-10 Minority population (2000)	70
4-11 Percent of population living below poverty (2000)	71
4-12 Population unemployed (2000).....	72
4-13 Population 25 years and older with a high school diploma (2000).....	73
4-14 Population 25 years and older with a bachelor's degree (2000).....	74
4-15 Median household income (2000)	75

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CDBG	Community Development Block Grant
CPTED	Crime Prevention through Environmental Design
CRA	Community Redevelopment Agency
FHA	Federal Housing Administration
SJI	Seattle Jobs Initiative
TIF	Tax Increment Financing

Abstract of Thesis Presented to the Graduate School
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By

Crystal M. Torres

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Despite their popularity, little evidence supports the effectiveness of CRAs to improve socio-economic conditions in redevelopment areas. Using the Eastside Gainesville Community as a case study, this study assesses the effectiveness of CRAs at improving socio-economic conditions in redevelopment areas. A lack of private sector investors exacerbates existing declining conditions in economically distressed neighborhoods, creating a need for government intervention in the form of redevelopment policies. However, as history has shown, the intentions of redevelopment policies and the actual outcomes have not always been consistent and have emphasized physical improvements rather than direct benefits to residents.

This study uses an outcome based evaluation, which provides the framework needed to determine how effectively a CRA can improve socio-economic conditions of the Incorporated Eastside. Comparisons within each study area over time and between the two study areas are examined. Outcome evaluation is conducted by measuring the

change in socio-economic indicators. Specific, socio-economic indicators are chosen to assess whether certain community conditions have improved.

Findings reveal the redevelopment plans have promised increased jobs and opportunities for all residents in the redevelopment area, yet benefits seem to have eluded the low income residents who could benefit the most from increased job opportunities. In addition, CRAs are more likely to invest in capital improvements, which offer greater return than social programs, confirming criticism that local governments increasingly act like businesses. In addition alternative approaches to community redevelopment may offer greater socio-economic gains, but further research is necessary to reach conclusions. Furthermore, this study concludes that if Alachua County is determined to improve socio-economic conditions in the Unincorporated Eastside, a CRA that balances physical enhancements and social investment is needed. Simply investing in physical enhancements alone will not offer an improved quality of life for residents of the Unincorporated Eastside Community. Lastly this study recommends greater emphasis on workforce development and outlines several steps to implement this recommendation.

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

Community Redevelopment Agencies (CRAs) have been touted for their ability to facilitate economic growth and development in economically distressed neighborhoods. CRAs operate within a framework that uses new development, infrastructure improvements, job creation, and private investment to revitalize slums or blighted areas (Appledom, 2006). As Rogers and Tao (2004) explain, targeted economic development, such as that pursued by CRAs, can “funnel resources from outside a local government’s jurisdiction toward areas within the jurisdiction that are lagging” (p.271). This strategy enables local governments to access funding that would otherwise be unavailable within the redevelopment area.

The devolution of public services from federal to state to local responsibility means that where you live is an increasingly strong determining factor in your access to public goods and services (Dreier, Mollenkopf, & Swanstrom, 2004). Local governments are highly dependent on taxes for funding public goods and services; therefore, while higher income neighborhoods typically enjoy ample funding for their schools and parks, low-income neighborhoods continually lack the funds for maintenance and improvements of public goods and services (Briggs, 2005). Further, “the segregation of income groups into different local governments has led to supposedly equal citizens [having] unequal access to public goods” (Dreier, Mollenkopf, & Swanstrom, 2004, p.28).

Without government intervention, the social and economic states of these lower income communities are likely to decline further. However, despite support from planners, politicians, private investors, and others involved in redevelopment, very little research supports the effectiveness of CRAs to improve socio-economic conditions of

such distressed communities. Evidence of the success of CRAs is usually provided in the form of increased tax revenues and higher property values, not in the form of decreased poverty or unemployment (Krumholz, 1991).

Local governments' dependence on property taxes encourages investment in capital improvements that offer greater profits, while investment in social improvement programs and projects tends to be delayed until additional funds become available. With few exceptions, CRAs have continuously shown the tendency to pursue economic initiatives rather than social ones. Higher return gained from economic activities has encouraged an entrepreneurial like atmosphere, where CRAs focus on economic improvements first and socio-economic improvements later, or not at all (Delaney, 2004). The general success of CRAs to increase property values and tax revenue has been a contributing factor to more and more localities pursuing the establishment of CRAs, including Alachua County.

This study evaluates the potential effectiveness of a CRA to improve socio-economic conditions in one Gainesville community. Despite their popularity, little evidence supports the effectiveness of CRAs to improve socio-economic conditions in redevelopment areas. Therefore as the use of CRAs becomes more popular in Alachua County, the effectiveness of CRAs must be evaluated in a more thorough manner, including the improvements in job opportunities and homeownership as well as property values in the evaluation.

Community Redevelopment in the Eastside Community

For many years the portion of the Eastside Community that is located within Gainesville's city limits, the area hereafter referred to as the "Incorporated Eastside Community", has been known as an economically distressed neighborhood. The

neighborhood has historically been a minority neighborhood isolated from the remainder of Gainesville and its public goods and services (Fisher, 2010). Evidence confirms that the Eastside Community has higher rates of poverty and unemployment than the remainder of Alachua County (Fisher, 2010). Further, the community's deteriorated buildings, overgrown sites, and lack of infrastructure discourage development from occurring in the community. Acknowledging the need for investment and development of the area, the City of Gainesville established an Eastside Community CRA in 2001 (Fisher, 2010). Since the adoption of the Eastside Redevelopment Area, the Gainesville Community Redevelopment Agency has made efforts to improve the conditions in the community through initiatives such as infrastructure improvements and building façade programs. In general, improvements have occurred in the form of physical enhancements to the redevelopment area.

Just east of the Gainesville city limits is another section of the Eastside Community that has suffered from similar isolation and lack of funds and investment. This area is referred to as the "Unincorporated Eastside Community". Unlike the Incorporated Eastside Community, the unincorporated area has not been designated a redevelopment area. Lack of infrastructure improvements, an abundance of underdeveloped commercial land, deteriorated housing and inefficient land use patterns have disadvantaged the community and reflect an urgent need for investment and redevelopment in the area. Acknowledging the need for investment and redevelopment, Alachua County has proposed the establishment of an Unincorporated Eastside CRA.

Observing the community redevelopment approach most often used by CRAs to achieve redevelopment and exploring alternative methods provides this study with

material to make recommendations. Furthermore, due to the fact that private developers instead of low-income residents often reap the benefits of redevelopment programs, it is important to remain critical of programs that target redevelopment of distressed neighborhoods (Krumholz, 1991). In addition, an evaluation of the Incorporated Eastside Redevelopment Area is included as a case study concerning CRA efforts to improve socio-economic conditions in the Eastside Community.

Purpose and Organization

The purpose of this study is to critically examine local redevelopment efforts intended to improve socio-economic conditions within the redevelopment area. In order to evaluate CRAs, Chapter 2 provides information pertinent to understanding the context surrounding the problems of low-income communities along with past and present government solutions. This review addresses economic segregation, decline of economic mobility, and policies that encourage economic segregation. In addition, Chapter 2 provides an overview of Community Redevelopment policy in Florida, background information on the legislation regarding CRAs, and a critique on the use of CRAs. Chapter 3 outlines the methodology for evaluating the effectiveness of the Incorporated Eastside Community CRA. As a means to determine the potential effectiveness of a CRA to improve socio-economic conditions in the Unincorporated Eastside Community, Chapter 4 presents the results of the evaluation of the Incorporated Eastside CRA in order to discuss impacts of CRA efforts on socio-economic conditions. Chapter 5 analyzes the findings and relates them back to the literature and research question. In addition, Chapter 5 discusses the implications of this study on planning practice and approach, and provides conclusions, as well as, recommendations and discussion of possible future research.

CHAPTER 2 REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Low-income neighborhoods are disproportionately burdened by poverty, unemployment, and crime (Briggs, 2005; Drier, Mollenkopf, & Swanstorm, 2004). Redevelopment and investment in these low-income neighborhoods is needed to improve socio-economic conditions. However, redevelopment policies meant to improve such conditions often failed to offer relief in the form of affordable housing, employment, or enhancement in educational attainment in the redevelopment area. Instead redevelopment programs have continually emphasized construction and other physical improvements. Even with strengthened regulations that require redevelopment agencies to involve the community in the redevelopment process, criticism of redevelopment outcomes still exists. Outlining the problems of low-income neighborhoods, their causes, and government response to these problems provides the foundation for evaluating the effectiveness of CRAs to address socio-economic issues.

Problems of Low-income Communities

Although there are many reasons for decreased economic mobility and cyclical poverty, this study focuses on geographical factors that disadvantage individuals living in economically distressed communities. Place has a significant impact on people's quality of life and their ability to improve their economic standing. Without investment in economically distressed neighborhoods, these communities continue to lack the capacity to promote upward mobility and a higher quality of life. However, before any recommendations can be made concerning the best approach to community redevelopment, it is first necessary to explore and gain a deeper understanding of the problems that exist in low-income communities.

Americans believe in general that if you work hard, you will prosper. However, the ability of Americans to improve their economic standing is decreasing and much lower when compared to other advanced nations (Drier, Mollenkopf, & Swanstorm, 2004). “America is becoming more of a class-bound society, and we cannot count on mobility to diminish the negative effects of rising inequality” (Drier, Mollenkopf, & Swanstorm, 2004, p.25). Economic mobility or the ability of an individual to move from one income quintile to another has been decreasing since the 1960s. For example, “65.9% of people who were in the bottom 40% of income distribution in 1969 remained in that group twenty-five years later [and] only 5.8% had climbed the ladder to the richest 20% of the population” (Drier, Mollenkopf, & Swanstorm, 2004, p.24).

Increasing economic segregation has further inhibited those living in concentrated poverty from improving their economic standing (Wilson, 1987). Living in a low-income neighborhood often means reduced quality of neighborhood amenities. Briggs (2005) describes low-income neighborhoods as traps and wealthier neighborhoods as springboards where affluent people have access to opportunities and the low-income remain constrained by poverty. Where you live matters and the neighborhoods in which you reside have a significant impact on the quality of available goods and services.

Jobs

The distance between location of residences and jobs has a major effect on one’s ability to find employment. A spatial mismatch exists between where low-income individuals live and where the jobs they are qualified for are located (Ihlandfeldt, 1994). The problem with “mov[ing] closer to their jobs to minimize spatial mismatches,” is that this rational market theory does not take into account the very limited housing options

for low-income families in the more affluent suburbs (Dreier, Mollenkopf, & Swanstrom, 2004, pg. 67).

The effects of spatial mismatch are evident when looking at the Gautreaux program in Chicago, which helped low-income households move out of the inner-city and into suburbs. The program found that individuals who moved to the suburbs had much higher rates of employment although their wage was not higher, and they did not receive more hours than those employed where they previously lived (Dreier, Mollenkopf, & Swanstrom, 2004). One of the major benefits to this program was the impact it had on the children who moved to the suburbs compared to households that moved but remained in the city. The suburban children were much more likely to attend college and have higher paying jobs with benefits (Dreier, Mollenkopf, & Swanstrom, 2004) Overall the research conducted on the Gautreaux program supports the argument that place matters.

In contrast to the Gautreaux program's success in helping people get jobs by relocating them to the suburbs, programs that simply help low-income individuals find jobs, such as the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996, have had only minimal success. These job placement programs do not take into account the fact that only one in twenty welfare recipients owns a car, which further limits their access to jobs (Dreier, Mollenkopf, & Swanstrom, 2004).

Residents of low-income neighborhoods are also disadvantaged by the decreasing use of newspaper advertisements to hire new employees. Instead, employers increasingly use employee networks to find good workers (Dreier, Mollenkopf, and Swanstrom, 2004). Due to the fact that low-income households belong to social

networks that often only include individuals with similar circumstances, the use of employee networks limits low-income individuals' access to the higher paying jobs.

Health

The economic segregation of the wealthy population from the low-income population has had detrimental effects on the health of those who reside in neighborhoods with concentrated poverty. Areas of concentrated poverty suffer from higher mortality, obesity, and psychological distress compared to areas of non-poverty (Dreier, Mollenkopf, & Swanstrom, 2004). Although the location alone cannot completely account for these health conditions, the lack of access to healthcare in low-income neighborhoods inhibits individuals' likelihood of getting the medical attention they may need. Even with Medicaid supplying insurance to the low-income and elderly, forty-five million Americans do not have health insurance (Dreier, Mollenkopf, & Swanstrom, 2004). In addition, not all doctor's offices accept Medicaid. Not surprisingly, a large percentage of those without insurance are the working poor. Although the overall supply of doctors has increased, the presence of doctors' offices in low-income and central city neighborhoods remains low (Dreier, Mollenkopf, & Swanstrom, 2004). For example, some low-income neighborhoods have one physician for more than 3,700 children, while their counterparts in the suburbs have one doctor for every 400 children (Dreier, Mollenkopf, & Swanstrom, 2004).

Limited options for decent affordable housing force many low-income households to reside in older buildings, many of which have health code violations (Dreier, Mollenkopf, & Swanstrom, 2004). Lead paint is still present in many of these older buildings and can have devastating effects on children's ability to learn and perform in school (Dreier, Mollenkopf, & Swanstrom, 2004). Furthermore, lower property values

and tax revenue in low-income neighborhoods result in very limited funding for parks and recreational resources, leading many children to play in the streets and putting them at risk of traffic accidents. Higher rates of crime also cause safety concerns and cause many people to stay indoors to avoid neighborhood crime (Dreier, Mollenkopf, & Swanstrom, 2004).

Another locational factor that impacts the health of low-income families is the tendency of garbage transfer stations and power plants to be located in economically distressed neighborhoods. Both have detrimental impacts on air quality. As a result, low-income communities tend to have higher rates of asthma. High levels of cockroach allergens in inner-city areas have also been linked to asthma in young children. One study by Rosenstreich (1997) found that children exposed to cockroach allergens were three times more likely to be hospitalized than children who had not been exposed to these allergens. Furthermore, during the 1990s, when the number of people with asthma grew from 7 to 17 million, a majority of these people lived in areas with concentrated poverty (Dreier, Mollenkopf, & Swanstrom, 2004, pg.80).

Goods and Services

In addition to diminished job and healthcare opportunities, low-income neighborhoods suffer from lack of retail stores, while more affluent neighborhoods have an oversupply. Not only do people from low-income neighborhoods have to travel further to find quality goods, they must also travel further to acquire retail jobs. According to Bingham and Zhang (1997), retail stores in affluent neighborhoods offer employment to 67 per 1,000 residents, compared to only 16 out of 1,000 in low-income neighborhoods. Although a clear need exists for retail and food stores in low-income neighborhoods, the higher costs associated with increased insurance rates, theft,

parking rates, and land assembly discourages private investment (Drier, Mollenkopf, & Swanstrom, 2004). The lack of shopping options in low-income neighborhoods has resulted in “fewer choices, and poorer quality goods for which [residents] must travel farther” and pay more (Drier, Mollenkopf, & Swanstrom, 2004). Furthermore, lack of retail creates a situation where low-income households are increasingly burdened by the cost of goods:

Poor people can only cut their expenditures on food so much, even when they spend considerably less than middle-class families. That is why low-income families spend 30% of their income on food, compared to the national average of less than 13%. What people pay for groceries depends on where they live and shop. Not only is food cost generally higher for those living in low-income neighborhoods but many low-income households do not have access to a personal automobile, adding another \$400 to \$1000 a year for taxis or transit (Drier, Mollenkopf, & Swanstrom, 2004, pg. 87).

Crime

According to Cloward and Ohlin (1960) the inability of low-income neighborhoods to provide residents with job opportunities has led to significantly higher rates of crime when compared to middle-class neighborhoods. Without access to decent paying jobs, residents in impoverished areas are more likely to turn to crime to provide themselves with the “goods and respect [unavailable] through conventional” means (Dreier, Mollenkopf, & Swanstrom, 2004, pg. 93). The blue collar jobs that were once located in working class neighborhoods are gone (Dreier, Mollenkopf, & Swanstrom, 2004). Today service jobs are mostly located in middle income communities, requiring skills and higher education that many low-income people lack.

Clearly place does in fact impact the quality of resources available to residents. As income inequality and economic segregation continue to grow, the concentration of poverty grows with it, limiting the opportunity for upward mobility. The segregation

between low-income and affluent households has resulted in “an uneven geography of opportunity,” in which low-income households are located in communities that lack the capacity to promote upward mobility (Briggs, 2005, x). However, far from being an inevitable evolution or a historical accident, the segregation of different income households was the result of several policies that encouraged sprawl, economic segregation, and concentrated poverty. The next section examines some of the most influential policies that have shaped urban form and encouraged economic segregation in the United States.

Policies that have Contributed to Concentrated Poverty

Evaluation of public policies is needed to create informative feedback loops that provide policy makers and implementers with useful recommendations regarding how to improve program effectiveness. Through further review of the influences that public policy has had on urban form and economic segregation, this study seeks to outline ways that public policy has directly and indirectly worked against residents of economically distressed neighborhoods. Historically, four primary public policies contributed to concentrated poverty and blight in low-income neighborhoods (Cashin, 2004). These are the Federal Housing Administration (FHA), the federal Interstate Highway program, local land use and zoning regulations, and urban redevelopment programs (Cashin 2004).

The FHA and the Interstate Highway Act

Together the FHA and Interstate Highway Act created the perfect combination of cheap housing and convenience needed to draw people away from cities and into the suburbs (Duany, 2010). For the first time, the federal government offered long-term, low payment mortgages, which the average working class family could afford. Worsening

conditions of the inner cities further encouraged those who could afford to move to take advantage of the opportunity to become homeowners and escape the problems of the city. The idea of living far from jobs, goods, and services may not have been so attractive without the Interstate Highway Act, which made the commute from the suburbs faster and feasible for the average American (Duany, 2010). Furthermore, as working class and more affluent households moved to the suburbs, investment and development followed resulting in further decline of urban neighborhoods.

Local Land Use and Zoning

In addition to federal policies, local policies and regulations in the form of land-use and zoning restrictions have also had a significant influence on the development patterns of American communities and encouraged concentrated poverty and blight conditions (Cashin, 2004). Local governments are increasingly dependent on local taxes to fund public services. Unfortunately this dependency has resulted in low-income communities that are unable to provide residents with crucial goods and services. Creating an environment where local governments constantly compete with each other over “favored residents and investments” has meant the exclusion of lower income residents from working class and affluent suburbs (Drier, Mollenkopf, & Swanstrom, 2004, p.111). Minimum lot sizes and the prohibition against apartment buildings in affluent neighborhoods have kept the low-income out of these wealthier communities. The 1926 Supreme Court decision in *Euclid v. Ambler* “allowed the Cleveland suburb of Euclid to ban apartment buildings from neighborhoods with single-family housing, and further enabled economic segregation. Since then zoning has increasingly become a way for local governments to protect property values and to exclude noxious land uses,

including apartment buildings” from entering suburbia (Drier, Mollenkopf, & Swanstrom, 2004, p.113).

These land use and zoning controls further segregated low-income and more affluent households into different neighborhoods. As the working class and affluent families moved to the suburbs, private business investment moved with them. Further disadvantaging the increasingly concentrated low-income inner city neighborhoods and encouraging investment in the suburbs was the cheaper land and reduced regulations for commercial development (Cashin, 2004). Partially due to the lack of job opportunities, residents in economically distressed communities have had no other choice but to continue to live in areas that offer minimal opportunities for increased income and quality of life.

Urban Redevelopment Programs

Redevelopment programs have often been cited as a form of assistance that has harmed not helped the residents of the redevelopment area (Simon, 2001). The federal Housing Act of 1949 introduced a means for local government to establish and fund redevelopment programs. Urban redevelopment, which was meant to revitalize economically distressed downtowns, has often been cited as a contributor to concentrated poverty (Levy, 2009). Although urban redevelopment, or urban renewal as it was called then, had goals for increasing the amount of affordable housing for low-income households, commercial development took priority. Local governments used powers of eminent domain to buy and sell land at a cheap price to private developers who were more concerned with commercial development since it yielded higher profits than affordable housing. Demolition of dilapidated housing occurred much faster than construction of new affordable housing, resulting in the dislocation of an estimated 3.8

million people from their homes (Drier, Mollenkopf, & Swanstrom, 2004). The program allowed 810,000 units to be constructed to house low-income individuals and families, however not even half of the projected units were built (Drier, Mollenkopf, & Swanstrom, 2004). In fact only 320,000 units were built from 1949 to 1960 (Drier, Mollenkopf, & Swanstrom, 2004). Furthermore, housing created through the urban renewal program packed as many people as possible into austere block style buildings that were visually and often physically isolated from the community. Instead of providing more people with affordable housing, the program demolished more housing than it built, “pushed people out of their homes and businesses, destroyed social ties, and dispersed residents without adequate compensation for their economic and emotional losses” (Drier, Mollenkopf, & Swanstrom, 2004, p. 131). Simon (2001) describes the conditions associated with redevelopment of distressed communities:

The redevelopment process encouraged such injustice by weakening democratic constraints on governmental aid to development; by creating various economic incentives for localities to undertake it; and by subsidizing the private partnerships through sweetheart land deals, cheap finance, tax breaks, and publicly provided infrastructure tailored to [developer] investments (pg. 9).

Direct investment by the federal government for urban renewal ended in the 1970s when funds were consolidated into Community Development Block Grant (CDBG) programs (Simon, 2001). These programs allow local governments to exercise more discretion in choosing projects for redevelopment (Simon, 2001). The urban renewal program may have ended in the 1970s, but redevelopment continued to be a priority for local governments. Much of this focus is due to local officials' ability to harness increased taxes from revitalizing areas. Rather than the increases in taxes going into

the general fund, taxes are diverted into a redevelopment trust fund for investment in the distressed community (Simon, 2001).

During the 1970s, redevelopment policies were amended to require local governments to include public stakeholders in the planning process, as well as increased protection and compensation for the displacement of initial residents of the redevelopment area. However, questions remained concerning how effectively the redevelopment benefits reached low-income residents and whether redevelopment agencies pursued activities that benefited private developers rather than residents. The next section provides further detail concerning redevelopment in Florida and criticism of Community Redevelopment Agencies.

Overview of CRA History in Florida

Rapid population growth in Florida coupled with inefficient growth patterns in the form of sprawl fostered decline in many historic downtowns and central business districts, as well as further isolated low-income populations to exclusively low-income neighborhoods (Delaney, 2004). These factors in addition to the negative impacts that growth has had on the state's unique geography and environmental resources prompted redevelopment in the State of Florida (Delaney, 2004; Degrove and Turner 1998.) The pressure on local government to provide public goods and services coupled with Florida's conservative tax regulations, which limit taxing methods have encouraged alternative means to increase local tax revenue (Delaney, 2004).

Florida established its community redevelopment agency legislation in the late 1960s. During the 1970s, several of the largest metropolitan areas, including Ft. Lauderdale, Miami, and Orlando established CRAs (Delaney, 2004). After the success

of the first group of Florida CRAs, many other municipalities and counties became interested in CRAs as a means to foster increasing their tax base.

By the 1980s the number of CRAs reached nearly 40 agencies, and by 1990 this number more than doubled (Delaney, 2004). To date, there are over one hundred-forty CRAs in Florida (Appledom, 2006). In the next section the Community Redevelopment Act will be described in detail to offer a deeper understanding of the purpose, objective, and process of establishing a Community Redevelopment Agency.

Legislative Background of Florida CRAs

Acknowledging the existence of slums and blighted areas throughout the State, Florida Legislature adopted the Community Redevelopment Act of 1969 (Appledom, 2006). This act further acknowledges that the physical deterioration of a community often exacerbates poor neighborhood conditions such as higher rates of juvenile delinquency, impairs economic growth, and decreases the local tax base. In addition, the Act recognizes the need for redevelopment of blighted areas as a matter of state policy and state concern, and that “counties and municipalities shall not continue to be endangered by areas that consume an excessive proportion of its revenues because of the extra services required for police, fire, accident, hospitalization, and other forms of public protection, services, and facilities” (F.S.163.335).

Finding of Necessity

Before a local government can establish a CRA and obtain the powers under the Redevelopment Statute, the governing body must first identify areas of “slum or blight” through a Finding of Necessity report. The Finding of Necessity report documents the need for redevelopment of the area by identifying specific conditions of blight or slum as defined in the Florida Statutes (Appendix A). Once areas of blight or slum are identified,

the governing body may then establish a CRA. As a legal entity separate from the city or county, CRAs have the power to contract, borrow funds, and buy and sell property in their own name (Delaney, 2004). Although not required by statutes, the majority of Florida CRAs are governed by city or county commission boards; however Florida Statue allows for a mix of CRA board members that can consist of advisory members from the community and elected officials (F.S. 163).

Once the CRA is established the board may then finalize the redevelopment boundary, draft and adopt a redevelopment plan, and submit it to the Florida Department of Community Affairs for final approval. The Community Redevelopment Plan must be consistent with existing Comprehensive Plans, Future Land Use Plans, and other long range plans of the municipality or county. The Community Redevelopment Plan must also outline the financial plan of the CRA, including capital improvements and indebtedness (Delaney, 2004). Within the designated area, community elements such as housing may be included (F.S. 163).

Tax Increment Financing

The Community Redevelopment Act provides local governments with funding strategies to redevelop the area. In 1977, the benefits of enacting a CRA were significantly increased by an amendment to the Redevelopment Act allowing municipalities or counties that have adopted a Community Redevelopment Plan to establish tax increment financing, or TIF, and a redevelopment trust fund where TIF revenues are deposited (Rogers and Tao, 2004).

Tax increment financing districts have an expiration period of 30 years but can be extended up to 60 years. The tax revenue that is deposited into the Redevelopment Trust Fund can only be used on redevelopment activities previously outlined in the

Redevelopment Plan (Appledom, 2006). Although the majority of CRAs concentrate efforts on one redevelopment district, some CRAs have multiple districts because of CRA expansions, resulting in TIF districts with different timelines.

Tax increment funding is unique in that it does not require a locality to raise funds through local taxes. Instead, it funds public investment in a redevelopment area by capturing for a time, all or a portion of the increased property tax revenues, resulting from private investment stimulated by the redevelopment of the area (Appledom, 2006). As described by Delaney (2004), TIF works by “allowing governments to freeze property values within the TIF district at their value when a redevelopment program is adopted. Subsequently, as property values increase, cities or counties continue to receive ad valorem tax revenue on the frozen base,” any increase above the frozen base year becomes the tax increment and is placed into the redevelopment trust fund (Delaney, 2004, p. 86). In addition to TIF, bonds or notes can be issued for redevelopment for a maximum of 30 years. These bonds and notes are “exempt from certain state taxes and do not constitute an obligation or liability for any local governing body” (Delaney, 2004, p. 86).

Criticism of Community Redevelopment Programs

Focus on Economic Projects

Imbedded in CRAs is the desire to increase agency profits. The pressure to increase property values and taxes has led to an environment where CRAs are more inclined to put money into economic projects (Delaney, 2004). The desire to increase agency profits creates an immediate bias for CRAs to focus agency funds toward economic projects rather than social programs. Delany (2004) describes economic projects as activities that benefit landowners and developers such as commercial or

infrastructure improvements; as opposed to social projects or programs that benefit quality of life improvements such as parks or affordable housing. Economic investments garner more support because they yield higher returns and at a much faster rate than social projects. Delany (2004) confirms that social programs and projects consume agency profits and offer little or no economic return. Therefore agencies, especially in their first few years while trying to create capital for development, focus on economic improvements that will offer faster increases in property taxes. As a result of the entrepreneurial focus of CRAs, projects such as parks, libraries, and affordable housing are neglected due to their inability to generate immediate agency profits (Delaney, 2004).

Stakeholder Influence

Another reason behind the tendency of CRAs to invest in capital improvements is the influence that business stakeholders and public administrators have during the final stages of prioritizing projects (Delaney 2004). During the planning process, officials often list residents' priorities as being important, however during final negotiation of redevelopment plans, business stakeholder's priorities are generally weighted more than residents. According to research that investigated redevelopment programs in 12 U.S. cities, social projects and resident influence tend to lose steam during the final stages of goal prioritizing (Fitzgerald and Leigh, 2002). In these final stages of prioritizing projects, residents tend to have less influence while the business elite and agency officials have the power to make the final call on what projects get funded. Further, although local officials are required to give public notice and conduct several public meetings for plan adoption, amendments and budgetary changes are advertised to a much lesser degree, resulting in decreased public participation, which generally

means less focus on social projects by agencies (Delaney, 2004). This problem has resulted in many criticizing the inequity of stakeholder influence during the CRA planning process.

Lack of Oversight

Related to the problems of equity concerning stakeholder influence is the lack of oversight that occurs after CRAs are established. Once CRAs move into implementation of the Community Redevelopment Plan, little state or regional oversight exists beyond the annual report due at the end of each fiscal year (Delaney, 2004). Community Redevelopment Agencies are mandated to send plans and amendments only to taxing authorities within the county or municipality, unlike comprehensive plans which until June 2011 required a state review every five years (Delaney, 2004; Florida Department of Economic Opportunity, 2011). The lack of oversight that occurs after CRA establishment has led critics to argue for increased eligibility requirements. As of now only 2 of the 14 characteristics of blight and slum must be documented in order for a CRA to be established. With these standards, even wealthy suburbs have been designated as blighted (Krumholz, 1991). Abuse of CRA power throughout the state has been a common criticism, however needs further research to be conclusive.

Alternative Methods to Community Redevelopment

The majority of Community Redevelopment Agencies operate using a “trickle-down” approach with the belief that larger development projects will provide jobs and benefits to the community at large; however, this has not been the case for many redevelopment areas (Krumholz, 1991, pg. 298). For this reason, alternative methods to community redevelopment are explored in this study. Exploring alternative methods contributes to understanding the different approaches a CRA can take to improve socio-

economic conditions in the Eastside community. Up until now, this study has mainly described the business-like approach of CRAs, which will be referred to as the “trickle down” approach; however other approaches exist that encourage community redevelopment (Krumholz, 1991, pg. 298).

The alternative approach, referred to here as the “resident-targeted approach,” works from a framework that targets socio-economic improvements more directly. The resident-targeted approach focuses resources directly on those, typically residents, who are the intended beneficiaries of redevelopment programs, but who often receive little of the benefits due to the priority given to capital improvements. Krumholz (1991) offers a set of solutions that are tied to the facilitation of economic mobility through investment in education, job creation, and increasing the incomes of the low-income and working class. This model is more focused on harnessing the tools of community redevelopment to directly benefit the most disadvantaged residents.

Improving the education of children from impoverished households has been proven to reduce dropouts and increase the likelihood of attaining higher education. Providing increased funding for head start and other early education programs is essential to closing the education gap that exists between economically distressed and more affluent communities (Krumholz, 1991). Not only does this help close the education gap that exists, but it also produces a more skilled labor force that is “competitive and productive” (Krumholz, 1991, p. 298). Creation of skilled labor enhances people’s ability to attain employment. Furthermore, research has shown over and over again that enhancing education can result in long-term income gains. The other key component to the resident-targeted approach involves investing in workforce

development, including job training and labor subsidies. In contrast to the trickle down approach whose benefits may never reach those who desperately need it, the resident-targeted approach provides wage subsidies to employers, which can immediately put people to work and increase wages. This approach operates from the belief that expensive subsidies for development are better spent on direct job creation and are far more effective in decreasing unemployment. Improving the skills of the local labor force and its productivity involves a fundamental paradigm shift away from the belief that low-income people will automatically benefit from development (Krumholz, 1991). Furthermore, Krumholz (1991) argues that even if this approach does not spur development, at least residents in need will receive these tangible benefits.

Best Practices

A critical component of a resident-targeted approach to community redevelopment is an “integrated workforce development system” (Crawford-Lee and Hunter, 2009, pg. 476). Workforce development encompasses more than simply job training programs, it includes a “constellation of activities required to place people who have few job skills, or skills that have become outdated, into gainful employment” (Fitzgerald and Leigh, 2002, pg. 194). Though replicating best practices identically from other communities is limited due to differing legislative environments, funding resources, stakeholders, labor markets, and other regional differences, exploring popular initiatives can lead to identification of guiding principles for a successful resident-targeted initiative focused on creating jobs.

The Seattle Jobs Initiative (SJI) was established in 1995 as part of the Annie E. Casey Foundation’s 8-year effort to link disadvantaged low-income residents with living-wage jobs. At the core of this initiative is a set of four goals: aid residents in attaining

living-wage employment (i.e. at the time \$8/hr.), promote and facilitate job retention, facilitate employer involvement in creating or adapting job training curricula to match employer needs, and provide human services that support completion of job training programs and long-term job retention (Fitzgerald and Leigh, 2002).

This program followed a three phase process, including planning, capacity building, and implementation. The first phase involved community organizations, government officials, residents, business stakeholders, and educators. Combining efforts, these groups formed three subcommittees that “analyzed the regional economy, pinpointed employment barriers of the target population, and identified programs to connect the target population to employment opportunities” (Fitzgerald and Leigh, 2002, pg. 201). After the planning phase a 3-year capacity building phase took place, in which SJI evaluated initial pilot programs and adapted them accordingly.

The SJI group acted as intermediaries between clients (low-income residents) and service providers (employers and educators), allowing the agency to work closely with employers to provide skilled workers and to work with educators to adapt training program curricula to meet employer needs. As a result from 1997 to 2008, almost six thousand targeted residents were placed in jobs with living wages (average wage in 2008, \$11.84). In addition, over 60% of workers remained employed at the same job for over a year, and 40% of those who gained employment have received an increase in wages since initial employment (Fitzgerald and Leigh, 2002).

Opportunity Chicago is a component of the Transformation Chicago Plan, which seeks to revitalize low-income neighborhoods with a focus on public housing and its residents. Opportunity Chicago offers an example of how networking jobs, housing, and

services are critical to raising the standard of living for disadvantaged populations.

Similar to SJI, Opportunity Chicago's main goal is to "connect low-skilled public housing residents to employment" (Chicago Jobs Council, 2008). The objectives of the Chicago initiative are to:

1. Expand and enhance the existing workforce service delivery system to maximize employment opportunities for CHA residents;
2. Promote innovative employment skills and training programs;
3. Engage employers in the design and execution of sector- or industry-based partnerships;
4. Advocate for public policies that support sustainable improvements to the public workforce development system; and
5. Evaluate the initiative's effectiveness and determine the relevance of its model for other low-income communities and populations

(Chicago Jobs Council, 2008, n.p.).

Several strategies have aided the Chicago Workforce Initiative in successfully placing 5,000 employees in 5 years. Flexible funding and "multiple funding streams" have fostered collaboration between public and private sectors (Chicago Jobs Council, 2008). In addition targeted sectors, training and education programs, and intermediaries are essential to the Opportunity Chicago framework. By targeting sectors for employment, the Opportunity Chicago Initiative is able to focus job training and education on "career-path jobs" in growing sectors. Furthermore identifying the Chicago Jobs Council as the intermediary provides a central hub of information where partners can go to find the information needed to solve problems. For example, employers can communicate specific training requests to improve the quality of employees assisted by the initiative. Collaboration through the intermediary has created a communicative environment in which all parties involved benefit. Employers receive more qualified

employees, Employees are able to retain employment, and training partners receive useful feedback on how to improve their curricula (Chicago Jobs Council, 2008).

Another Chicago example of the resident-targeted approach to community redevelopment and economic development is the Jane Addams Resource Corporation, which provides technical assistance and training to employees of metalworking firms and training for the unemployed. In addition to training, the Jane Addams Resource Corporation works with employers to identify career-ladders.

These programs have increased the incomes of many low-income individuals. Two critical strategies have helped to make these programs successful: linking work-ready employees to immediate employment and targeting growing employment sectors (Fitzgerald and Leigh, 2002). Leveraging city investment and economic development initiatives, SJI can identify employers willing to participate in the initiative, providing jobs to work-ready employees and increasing job opportunities for low-income residents (Fitzgerald and Leigh, 2002). The second key strategy, targeting sectors, “focuses on how to structure job place residents in jobs in growing sectors or occupations with well-paying job opportunities for advancement” (Fitzgerald and Leigh, 2002, pg. 201). Through these strategies SJI, Opportunity Chicago, and the Jane Addams Resource Corporation have offered tangible benefits to low-income residents.

Summary

As Chapter 2 has detailed, a need exists to target investment in economically distressed communities due in part to several federal and local, policies and regulation, which have encouraged the isolation of low-income households from moderate and higher income neighborhoods. Planning has addressed the need for investment in distressed neighborhoods through a series of redevelopment programs; however

benefits of targeted redevelopment have often failed to reach intended beneficiaries, namely the residents of the redevelopment area. Community Redevelopment Agencies have the potential to offer an improved quality of life for residents of the redevelopment area through investing in human capital and physical enhancements of the community. However, capital improvements have often outweighed social programs. Furthermore, three targeted-resident approach initiatives are offered as examples of how redevelopment could focus on workforce development. The methodology that follows outlines the procedures used to conduct an evaluation of the potential of an Unincorporated Eastside CRA to produce socio-economic improvements.

CHAPTER 3 METHODOLOGY

This section details the methods used to evaluate the effectiveness of the Incorporated Eastside CRA, as well as the potential effectiveness of an Unincorporated Eastside CRA. For purposes of this paper “effectiveness” refers to whether the policy or program goals were realized, resulting in improvements of specific neighborhood conditions. Neighborhood conditions are defined in this paper as the socio-economic conditions of the neighborhood, which are detailed further in the indicators section.

The effectiveness of a policy or program is generally determined using outcome evaluation after a period of implementation. The outcome evaluation of the Incorporated Eastside CRA is realized using socio-economic improvements as a measure of effectiveness. Due to the fact that the primary purpose of this paper is to determine the potential effectiveness of an Unincorporated Eastside CRA before implementation, the outcome evaluation of the established Incorporated Eastside CRA will serve as a case study, indicating the effectiveness of a CRA in improving conditions nearly identical to that of the Unincorporated Eastside Community. To do so, this study used outcome based evaluation. The remainder of Chapter 4 provides an overview of outcome-based evaluation, discussion of sources used, and rationale for the case study selection.

Outcome Evaluation

The increasing importance placed on accountability has shifted the attention of evaluation from process evaluation to outcome-based evaluation (Schalock, 2001). Outcome-based evaluation focuses on the degree to which a program’s goals and objectives have been accomplished (Schalock, 2001). By comparing goals and objectives of a given program to the actual results, outcome-based evaluation

determines the effectiveness of the program. This specific type of outcome-based evaluation is referred to as an “effectiveness evaluation” (Schalock, 2001, p. 43). There are three main reasons to use effectiveness evaluation: comparing goals and objectives to actual outcomes, reporting the program’s performance and value outcomes, and providing feedback information for program improvement (Schalock, 2001). Applying effectiveness evaluation requires that comparison conditions be established. The comparison conditions utilized in this report are detailed below.

Comparison Conditions

Two primary comparisons assist in evaluating effectiveness: “within group evaluations” and “between group evaluations” (Schalock, 2001, p. 48-49). This study utilizes both types of comparisons. Within group evaluation compares conditions prior to the establishment of a given program to changes of conditions after program implementation (Schalock, 2001). For example, this paper utilizes a within group evaluation to compare the socio-economic conditions before and after implementation of a CRA. Between group evaluations compare conditions of a group that has received program benefits to the conditions of a group that has not received program benefits. Between groups evaluation is used to compare outcomes of the Incorporated Eastside Community, which received CRA benefits, to the Unincorporated Eastside Community, which has not received CRA benefits. Conducting both within group and between group evaluations will provide a deeper analysis of the potential effectiveness of a CRA.

Illustration of the outcome-based evaluation used in this study can be found at the end of Chapter 3. Comparison of goals and outcomes is the focus of this evaluation (Figure 3-1). In order to compare desired outcomes to actual outcomes, comparison

conditions and indicators must be identified. In addition, indicators must be established as a measurement tool in order for specific data to be collected and then compared.

Criticisms of Outcome-Based Evaluation

The main criticism of outcome evaluation is that it does not evaluate the process – the implementation phase of the policy. Due to the focus on outcomes, researchers have argued that outcome-based evaluation offers only partial understanding of program performance (Scheirer, 1994). Specifically, the implementation phase has great potential for unequal stakeholder influence, especially between developers and residents, which warrants attention. As noted in Delaney (2004), some researchers have argued for a more holistic evaluation method that looks at both the process and the outcomes. The implementation phase is much less understood and researched than outcome evaluation. Understanding the implementation phase of the policy process provides a more holistic understanding of the effectiveness and performance of a program, which allows easier identification of areas for improvement (Browne and Wildavasky, 1984; Chen, 1991). While process evaluation may offer a more holistic assessment of CRAs, evaluating the implementation phase is beyond the scope of this study; therefore it is not included.

Data Collection

Several methods were used to collect data for this study, including reviewing redevelopment documents from the City of Gainesville and Alachua County, Census data, American Community Survey 2005-2009 data, and GIS mapping tools. The following sections discuss these data sets in greater detail.

Case Studies

Conditions in the Eastside Community create an ideal situation for evaluation of the effectiveness of a CRA. The Eastside Community consists of an incorporated and unincorporated area; one of which has experienced the interventions of a Community Redevelopment Agency. Comparing the socio-economic conditions over time will answer the two main research questions of this study 1) Has the Eastside CRA been effective in improving neighborhood conditions and 2) what is the potential of a CRA to improve neighborhood conditions in the unincorporated Eastside Community.

The Eastside Community was chosen due to the readily available data and ongoing efforts to establish an Unincorporated Eastside CRA in Alachua County. Furthermore, as evident in the literature review, public policies do not always achieve their intended outcomes. Evaluating the effectiveness of the established CRA is an important part of understanding the potential of a similar CRA program to achieve desired outcomes in the unincorporated portion of the Eastside Community.

Local Government Documents

Information regarding the Eastside CRA was gathered from both city and county documents.¹ Plan East Gainesville: Final Report (2003) and the Eastside Community Redevelopment Plan (2006) provided information concerning redevelopment goal and objectives. In addition, the Incorporated Eastside CRA annual reports were reviewed to compare redevelopment objectives (Eastside Community Redevelopment Plan) with actual implemented projects (Gainesville CRA Annual Reports). Annual budgets

¹ Documents concerning the Eastside Community were obtained from the Alachua County Growth Management Department, City of Gainesville, and Gainesville CRA website located at <http://www.gainesvillecra.com/>.

provided further information regarding the prioritization of project funding between economic activities and social activities. The Alachua County Comprehensive Plan (2011) was also examined to explore the relationship of the Community Redevelopment Plan (2006 and 2010) with existing Alachua County Plans for the Eastside Community. Appendix B provides more detail concerning the local government documents used in this study.

Census Data

Census data was used to compare socio-economic conditions within the Incorporated Eastside Community over time and between the Incorporated Eastside and the Unincorporated Eastside Communities. Where census data was not available, the American Community Survey was used to supplement data on socio-economic changes. Specifically, data from 2005-2009 estimates was used to provide a description of socio-economic conditions during this period of time for both the Incorporated and Unincorporated Eastside Communities. Furthermore, Incorporated and Unincorporated Eastside are compared at the Census block group level (Figure 3-2), except for poverty for 2005-2009 estimates, which uses census tracts (Figure 3-3). In addition, Appendix C provides a table of Census Data used in this study.

GIS Mapping

Geographic Information System (GIS) data was obtained from the Florida Geographic Data Library, Alachua County GIS Department, and U.S. Census Bureau. Using GIS allows the researcher to conduct spatial analysis of a given area. In this case, GIS enabled a spatial understanding of specific socio-economic characteristics such as poverty, low median income, minority populations, and unemployment. This tool

also aids in confirming or refuting the argument that low income households tend to be concentrated to certain areas of a community, in this case the Eastside Community.

Indicators

Chapter 4 compares the socio-economic conditions of the Unincorporated Eastside Community with the conditions of the Incorporated Eastside Community over a time period of twenty years. Through this comparison, this study evaluates whether or not the redevelopment area has experienced improved socio-economic conditions over time. For purposes of this study socio-economic indicators are defined as follows:

Socio-Economic Indicators will refer to poverty, unemployment, median household income, homeownership rate, percent of households receiving public assistance, and educational attainment.

Table 3-1 outlines specific socio-economic goals and indicators that will be used to measure the outcomes discussed and assessed in Chapter 4. These socio-economic goals were chosen due to their prominence within the Redevelopment Plan and availability of data to measure each indicator. Evaluating these goals is essential to determine the effectiveness of intended goals to create socio-economic gains within the Eastside Community.

Summary

The study Methodology relies on outcome evaluation to determine effectiveness of CRA initiatives to improve neighborhood conditions. Some scholars have highlighted the need for evaluation to address both the process and outcome in order to be a truly holistic evaluation; however process evaluation is beyond the scope of this paper. Including process analysis would require a far more detailed analysis of the structure of the Eastside CRA, implementation of objectives, and stakeholder influence. This study

seeks to first determine the effectiveness of CRA, which may then led to further studies, as discussed in the Conclusion. Several types of data are used including local government documents and Census and American Community Survey data. Indicators for effectiveness are defined in order to facilitate an understanding of the Findings in Chapter 4.

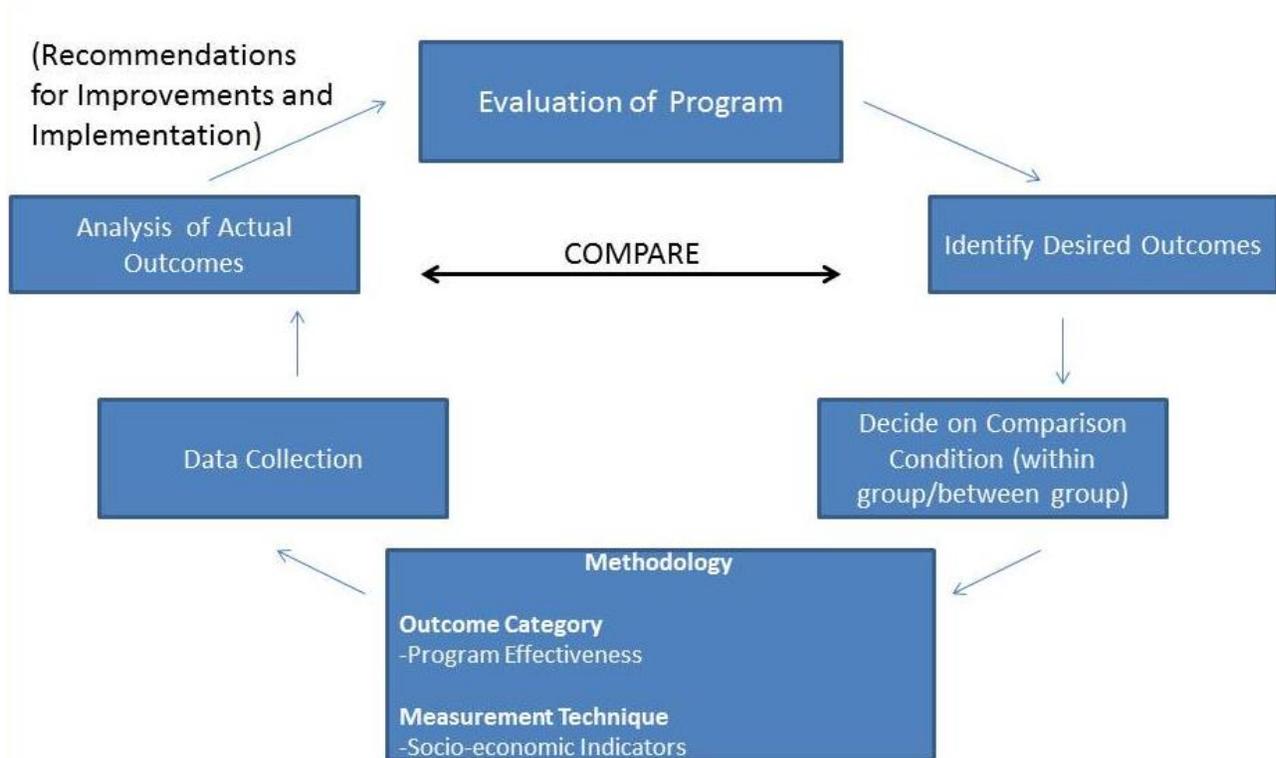
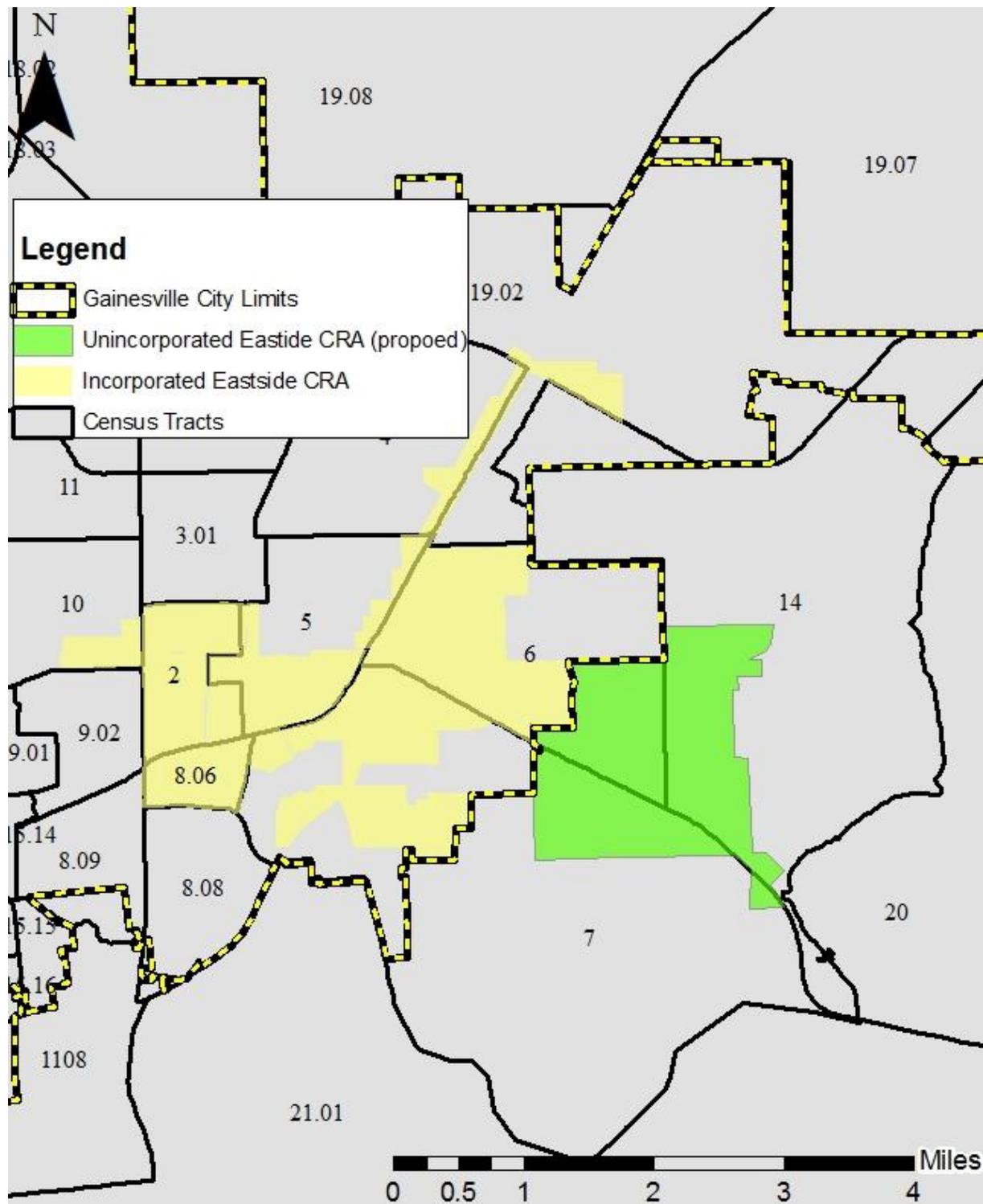


Figure 3-1. Effectiveness evaluation model (Adapted from Schalock, 2001, p. 44)



(Alachua County GIS Department, 2011; U.S. Census Bureau, Census 2000)

Figure 3-2. Incorporated & Unincorporated Eastside census tracts

Table 3-1. Socio-economic goals & indicators

SOCIO-ECONOMIC GOALS	MEASUREMENT (INDICATORS)	LOCATION IN REDEVELOPMENT PLAN
JOB CREATION: Pursue economic development initiatives that include job creation, retention and expansion	Decrease in unemployment Decrease in poverty Increase in median household income	Pg. 4-5
HOMEOWNERSHIP: Facilitate Homeownership through subsidizing loans, down payment assistance, and work-equity.	Increase in homeownership	Pg.6-7 and pg. 14
EDUCATION : Encourage investment of human capital through technical education programs, neighborhood centers for educational opportunities and training.	Increase in attainment of education	Pg. 5 and pg.13

(Fisher, 2010)

CHAPTER 4 FINDINGS

In Chapter 4, a brief overview examining hindrances to investment in the Eastside Community, as well as events leading to the adoption of an Incorporated Eastside CRA are presented to provide context for the evaluation. Then, an outline of the Incorporated Eastside CRA's guiding principles and objectives is included in order to compare intended socio-economic efforts with actual project funding. Comparing intended redevelopment objectives and projects with actual redevelopment activity reveals an inclination of the Incorporated Eastside CRA to place priority on economic projects rather than social projects or programs. Economic projects refer to trickle-down improvements such as infrastructure enhancements and downtown marketing. Social projects refer to resident-targeted improvements, which are meant to directly benefit the residents of the community through programs such as, affordable housing, and workforce training and placement. Furthermore, examining the budget and project list, from the CRA's Annual Reports, creates a clearer picture of the Agency's intended projects and actual implementation, especially concerning intended job training, homeownership assistance programs, and educational resources. Next, Chapter 4 includes an evaluation of the effectiveness of the Incorporated CRA in improving socio-economic conditions. As noted in Chapter 3, socio-economic improvements are evaluated through measuring the change in indicators (poverty, unemployment, public assistance, educational attainment, homeownership rate, and median household income). For example, socio-economic improvements in the Eastside Community could be reflected in a decrease in poverty and unemployment. Lastly Chapter 4 summarizes findings of the evaluation.

CRA Activity in the Eastside Community

The Eastside Community is located in the City of Gainesville in Alachua County Florida. Historically, the Eastside Community was a thriving area with an active agricultural presence and resident community. However, as development and investment moved toward the interstate highway (I-75) located in the western part of Gainesville, the Eastside Community began to decline due to disinvestment (Renaissance Planning Group, 2003). Construction of I-75 in the 1960s encouraged investors to develop away from some of Gainesville's most historic neighborhoods, contributing to the deterioration of many architecturally significant homes. In addition, the growing university population further encouraged development of West Gainesville, resulting in minimal commercial and residential development in the Eastside Community throughout the 1970s and 1980s (Asset Property Disposition, Inc. & Eastside Community Redevelopment Agency, 2006). Isolation of the Eastside Community from the "economic engine" of the University of Florida and the diminished use of railroads for personal travel and freight transportation are other reasons for lack of development and investment in the Eastside Community (Asset Property Disposition, Inc. & Eastside Community Redevelopment Agency, 2006, pg. 4). Consequently, the Eastside Community suffers from a lack of neighborhood amenities such as banks, groceries, restaurants, and robust transit connections. In addition, the Eastside Community is plagued by higher rates of crime, unemployment, and poverty (Alachua County Growth Management, 2011; Renaissance Planning Group, 2003).

Acknowledging the need to invest in the Eastside Community, the City of Gainesville and the Gainesville Chamber of Commerce established an East Gainesville Task Force (Task Force) in the 1990s (Asset Property Disposition, Inc. & Eastside

Community Redevelopment Agency, 2006). City officials and residents partnered to form the Task Force, which prepared the first action plan outlining redevelopment of the Eastside Community, and in 1996 the Task Force recommended establishment of a Community Redevelopment District in the City of Gainesville (Asset Property Disposition, Inc. & Eastside Community Redevelopment Agency, 2006). After adoption of the Finding of Necessity report in 2000, the City of Gainesville commissioners adopted the redevelopment plan and established the Eastside Community Redevelopment Area in 2001. The Eastside Redevelopment Plan was amended in 2006 to include a greater portion of the Incorporated Eastside Community. Furthermore the 2006 amendments were meant to “not only update the existing Redevelopment Plans, but to address conditions of blight identified in the Expansion Area” (Asset Property Disposition, Inc. & Eastside Community Redevelopment Agency, 2006, pg. 4).

Desired Outcomes

The guiding principles of the Eastside Community Redevelopment Plan maintain a commitment to improving the quality of life of life for all residents of the Eastside Community, through a sustainable approach, which takes into account social, economic, and environmental factors of the community (Fisher, 2010). Social and economic objectives include creating opportunities such as housing, jobs, cultural resources, and neighborhood services for residents of all backgrounds. The redevelopment plan outlines seven objectives each of which is supported by initiatives that provide the framework for implementation of the redevelopment goals. Table 4-1 outlines specific social and economic initiatives. Social initiatives directly improve socio-economic conditions of residents, while economic initiatives indirectly have the potential to improve socio-economic conditions for community residents.

The first objective is *Economic Development and Innovation* in the redevelopment area (Fisher, 2010, pg. 4). This objective promotes job creation, tax revenues, and an improved standard of living within the redevelopment area. Initiatives include both social and economic activities such as assembling land, removing barriers for private investors, and education and workforce development. In addition, this objective seeks to move toward a technology based economy by supporting development of innovation technologies and knowledge.

The second objective is *Commercial Activity* (Fisher, 2010, pg. 5). The Redevelopment Plan acknowledges the need for increased access to amenities, such as grocery and retail stores, to provide both shopping and employment opportunities for residents. The main goal here is to facilitate economic activity in the form of a commercial hub that will concentrate economic growth in economically distressed Eastside Community.

The third objective is *Housing*, which seeks to increase the overall options available to both renters and owners (Fisher, 2010, pg.6). Through incentives that assist with infrastructure costs, density bonuses, and stormwater assistance, the redevelopment agency seeks to encourage construction of quality housing in the form of mixed income neighborhoods. Initiatives also include down payment assistance programs and work-equity in an effort to increase homeownership in the area. These programs have the potential to directly improve the socio-economic conditions of the residents in the Eastside Community. Work-equity can provide jobs to residents while simultaneously increasing the number of affordable housing options, through recruiting residents of the community to constructing affordable housing.

According to the Redevelopment Plan the fourth objective, *Infrastructure Improvements*, is essential to achieve other redevelopment goals (Fisher, 2010, pg. 8). These other goals include accommodating infill and redevelopment, achieving equity with the western portion of Gainesville, and encouraging investment by private investors.

The fifth objective *Urban Form*, seeks to improve the overall scale and composition of the neighborhood (Fisher, 2010, pg. 9). This objective facilitates the shift from a disconnected automobile scale to a pedestrian scale that focuses on improved streetscapes and walkable neighborhoods, while discouraging large blocks that disrupt the street grid. In addition, the redevelopment plan also includes strategies for investing in public spaces and cultural amenities that promote resident pride in their community. Crime in the Eastside Community has been significantly higher compared to both the City of Gainesville and Alachua County. Through infrastructure improvements and use of Crime Prevention through Environmental Design (CPTED) principles, the CRA seeks to decrease crime and create a safe environment for residents.

The sixth objective in the redevelopment plan, *Sustainability*, outlines a pledge to the social, environmental, and economic well-being of the community (Fisher, 2010, pg. 11). This objective also maintains that ensuring the social well-being of Eastside Community residents is essential to the success of the redevelopment plan. Yet, sustainability initiatives emphasize environmental sustainability focused on preservation of natural resources, rather than social sustainability programs focused on building human capital, through increasing educational attainment or community building.

The seventh objective, *Sense of Community*, focuses on the need to improve the identity and increase pride in the community (Fisher, 2010, pg. 13). Initiatives include investing in neighborhood centers, supporting historic and cultural amenities, marketing the community to improve perceptions, and exploring creative ways to reduce crime. This objective seeks to improve both the resident and investor perceptions of the community, thereby encouraging economic development.

The last objective is *Funding Financing, Management, and Promotion* of the redevelopment area (Fisher, 2010, pg. 13). Through investment in both large and small scale projects, the CRA hopes to promote equitable funding and financing for private investors and residents. Initiatives include funding different types of projects such as affordable housing, promoting the community to investors, and creating an inventory of commercial land for future development opportunities.

Relationship to Other Plans

The Eastside Community Redevelopment Agency's goals and objectives are consistent with those of Alachua County. Alachua County like the Eastside CRA has outlined a plan that maintains a commitment to sustainable development, through promoting a balance of economic opportunity, social well-being, and environmental protection of natural resources (Alachua County, 2011). According to the Comprehensive Plan, sustainable development will ensure the conservation of environmental resources, as well as provide residents with the economic means necessary to achieve a higher standard of living (Alachua County, 2011).

In order to achieve this type of growth and development, the Comprehensive Plan outlines Future Land Uses that concentrate development and economic activity in Urban Clusters, one of which encompasses the Unincorporated Eastside Community.

Furthermore, the Future Land Use and Urban Polices section of the Comprehensive Plan specifically highlight the need for investment in the Eastside through identification of a future Activity Center meant to provide residents of the area with jobs and neighborhood amenities. Identification of Urban Clusters, as well as an Eastside Activity Center and adoption of the Eastside Master Plan into the Comprehensive Plan signals the importance of investment in the Eastside Community as a critical component to the successful implementation of the overall plan.

CRA Outcomes

In order to assess implementation of the Eastside Community Redevelopment Plan objectives, this section examines the Incorporated Eastside CRA's budget and projects lists. As TIF revenues increase for the Eastside Redevelopment Area, tracking the amount of funding generated and returned to the community is essential. As written, the guiding principles and objectives describe an agency that balances social and economic purposes; however review of the project list and 2006, 2008, and 2009 budget reveals that agency efforts emphasize physical improvements in the Eastside Redevelopment Area. The budget primarily consists of investments in the form of physical improvements, such as the façade program, infrastructure enhancements, CRA office building, bus shelters, and the Hawthorne Road café. One notable investment has been the money invested in the Cotton Club, which will serve the community as a farmer's market and cultural plaza. Although the Cotton Club will increase access to healthier foods and provide a public space, this does not directly improve socio-economic conditions.

The CRA budgets make no mention of funding affordable housing projects or social programs such as homeownership assistance or workforce development.

Instead, budgets reflect the CRA's priority for increasing agency profits by investing in projects that are likely to experience higher and faster increases in property values. Despite the Redevelopment Plan objectives, which include initiatives for enhancing human capital through workforce development and increased education resources in the community, most of the CRA's investments focus on capital improvements.

Review of the redevelopment agency's project implementation and area budget documents reveal investment in socio-economic improvements have occurred through indirect means or the "trickle down" approach. The trickle down approach focuses on subsidizing construction activity in the redevelopment area rather than subsidizing the labor force or investing in job training programs, which seek to directly influence job creation. Tables 4-2 to 4-4 provide the Incorporated Eastside CRA budget, illustrating the findings just described. The next section investigates the implications of agency activity on socio-economic conditions and asks the question: *Has the investment in physical improvements resulted in improved socio-economic conditions in the Eastside community?* This question is explored further using the socio-economic indicators outlined in Chapter 3 to measure improvement. While direct causality cannot be proved, improved socio-economic conditions can indicate that establishing a CRA with a TIF may contribute toward intended socio-economic outcomes.

Socio-economic Findings

Socio-economic indicators of blight in the Eastside Community reflect a decline in socio-economic conditions in the community. While there may have been slight gains from interval to interval (1990-2000 to 2005-2009), socio-economic conditions for each of the indicators measured have worsened compared to 1990 conditions. Despite the establishment of an Incorporated Eastside CRA in 2001, little if any improvement in the

community's socio-economic conditions has occurred. Findings show that the community has become more economically distressed since the 1990s, with higher rates of unemployment and poverty, lower educational attainment, lower rates of homeownership, and lower median household income.

Poverty and Unemployment

No significant improvements in poverty or unemployment measures have occurred since the Incorporated CRA was established. In fact, overall poverty and unemployment have increased. Although, the Incorporated Eastside experienced lower rates of poverty in 1990 compared to the Unincorporated Eastside, both 2000 and 2005-2009 estimates show higher rates of poverty compared to the Unincorporated Eastside area.

Considering the establishment of the Incorporated Eastside Redevelopment Area, one would think that the employment rate would be increasing, however evidence shows otherwise.

Overall, poverty in the Eastside Community has increased since the 1990s. In 2000, the Unincorporated Eastside experienced a significant decrease in poverty from 28.15% in 1990 to 22.59% in 2000; however by 2009 the percent of the population living below poverty surpassed even 1990 numbers reaching 33.7%. Furthermore, the percent of the population living below poverty in the Incorporated Eastside has nearly doubled since 1990 (24.79 to 43.5%). Poverty in the Unincorporated and Incorporated areas has increased by 5.6% and 18.71% respectively since 1990. Figure 4-1 illustrates the increase in poverty since 1990.

Unemployment in the Eastside community has increased since 1990; however unemployment has been much more severe in Unincorporated Eastside, more than doubling the rate of unemployment in 1990 (8 to 16.9% in 2009). Unemployment in the

Incorporated Eastside has remained relatively constant in the range of 9 to 12%, while unemployment in Unincorporated Eastside has been more unpredictable, ranging from 6.4 to 16.9%. Compared to the City of Gainesville, whose 1990 and 2000 unemployment rate did not exceed 5.9%, the Eastside Community continually faces higher rates of unemployment and a disproportionate concentration of residents below the poverty line. Figure 4-2 illustrates the changes in unemployment from 1990 to 2009.

Public Assistance

Despite the increase in poverty and unemployment, public assistance has not increased to meet the needs of low-income households. Public assistance in the form of food stamps, medical assistance, temporary rent assistance, and mortgage assistance has decreased significantly since the 1990s in both the Unincorporated and the Incorporated Eastside areas. Specifically, from 1990-2009, public assistance has decreased in the Unincorporated and Incorporated Eastside from serving 14.52 to 2.08% of the population and 11.9 to 2% of the population, respectively. The decrease in public assistance over the 20-year period is illustrated in Figure 4-3.

Educational Attainment

Increasing unemployment, poverty, and a decrease in public assistance for low-income households has placed further stress on the community and resulted in a smaller percentage of the population attaining a high school education or a bachelor's degree. Educational attainment in Eastside has declined for the Incorporated Area since the 1990s and experienced little improvement in the Unincorporated Area. Findings show an increase in attainment of high school degrees from 1990 to 2000, but a sharp decrease from 2000 to 2009. Furthermore, the percent of high school degrees in the Incorporated Eastside has been continuously lower than the Unincorporated

Eastside. As illustrated in Figure 4-4, the percent of people 25 years and older with a high school degree has decreased back to 1990 levels for both areas. The percent of the population 25 years and older with a bachelor's degree has steadily decreased in the Incorporated Eastside, while the Unincorporated Eastside witnessed a slight increase. Figure 4-5 illustrates the change in attainment of a bachelor degree for the Unincorporated and Incorporated Eastside from 1990 to 2009.

Median Income

Median household income decreased since 1990 in the Eastside Community. The Incorporated Eastside experienced an increase from 1990 to 2000, but this trend did not continue into 2009. Median household income decreased for both the Incorporated and Unincorporated Eastside from 2000 to 2009 by \$4,000 and \$8,000, respectively. Although, median income in the Unincorporated Eastside has been consistently higher in each interval compared to the Incorporated Eastside, it has declined overall from 1990 to 2009. Decline in household income is illustrated in Figure 4-6.

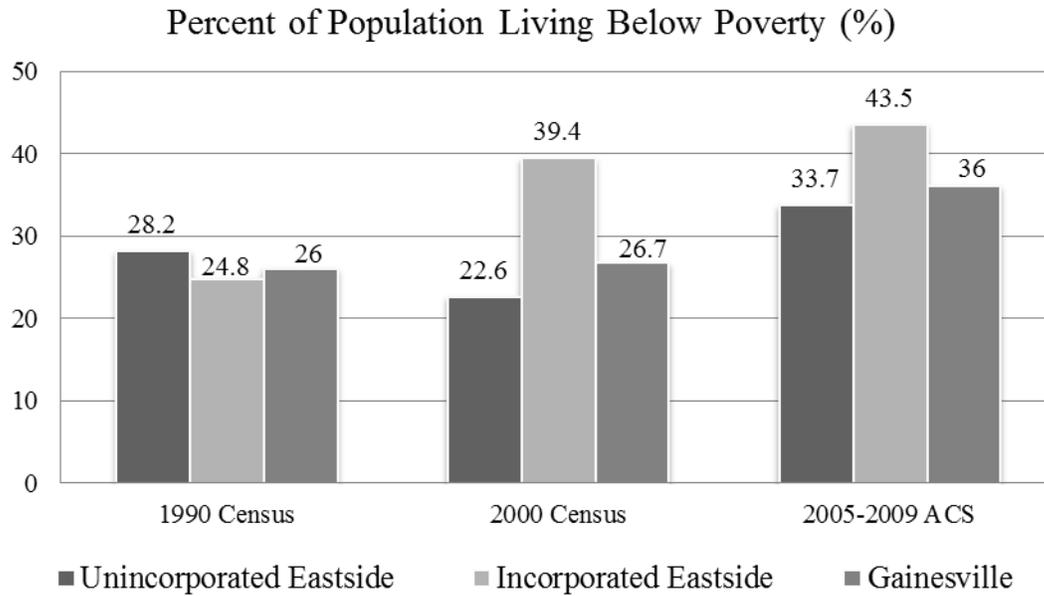
Homeownership

Homeownership in the Eastside community has also decreased over time. In 1990, homeownership stood at 66% for the Unincorporated and 34% for the Incorporated Eastside Community; however by 2009, these numbers decreased to 55% and 33.8% respectively. Furthermore, homeownership in the Incorporated Eastside has remained at about half the percent of the Unincorporated area. In addition, homeownership in the Incorporated Eastside is significantly lower than Gainesville's homeownership rate of 39.8% in 2009. The lack of homeownership in the Eastside community is representative of the lack of improved socio-economic conditions for many

low-income community residents. Figure 4-7 illustrates rates of homeownership for the Incorporated and Unincorporated Eastside Communities from 1990 to 2009.

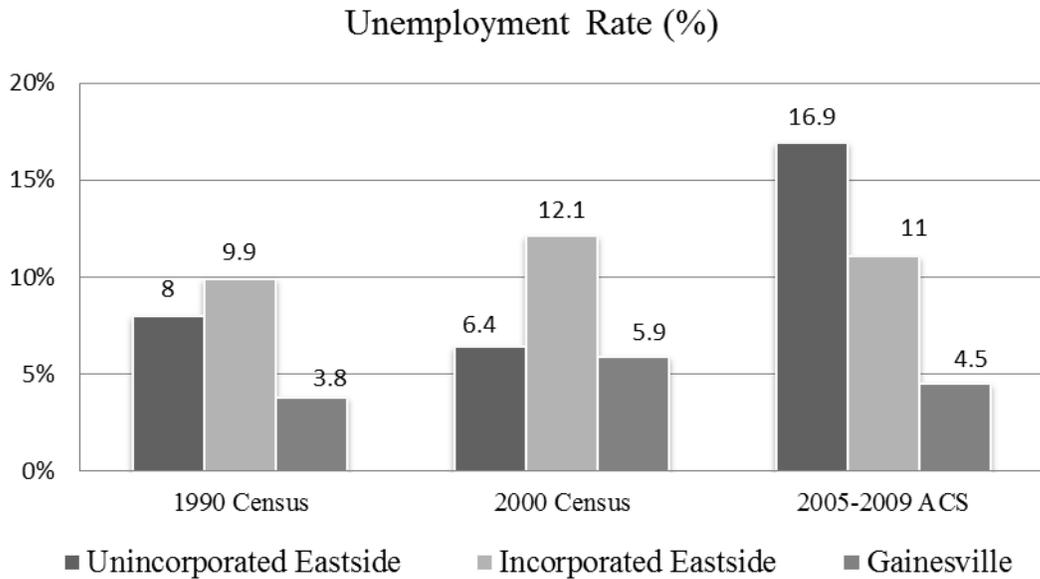
Summary

The Incorporated Eastside CRA has had positive effects on the physical appearance and property values of the redevelopment area through programs focused on façade and infrastructure improvements; however, the CRA's emphasis on high return physical improvement projects has left social initiatives by the wayside. Although, the Eastside Redevelopment Plan considered human capital and social improvements high priority objectives, these objectives were marginalized when it came down to project implementation. The decision of the Incorporated Eastside CRA to invest in large capital improvements has not resulted in a successful trickle down of benefits to those who need it the most. Instead, as Krumholz (1991) describes projects are funded; buildings are constructed; but poverty and unemployment continue to plague low-income neighborhoods.



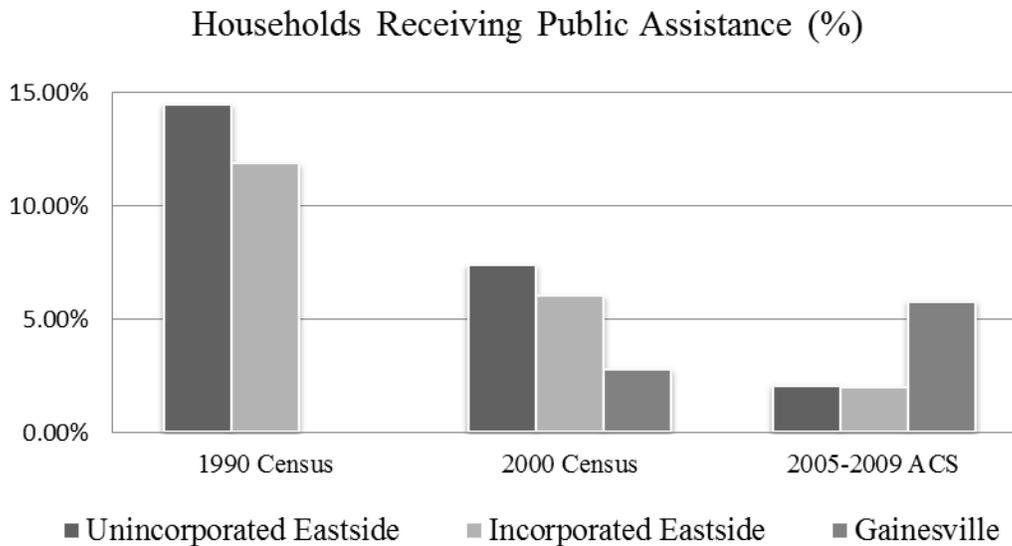
(U.S. Census Bureau, American Community Survey, 2005-2009; U.S. Census Bureau, Census 1990; U.S. Census Bureau, Census 2000)

Figure 4-1. Percent of population living below poverty



(U.S. Census Bureau, American Community Survey, 2005-2009; U.S. Census Bureau, Census 1990; U.S. Census Bureau, Census 2000)

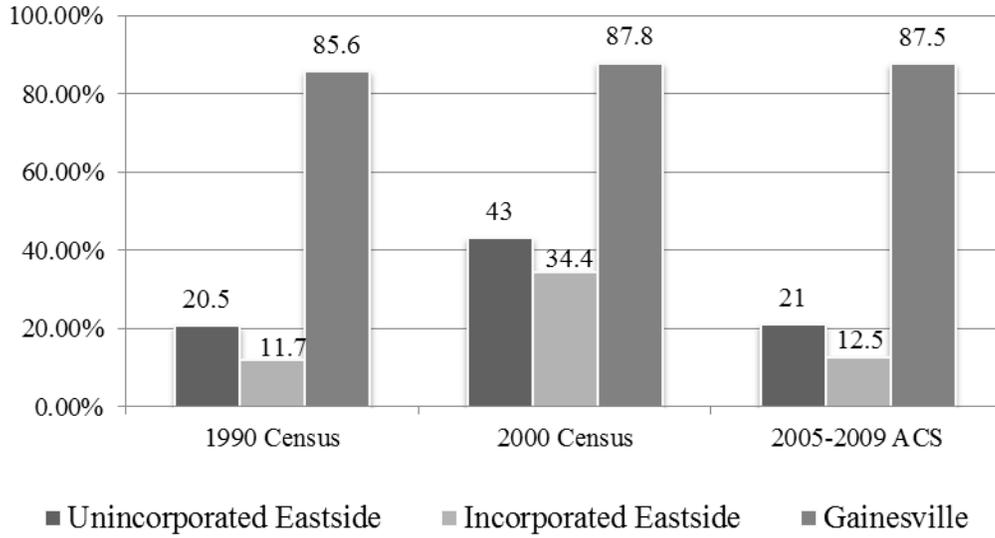
Figure 4-2. Unemployment rate



(U.S. Census Bureau, American Community Survey, 2005-2009; U.S. Census Bureau, Census 1990; U.S. Census Bureau, Census 2000)

Figure 4-3. Percent of households receiving public assistance

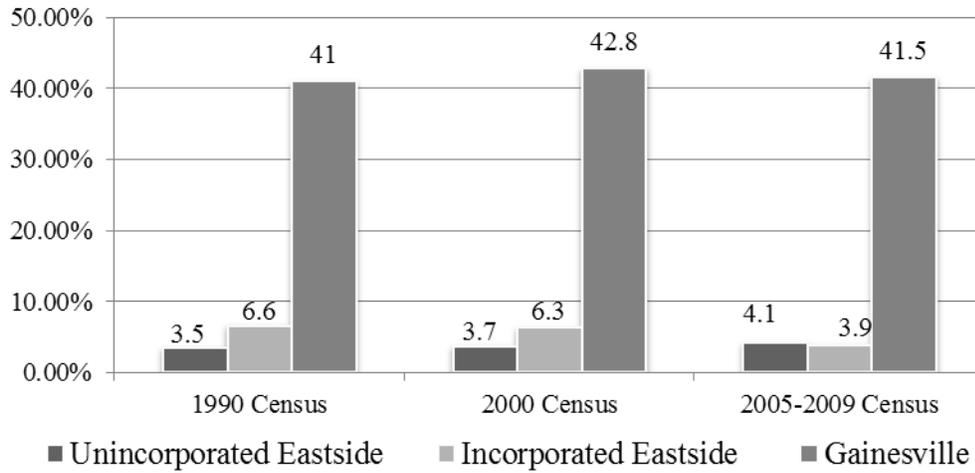
Population 25 years and older with a High School Degree (%)



(U.S. Census Bureau, American Community Survey, 2005-2009; U.S. Census Bureau, Census 1990; U.S. Census Bureau, Census 2000)

Figure 4-4. Percent of population 25 years and older with a high school degree

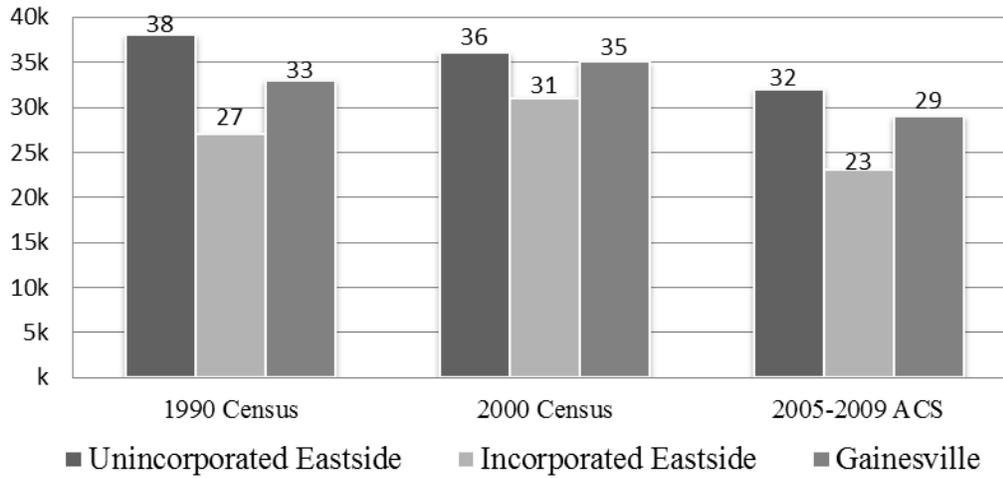
Population 25 years and older with a Bachelor's Degree (%)



(U.S. Census Bureau, American Community Survey, 2005-2009; U.S. Census Bureau, Census 1990; U.S. Census Bureau, Census 2000)

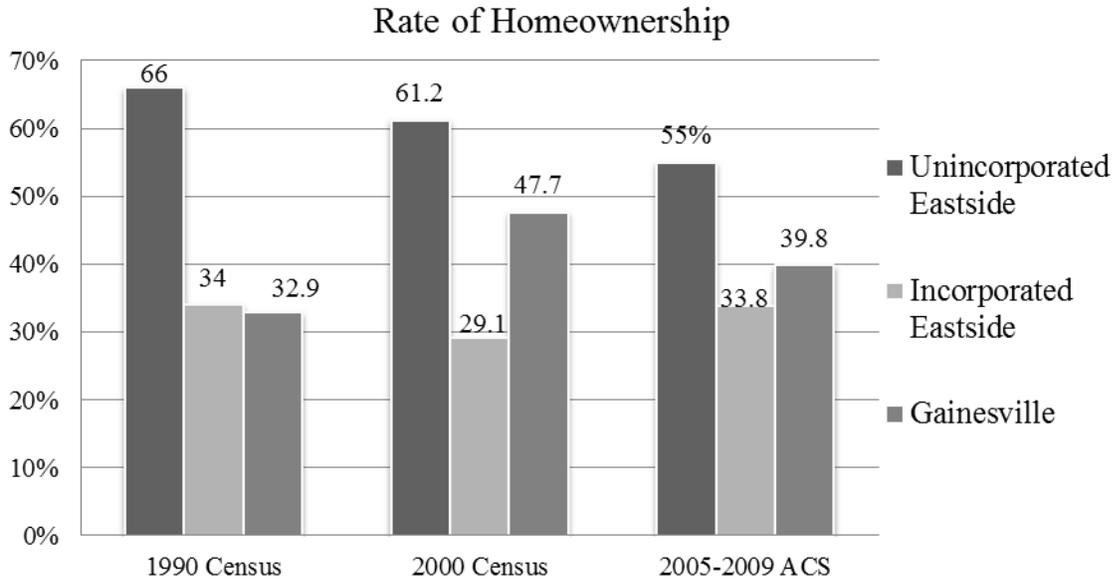
Figure 4-5. Percent of Population 25 years and older with a Bachelor's Degree

Median Household Income (\$1000)



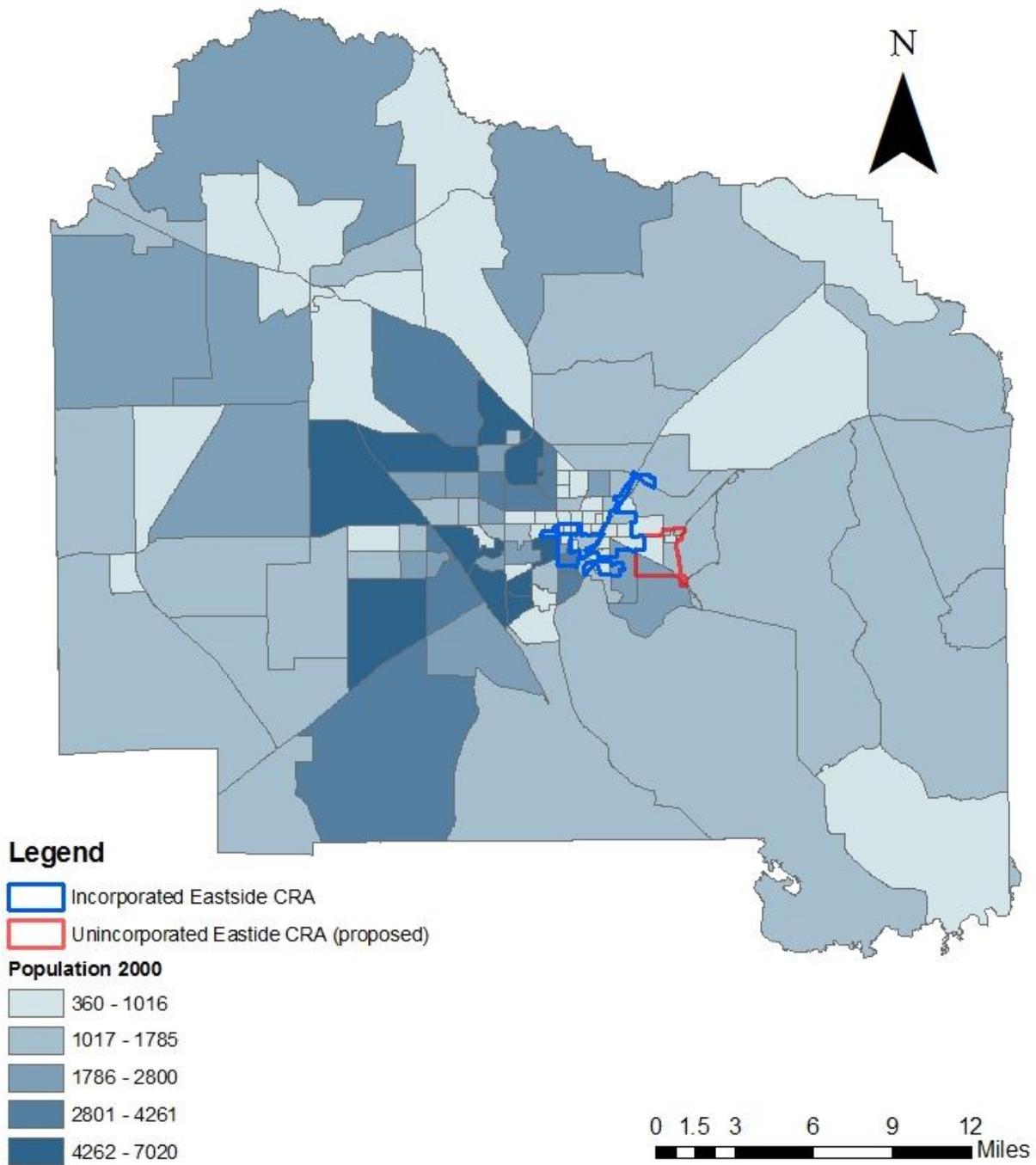
(U.S. Census Bureau, American Community Survey, 2005-2009; U.S. Census Bureau, Census 1990; U.S. Census Bureau, Census 2000)

Figure 4-6. Median household income



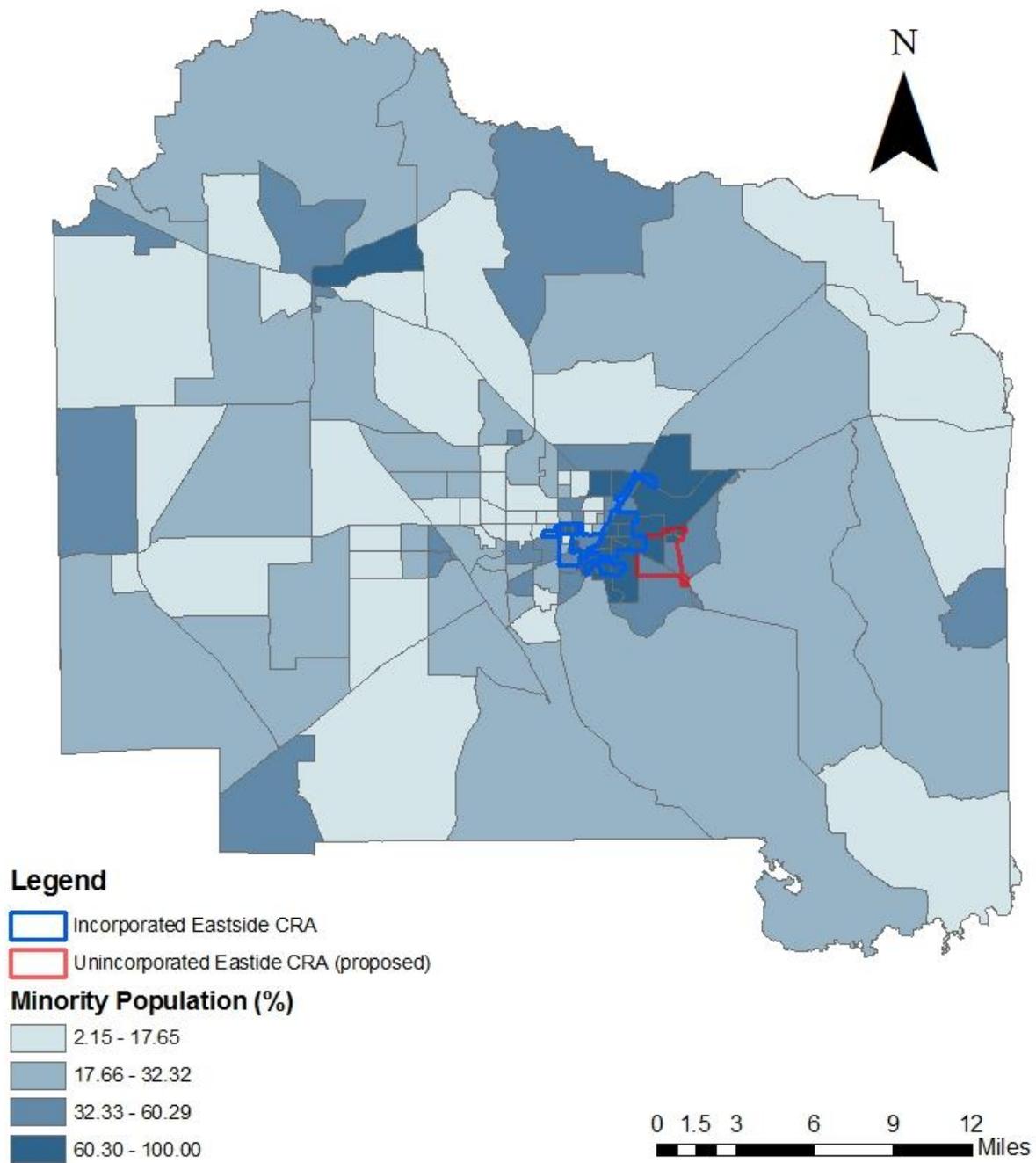
(U.S. Census Bureau, American Community Survey, 2005-2009; U.S. Census Bureau, Census 1990; U.S. Census Bureau, Census 2000)

Figure 4-7. Rate of homeownership



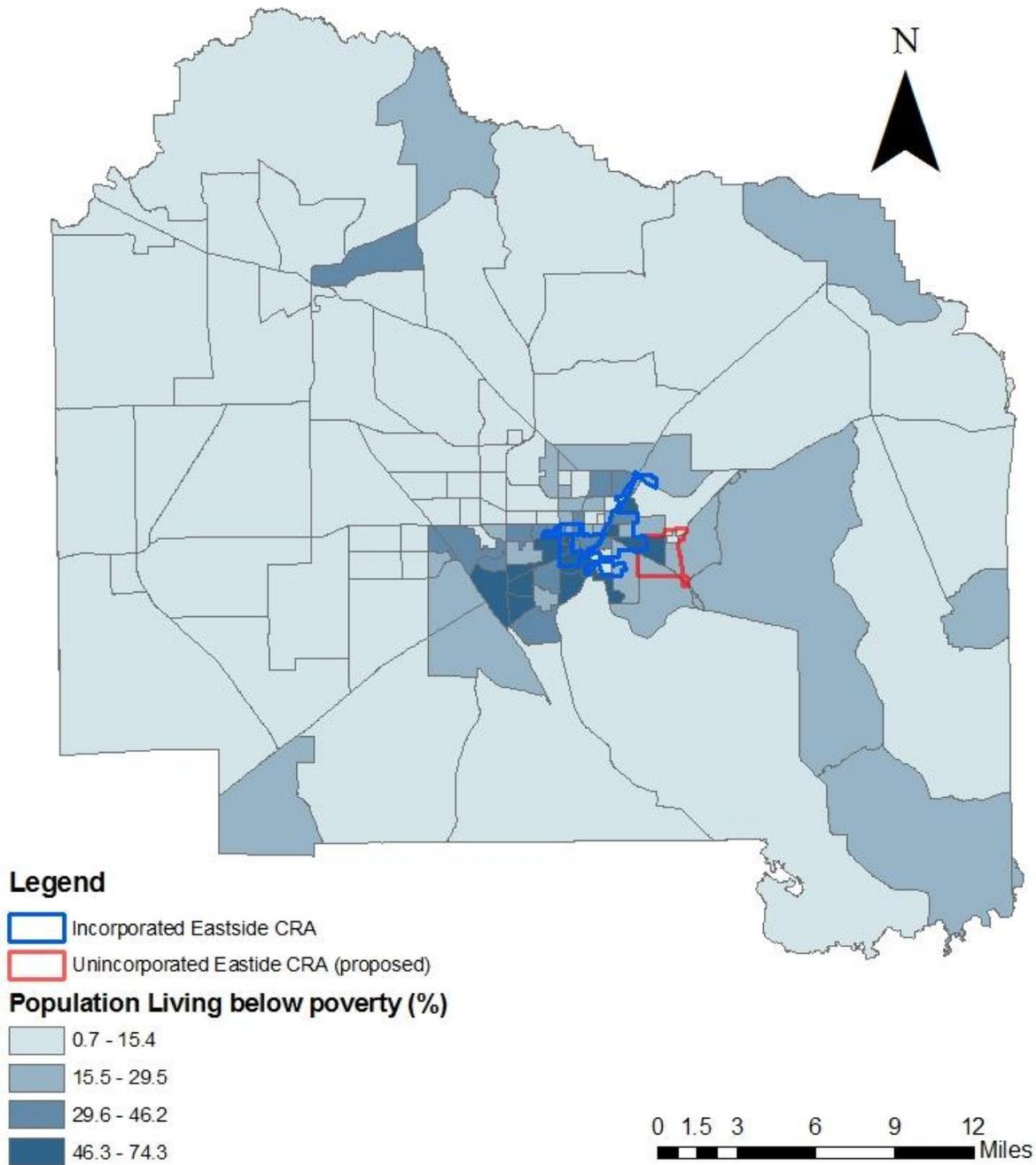
(U.S. Census Bureau, Census 2000)

Figure 4-9. Alachua County population (2000)



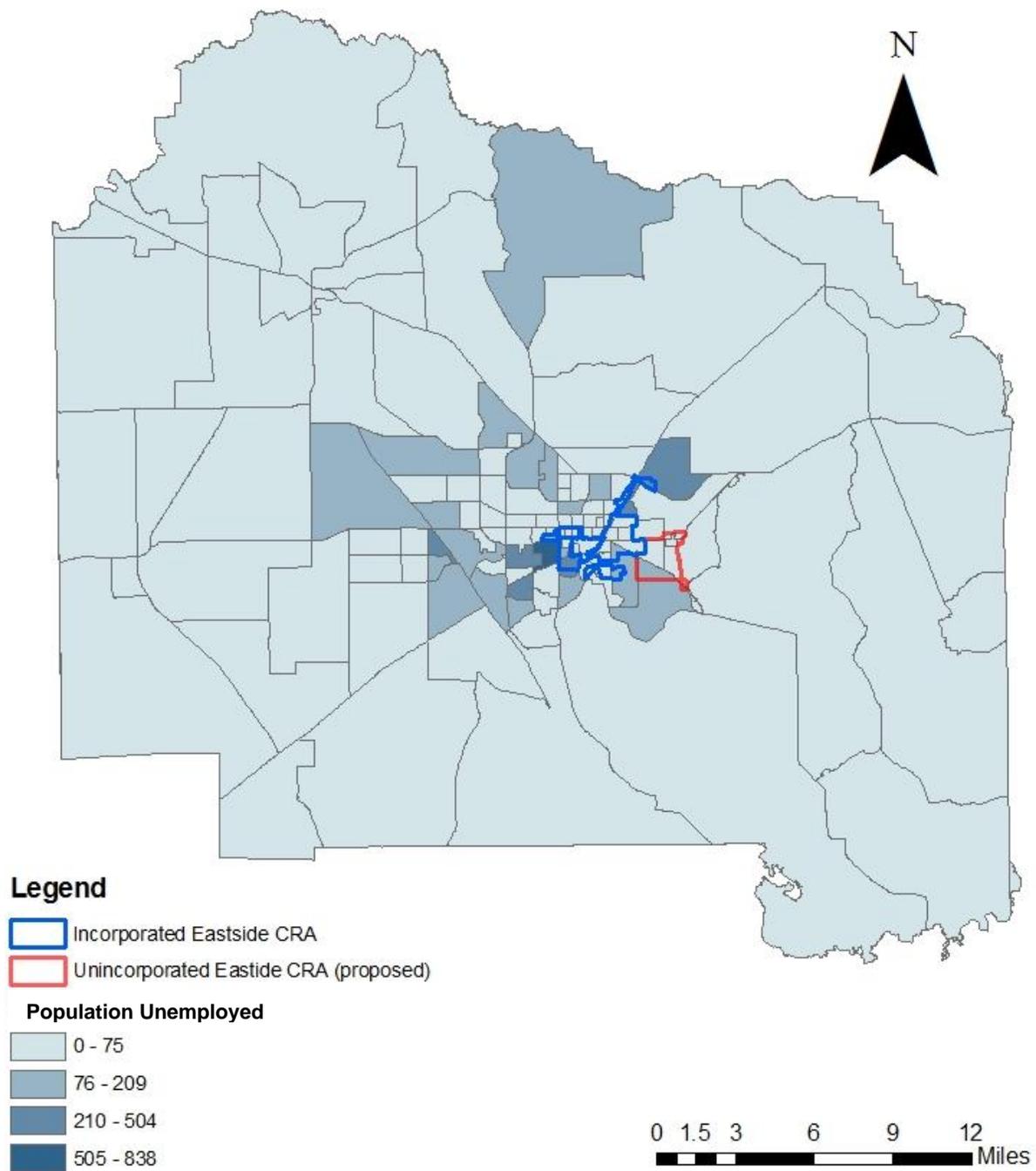
(U.S. Census Bureau, Census 2000)

Figure 4-10. Minority population (2000)



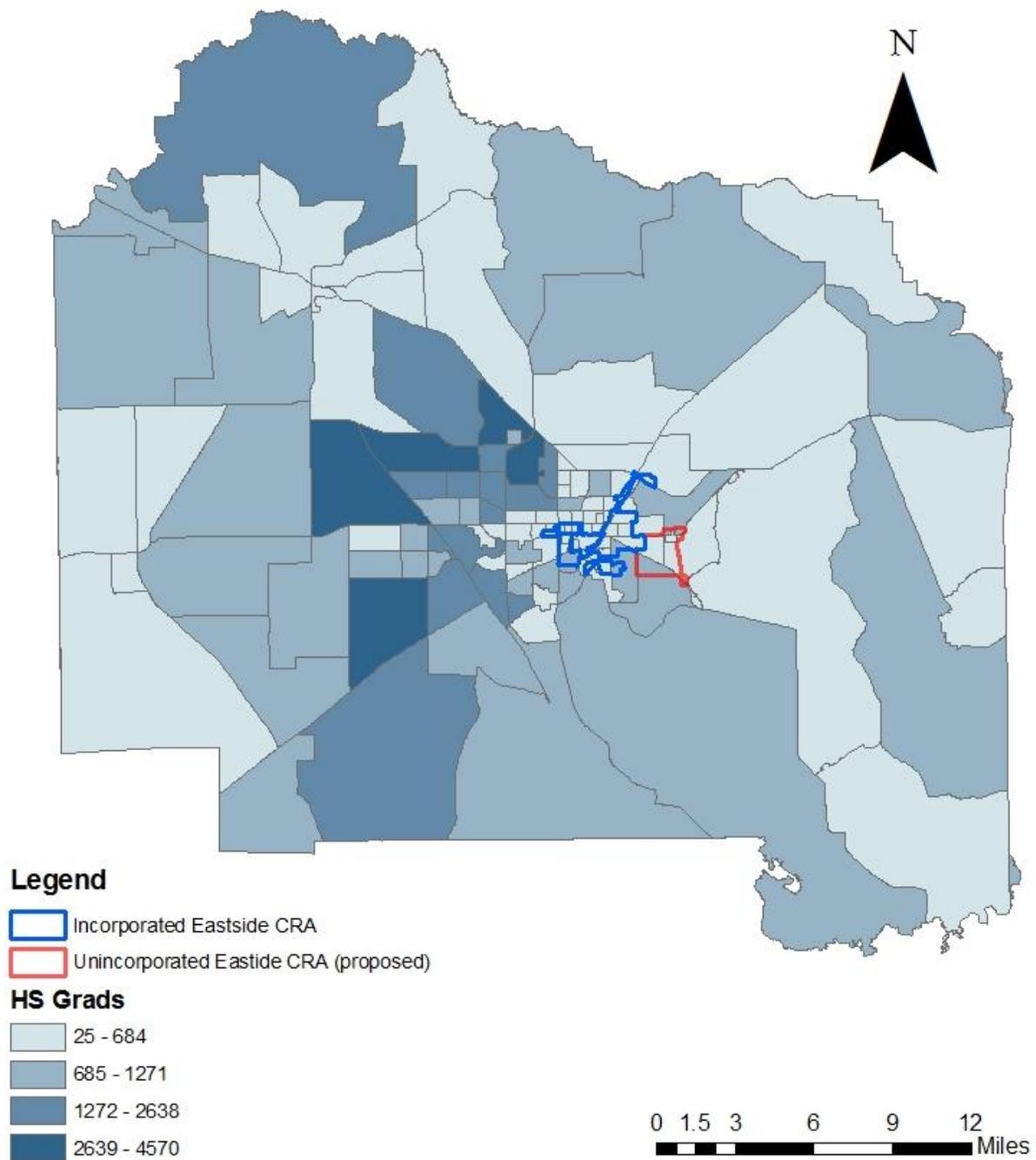
(U.S. Census Bureau, Census 2000)

Figure 4-11. Percent of population living below poverty (2000)



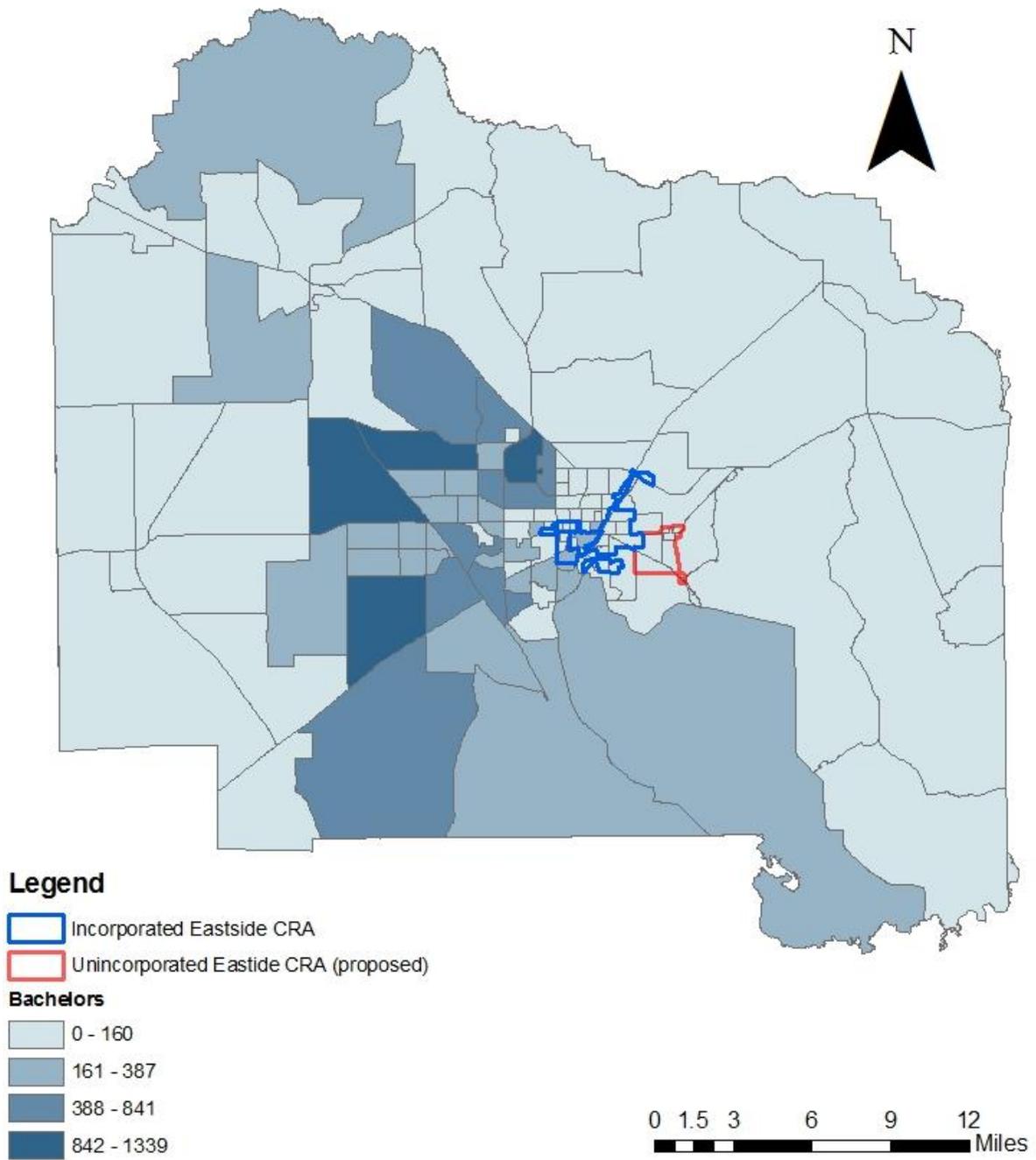
(U.S. Census Bureau, Census 2000)

Figure 4-12. Population unemployed (2000)



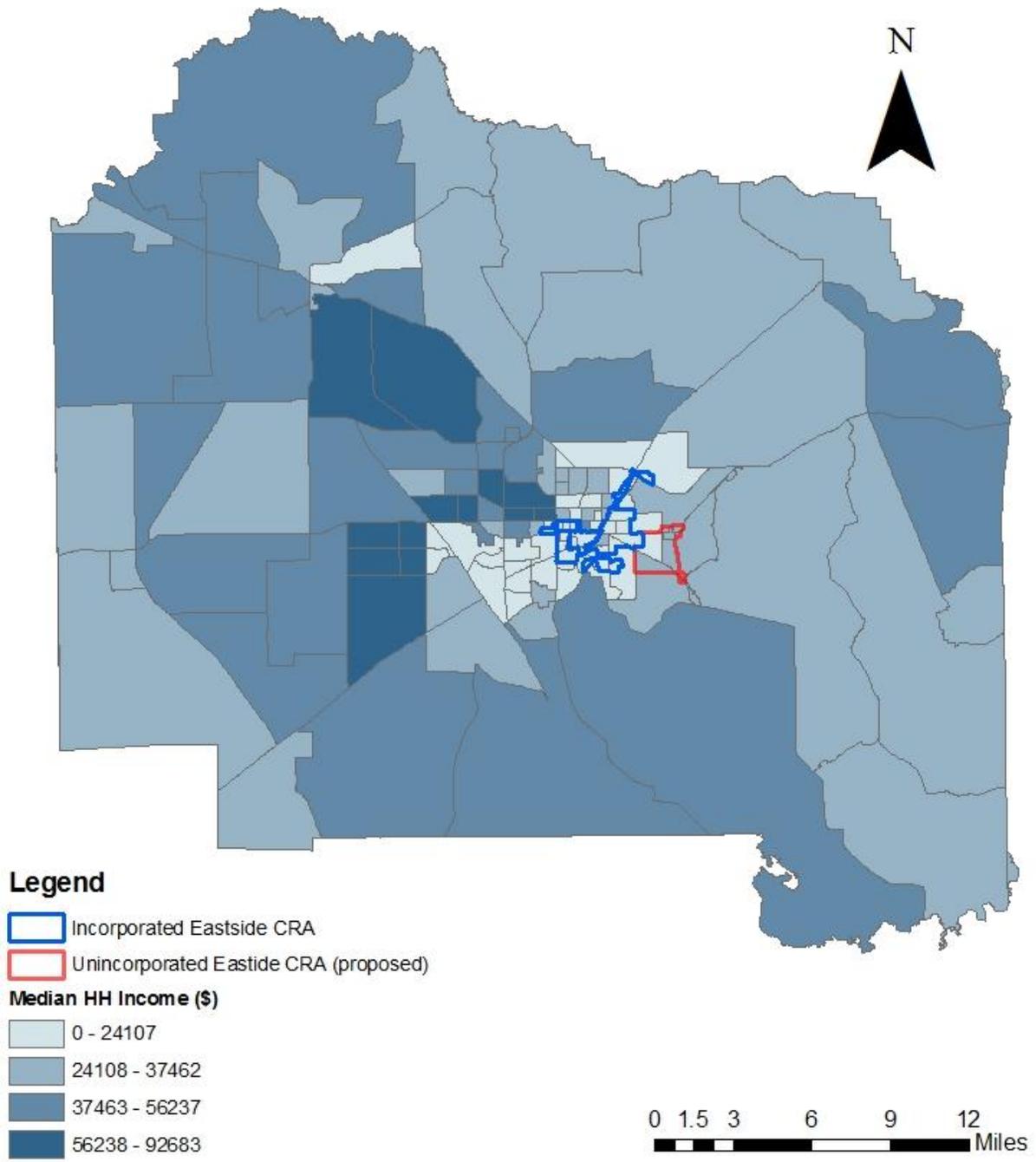
(U.S. Census Bureau, Census 2000)

Figure 4-13. Population 25 years and older with a high school diploma (2000)



(U.S. Census Bureau, Census 2000)

Figure 4-14. Population 25 years and older with a bachelor's degree (2000)



(U.S. Census Bureau, Census 2000)

Figure 4-15. Median household income (2000)

Table 4-1. Eastside Redevelopment Plan objectives and initiatives

Objective	Resident Targeted Initiatives	Trickle-down Initiatives
1.Economic development	Remove barriers to education and workforce development	Remove barriers for private investors, technology based economy
2.Commercial Activity		Provide incentives to maintain businesses and attract new investment
3.Housing	Increase housing options Down payment assistance programs & work equity	
4.Infrastructure		Infrastructure improvements
5.Urban Form		Physical enhancement of the community such as developing design guidelines
6.Sustainability	Ensuring the social well-being of residents through investing in human capital (education and community building)	Preservation of natural resources
7.Sense of Community	Reducing crime, investing in neighborhood centers	Improving perceptions of the neighborhood through a marketing campaign
8. Funding, Financing, Management, & Promotion	Fund affordable housing	Promoting community to investors & create inventory of commercial land for future opportunities

(Fisher, 2010)

Table 4-2. Incorporated Eastside Area budget and implemented project list 2006
 FY2006 Area Budget

Fund Balance	\$234,889
Total Additions	\$273,577
Minus: Payroll & Operating Expenses	\$57,351
Total Liabilities and Fund Balance	\$ 345,470
Project Funding List	
Façade Grant Program	\$24,313
Coordinated Public Signage	\$104
Capital Projects	\$17,219
Eastside Marketing	\$2,855
Demolition Project	\$14,686
Eastside Design & Technical Standard	\$5,010
Transfer to other Funds	\$21,892
Eastside Expansion Plan	\$20,000
Total, Projects	\$163,430

(Gainesville Community Redevelopment Agency, 2006)

Table 4-3. Incorporated Eastside Area budget and implemented project list 2008
 FY2008 Area Budget

Fund Balance	\$1,010,009
Total Additions	\$536,459
Total Liabilities and Fund Balance	\$ 1,010,009
Project Funding List	
Transfer to CRA Operating Fund	\$59,716
Coordinated Public Signage	\$122
Capital Projects	\$8,317
Eastside Marketing	\$4,252
Transfer to Other Funds	\$21,873
Eastside Design & Technical Standards	\$800
Eastside University Avenue Medians	\$20,769
Eastside Project-Prof Activity	\$6,000
Cotton Club Project (873 SE 7 th Street)	\$19,290
Gateway Project (University Avenue and SE 15 th street)	8,962
Acquisitions/ Options	\$36,875
Kennedy Homes Project (SE Hawthorne Road and SE 18 th street)	\$20,000
Total, Projects	\$206,976

(Gainesville Community Redevelopment Agency, 2008)

Table 4-4. Incorporated Eastside Area budget and implemented project list 2009
 FY2009 Area Budget

Revenues	\$759,738
Minus: Payroll & Operating Expenses	\$129,086
Minus: Total Debt Service & Development Agreements	\$21,875
Project Funding List	
CRA Office Building	\$51,000
Façade/Paint Program	\$30,000
Cotton Club/Perryman Grocery (873 SE 7 th Street)	\$75,000
Hawthorne Road Café (SE Hawthorne Road)	\$232,827
Bus Shelters	\$75,000
15th Street Improvements	\$40,000
Gateway (University Avenue and SE 15 th street)	\$25,000
University Avenue Medians & Improvements	\$55,000
Acquisitions (of land) & Options	\$25,000
Total, Projects	\$608,827

(Gainesville Community Redevelopment Agency, 2009)

CHAPTER 5 DISCUSSION

The emphasis on Community Redevelopment Agencies as generators of economic growth has created a need for evaluation of their effectiveness in realizing their intended public purpose, namely job creation and reduction of poverty. This study seeks to determine the effectiveness of CRAs in improving socio-economic conditions within the redevelopment area. The increasing gap between higher income and lower income households exacerbates conditions in economically distressed neighborhoods, creating a need for government intervention in the form of redevelopment policies. However, as history has shown, the intentions of redevelopment policies and the actual outcomes have not always been consistent and have indeed emphasized physical improvements rather than direct benefits to residents.

Over the past 80 years, many programs intended to help lower income persons instead benefited private developers and investors. This history has created a low-income population that is skeptical of government programs geared to “help” them and rightfully so. Thus evaluation and accountability is critical to ensure more equitable distribution of such redevelopment benefits.

Furthermore, because of the dependence of local governments on property taxes, activities targeted in redevelopment plans must be examined critically to ask who is benefiting. This study has examined this exact concern and determined that the increased increments in property taxes has outweighed the needs for social programs, thereby creating little if any improvement in socio-economic conditions in the redevelopment area.

Summary of the Study

This study relied upon the utilization of an outcome based evaluation, which provided the framework needed to determine effectiveness of a CRA to improve socio-economic conditions of the Incorporated Eastside. Comparisons within each study area over time and between the study areas were examined. Outcome evaluation was conducted through measuring the change in socio-economic indicators. Specific, socio-economic indicators were chosen to assess whether certain community conditions had improved.

Findings reveal that the Eastside Redevelopment Plan includes social improvement objectives, but further review of the budget shows that funding priorities emphasize physical improvement of the area, probably since these improvements offer greater TIF profits. Comparing conditions from 1990 to 2009 provides this study with sufficient data to identify trends in specific socio-economic conditions occurring in the Eastside community during this time period. Socio-economic trends can be one indicator of the Incorporated Eastside CRA's success in meeting these socio-economic goals, though this study does not presume to prove direct causality between the establishment of the CRA and socio-economic conditions in the community. The fact that decline has continued though is quite telling of the lack of influence on the part of the CRA. Specifically, poverty increased with little improvement in job opportunities for low-income residents, as evident by the increase in unemployment in the area. In addition, the Incorporated Eastside has not fared better than the Unincorporated Eastside even though the former has a CRA while the latter does not. Although property values may have increased, TIF profits are put back into the community mainly in the form of physical improvements not social programs.

Discussion

Despite Government Programs; Poverty and Unemployment Exist

In this case study of the Eastside Community Redevelopment Agency, it appears that general criticisms of community redevelopment practices hold true; redevelopment has not meant more job opportunities for residents thus far. Findings confirm the Eastside redevelopment programs like many other government redevelopment programs have failed to offer any significant aid to the majority of low-income residents in the redevelopment area. The majority of redevelopment benefits continue to assist trickle-down public-private partnerships that arise from CRAs, rather than people-based assistance directly targeting residents. Looking at the unemployment rate in both the Incorporated and Unincorporated Eastside, one can see that jobs have not increased for residents of the Eastside Community.

Evident from the increasing redevelopment trust fund, the Eastside CRA has helped increase the area's tax revenue through preparing the area for future investment and development. These efforts consisted of mainly enhancements to the physical appearance of sites (Eastside Gateway, street and median improvements, façade/ paint programs, and bus shelters) in order to generate more development in the area. However when this development will occur is not known, therefore it is of urgent necessity that the CRA consider programs that more directly create jobs as discussed in the literature review. The desperate need for job training and placement has not been addressed as a priority in the implementation of the Eastside Community Redevelopment Plan. Instead the CRA has focused its attention on first improving the physical appearance of the community.

Eastside CRA Operates Like a Business

This study seems to confirm criticism that local governments are acting more and more like a business concerned with the bottom line rather than improved socio-economic conditions and opportunities for the low-income. As discussed in the literature review and overview of the CRA budget, agencies tend to focus on investments that offer the fastest and highest return, such as commercial and infrastructure improvements, especially in the first part of their roughly 30-year life span. Emphasis on economic activities has meant neglect of social programs such as affordable housing and homeownership assistance programs, which as evident from declining rates of homeownership in the area, is desperately needed. Instead of offering these tangible goods to low-income residents; developers, land owners, politicians, and development officials seem to be gaining the most from government subsidized development (Krumholz, 1991).

In addition, the dependency of local government on property taxes further encourages CRAs to operate like a business. Tax increment financing mechanisms create the majority of redevelopment funding, therefore it makes the most sense (from the business perspective) to pursue projects that will increase revenue for the redevelopment trust fund. This perspective has not proven to be as profitable for residents of the Redevelopment Area. Residents of the Redevelopment Area have not experienced a decrease in the rate of poverty or unemployment of the area, nor have the residents seen an increase in homeownership opportunities.

Social Objectives Neglected

Intended objectives and initiatives with a resident-targeted emphasis were not included in the CRA's 2006, 2008, or 2010 projects lists found in the budget. More direct

investment in human capital may occur after the agency has retained more revenue and grows its trust fund, but in the meantime, an entire generation may miss an opportunity to receive job training and educational resources. Until the benefits from large projects “trickle down,” residents continue to live in neighborhoods with declining educational attainment, homeownership, and median household incomes, all the while unemployment increases and needed public assistance decreases to almost nothing. This paper has made it clear a need exists to reassess local government economic action and a need to ask *who is benefiting* from these projects.

Potential of an Unincorporated Eastside CRA to Improve Socio-economic Conditions

Although a need for investment exists, as evident by the declining socio-economic conditions in the Unincorporated Eastside, this study reveals that a similar CRA would do little to improve socio-economic conditions. In addition, maps support the argument that poverty, unemployment, and low-income households tend to be concentrated in specific areas of a locality. Furthermore, significantly lower educational attainment in the Unincorporated Eastside compared to the City of Gainesville and Alachua County overall, suggests that this area is unlikely to experience socio-economic improvements without investment in human capital. Physical redevelopment of economically distressed communities alone is not enough to reduce poverty and unemployment, or increase incomes for residents of the redevelopment area. In order for an Unincorporated CRA to be effective in improving socio-economic conditions, redevelopment needs to be more closely linked to new jobs for the residents of the redevelopment area.

Implications

Practical

Findings confirm a need for redevelopment and investment in the Unincorporated Eastside; however findings also reveal a better way to approach development of the Eastside Community may exist through increased investment in social initiatives and human capital. If Alachua County wants to improve the socio-economic conditions, stronger commitment to programs that directly create jobs, reduce poverty, and increase educational attainment should be considered. Perhaps a better balance between the “trickle down” approach and the resident-targeted approach would yield profits and create actual gains in jobs. Most importantly planners should seek out alternative means to achieve desired outcomes before settling on popular models as the answer.

Planning practitioners who face the need for economic development and job creation should not immediately accept that the most common practice is necessarily the best. Just because CRAs have been successful in raising property values, does not necessarily mean such an agency offers the best solution for job creation. The net gain in revenue has not resulted in an equitable distribution of benefits.

The ethics of planners should be held to a higher standard by their peers and resident populations, however low-income populations who could benefit most from relationships with public entities are often left out of the planning process. Though the Eastside Redevelopment Agency has made efforts to include the public in the planning process, influence of resident-stakeholders becomes less weighted during the goal prioritization phase during which public officials make the final decisions concerning

project funding. Therefore planning practitioners need to hold themselves accountable and evaluate program success more critically.

Approach

Low-income neighborhoods with concentrated poverty exist partially due to the public policies that have continually favored sprawling development, thereby drawing affluent and middle income households and their resources out of cities and into suburbs. The growing physical distance between where low-income people live and where higher income people live has meant decreased opportunities in low-income neighborhoods over time. The involvement of government in encouraging concentrated poverty has created a need for government to aid low-income neighborhoods in reversing this situation. However local redevelopment programs focused on large scale projects via the trickle down approach have rarely led to socio-economic gains for low-income residents, hence fueling the debate concerning CRAs.

The theoretical basis of this study is that though CRAs often successfully raise property values and tax revenues, they may not actually be having a positive impact on job creation and reducing poverty (Krumholz, 1991). This debate has provided the foundation on which this study was developed, providing grounds for an evaluation of the effectiveness of CRAs to improve socio-economic conditions. Findings reveal that the Incorporated Eastside case study has not revealed gains in socio-economic conditions over time, despite the establishment of a CRA.

In spite of similar results elsewhere, local redevelopment programs geared toward promoting economic stability in economically distressed neighborhoods continue to pour the majority of their funds into the physical development of the area with little direct investment in the people (Fitzgerald, 1993). The implications of this study for theory of

local community redevelopment is that investment in the redevelopment of large scale projects may not be the most efficient means to create jobs. This study suggests a need to evaluate the effectiveness of these programs and rethink approaches.

Alternative approaches as discussed in the literature review, emphasize programs that directly benefit area residents themselves. Initiatives to make education and work force training more responsive to the economy are critical to the success of community redevelopment that seeks to benefit low-income and minority residents. Lower attainment of high school and bachelor degrees contribute to higher rates of unemployment (Fitzgerald, 1993). Thus “higher levels of educational attainment are necessary for improving employment” (Fitzgerald, 1993, p 129). Job creation and reduction of poverty are essential to stabilizing local economies and producing environments conducive to economic mobility (Sharkey, 2009). Therefore, utilization of a resident-targeted approach, which emphasizes workforce development may offer greater socio-economic gains if utilized by community redevelopment programs.

Limitations

This study has relied upon available data in the form of scholarly literature, Census Data, and local government documentation; however this limits the ability to gauge resident’s perceptions and feelings concerning the redevelopment area. Interviews involving residents, CRA officials, Alachua County and City of Gainesville officials would allow for a more in depth analysis of stakeholder influence on the redevelopment process. Census and statistical data fail to reflect the actual experiences residents have had with the redevelopment efforts. Interviews and surveys may not change the numbers but these anecdotal resources could offer further insight into activity surrounding the redevelopment. In addition, an empirical study using statistical

analysis to assess causality between establishment of a CRA and changes to socio-economic conditions would be informative.

Final Word on Findings

The redevelopment plans have promised increased jobs and opportunities for all residents regardless of income, yet benefits seem to have eluded the low income residents who could benefit the most from increased job opportunities. Findings confirm that CRAs are more likely to provide subsidies that benefit the private developer, than the low-income residents, confirming that local government is acting more and more like a business. In addition, alternative approaches may offer greater socio-economic gains, but further research is necessary to reach conclusions. Overall this study offers a glimpse into the debate concerning CRA profits, benefits, and outcomes. Chapter 6 will provide further concluding remarks about this study, recommendations, and future research opportunities.

CHAPTER 6 CONCLUSIONS

The growing inequality of opportunities available in low-income neighborhoods compared to more affluent neighborhoods has meant a greater concentration of poverty with few opportunities available to increase an individual's economic status. Planning has addressed the needs of low-income neighborhoods through creation of programs that target redevelopment in a community's most distressed neighborhoods. One such targeted redevelopment strategy is designating an economically distressed community as a Community Redevelopment Area. Community Redevelopment Agencies use economic development tools such as tax increment financing to spur investment and redevelopment through capturing the additional taxes that result from designating an area as a redevelopment district. Dependency on TIF generated revenues creates an environment that encourages agencies to act like a business, which has meant priority of projects goes to those that yield the highest return in TIF profits.

As the popularity of CRAs increases due in part to the ability of local governments to use TIF once they have established a Community Redevelopment Agency and adopted the redevelopment plan, evaluation is needed to determine the effectiveness of CRAs. Urban policies such as urban renewal have continually targeted redevelopment programs in declining low-income neighborhoods in order to address problems of concentrated poverty, lack of affordable housing, and unemployment. The recent popularity of using CRAs to address these problems has created a situation reminiscent of earlier urban redevelopment that failed to provide affordable housing or employment assistance for low-income residents. Instead, developers and private investors benefited from large subsidies and cheap land. Learning from past mistakes of

redevelopment programs and lack of oversight that took place, evaluation of public policies and programs is essential in order to ensure the community actually benefits from the redevelopment.

Though current redevelopment agencies, including the Incorporated Eastside Community, embrace elements of mixed-income housing, improvement of cultural amenities, and commitment to job creation, these redevelopment agencies seem to be operating with the main objective of raising property values and taxes, not directly investing in the labor force. Even if the Incorporated Eastside Community does offer potential jobs in the future, the CRA thus far has not invested in the human capital of the community directly. In order to enable greater success in job creation and retention in the future, investment in the labor force to make job training and education programs more responsive to the economy is needed. Rather than waiting for low wage jobs to be created after investing millions of dollars in huge capital improvements and large industries, increased emphasis on empowering and uplifting this community is needed, not simply looking for ways to provide minimum wage jobs.

Recommendations

Therefore, in order to reach greater success in socio-economic gains, the Eastside CRA must make workforce development a greater component of the Community Redevelopment Plan. The following outlines several steps the Eastside CRA can take to invest in workforce development and why each contributes to workforce development.

Identify a Target Employment Sector. Sectors should be targeted based on growth rates, number of entry level jobs, living wages, and potential for advancement (Fitzgerald and Leigh, 2002). Identifying county or municipal economic development

goals and initiatives can offer a starting point for the CRA to target workforce development toward specific sectors.

Create an Inventory of potential partners to be included in a workforce development network. As described by Fitzgerald and Leigh (2002), “Effective initiatives involve a network of providers that offer a comprehensive range of services needed to help the unemployed and underemployed secure jobs” (pg. 202). Furthermore research confirms that job placement is only part of successful workforce development. Prior to job placement, social support services may be required to prepare the resident for full-time employment. These services range from drug treatment and psychological counseling to planning for day care and transportation (Fitzgerald and Leigh, 2002). In addition, social service support offered after job placement can aid in resolving problems, which can lead to greater job retention and advancement opportunities. Examples of potential partners and potential roles for each type of partner are described in Table 6-1.

Identify an intermediary or create one as part of the Community Redevelopment Plan. Having a network of service providers is only as effective as the delivery of these services to the clients. “Intermediaries act as social entrepreneurs who create a vision of a system to guide groups whose participation is needed”(Fitzgerald and Leigh, 2002, pg. 208). Intermediaries foster collaborations and partnerships in order to achieve goals and objectives of the workforce initiative, as well as reach specific partner goals. For example, the Seattle Jobs Initiative created subcommittees for each targeted sector, which included brokers who served as the intermediaries between

employers and clients, working with community-based organizations to improve training in order to better prepare workers for specific sector jobs.

Encourage local training and education providers to be more responsive to the needs of prominent workforce sectors. As described in Fitzgerald and Leigh (2002), encouraging education providers to be more responsive to the needs of targeted industries, distinguishes a “collection of programs” from “a system” (pg. 210). A workforce development matches training programs and education to targeted sectors to create “occupation-targeted” education and training programs that offer several types of positions for differing client skill-levels. This system provides low-income residents with jobs that have potential advancement opportunities due to job placement in growing sectors, instead of simply placing individuals in low-wage jobs that have little opportunity for advancement, which has often been the case with many federal job-training programs (Fitzgerald and Leigh, 2002). Critical to the success of a resident-targeted approach is the need for community redevelopment practitioners to acknowledge education gaps between low-income residents and sector demands as a community redevelopment problem. Acknowledging this education gap is the first step toward “[encouraging] local training and education providers to be more responsive to the needs of key local employers” (Fitzgerald and Leigh, 2002, pg. 210).

Focus on improving employment retention and identifying opportunities for advancement. Two key components to workforce development and perhaps the most challenging are increasing employment retention and opportunities for employment advancement. The Seattle Jobs Initiative offers several strategies to address job retention and opportunities for advancement. One example is a peer mentoring

program, which offers methods to overcoming workplace issues such as lack of diversity that can lead to uncomfortable situations for minority clients. In addition, the Seattle Jobs Initiative collaborated with employers to create employment ladders coupled with training programs in an effort to increase the possibility of employment advances.

Establish a precedent and system for accountability and evaluation (feedback mechanisms must be built into the program). As this study has pointed out, evaluation and effective feedback mechanisms are essential to creating a responsive community redevelopment strategy that adapts to changing needs of the community. In addition, evaluation can promote accountability through tracking and comparing program goals and outcomes.

Further Research

This study has mainly focused on explaining the problems that exist in low-income communities and describing certain measures taken to alleviate these problems. In addition, findings revealed a need to pursue alternative measures to community redevelopment that are more conducive to generating jobs and improving human capital. Exploring these types of alternatives and conducting an outcome-based evaluation provides further evidence that alternative approaches can offer greater socio-economic gains. Additionally, studies could include an evaluation that compares the trickle down approach to the resident-targeted approach in order to draw more conclusive results concerning which method provides greater socio-economic gains for low-income residents in the redevelopment area. In addition, conducting an evaluation that compares several CRAs would offer greater understanding of the effectiveness or ineffectiveness of CRAs to improve socio-economic conditions by focusing on CRAs

that have invested in social programs as well as physical enhancements. Lastly conducting an empirical based study between different communities would provide needed statistical evidence to support the effectiveness or ineffectiveness of resident-targeted approach over the trickle-down approach.

Table 6-1. Examples of partners in local Workforce Development system

Partnership Organization	Roles
<p>COMMUNITY COLLEGES & TECH Sante Fe Community College Florida SIATech at Gainesville Job Corps Center Professional Academy Magnet at Loften High School</p>	<p>Offers certificate and associate degree programs Provide career counseling and job placement assistance Provide technical assistance to employers</p>
<p>COMMUNITY-BASED ORGANIZATIONS Innovation Gainesville Gainesville Community Foundation Gainesville Technology Enterprise Center Boys & Girls Club of Alachua County East Gainesville Development Corporation</p>	<p>Recruit community residents for training programs Provide literacy tied to education and training programs Offer career counseling and assessment Refer residents to support services while in education or training programs</p>
<p>SOCIAL SERVICE AGENCIES Gainesville Housing Authority Alachua County Housing Authority Alachua Family Services Center Dept. of Social Services (Alachua County)</p>	<p>Provide transportation Recruit community residents Refer for health care (including mental health) Provide day care</p>
<p>ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AGENCIES & ORGANIZATIONS Gainesville Community Redevelopment Agency Gainesville Office of Economic Development Gainesville Council for Economic Outreach Alachua County Chamber of Commerce</p>	<p>Identify emerging employment and training needs of local employers Identify key industries and occupation for building comprehensive economic and workforce development programs Recruit employers to advise on education and training programs</p>
<p>EMPLOYERS</p>	<p>Advise on curriculum</p>
<p>TARGET SECTORS Technology Health Care Education</p>	<p>Encourage students through job shadowing and mentoring programs Provide internships for students and teachers Establish hiring agreement</p>

(Adapted from Fitzgerald and Leigh, 2002, pg. 206)

Table 6-1. Continued

Partnership Organization	Roles
LA BOR	Advise on curriculum Work with employers on restructuring occupations Establish new points of entry for apprenticeships programs
UNIVERSITIES University of Florida	Offer baccalaureate programs for graduates of associate degree programs in technical fields as part of 2+2+2 tech prep programs Serve as intermediaries in developing integrated workforce development systems Provide data and analysis on workforce related issues
HIGH SCHOOLS	Professional Academy Magnet at Loften High School Provide technical preparation (tech prep) curricula Eastside High School Encourage students to pursue careers in technical fields through career awareness, internships, etc. Buchholtz High School Gainesville High School P.K. Yonge Developmental Research School Provide college and job placement assistance

(Adapted from Fitzgerald and Leigh, 2002, pg. 206)

APPENDIX A CONDITIONS OF BLIGHT

The following conditions are identified by the Florida Legislature in the Redevelopment Act (Section 163.340) as being indicative of blight:

- (a) Predominance of defective or inadequate street layout, parking facilities, roadways, bridges, or public transportation facilities;
- (b) Aggregate assessed values of real property in the area for ad valorem tax purposes have failed to show any appreciable increase over the 5 years prior to the finding of such conditions;
- (c) Faulty lot layout in relation to size, adequacy, accessibility, or usefulness;
- (d) Unsanitary or unsafe conditions;
- (e) Deterioration of site or other improvements;
- (f) Inadequate and outdated building density patterns;
- (g) Falling lease rates per square foot of office, commercial, or industrial space compared to the remainder of the county or municipality;
- (h) Tax or special assessment delinquency exceeding the fair value of the land;
- (i) Residential and commercial vacancy rates higher in the area than in the remainder of the county or municipality;
- (j) Incidence of crime in the area higher than in the remainder of the county or municipality;
- (k) Fire and emergency medical service calls to the area proportionately higher than in the remainder of the county or municipality;
- (l) A greater number of violations of the Florida Building Code in the area than the number of violations recorded in the remainder of the county or municipality;
- (m) Diversity of ownership or defective or unusual conditions of title which prevent the free alienability of land within the deteriorated or hazardous area; or
- (n) Governmentally owned property with adverse environmental conditions caused by a public or private entity.

APPENDIX B
LOCAL GOVERNMENT DOCUMENTS

DATE PUBLISHED (most recent to oldest)	DOCUMENT TITLE	AUTHOR
2011	Alachua County Comprehensive Plan	Alachua County
2011	Alachua County Eastside Community Redevelopment Area: Finding of Necessity Report	Alachua County
2010	Community Redevelopment Plan for the Eastside Community Redevelopment Agency	Fisher, Kelly H and Gainesville Community Redevelopment Agency
2010	Gainesville CRA Annual Report	Gainesville Community Redevelopment Agency
2008	Gainesville CRA Annual Report	Gainesville Community Redevelopment Agency
2006	Gainesville CRA Annual Report	Gainesville Community Redevelopment Agency
2006	Eastside Community Redevelopment Plan	Asset Property Disposition, Inc. & Eastside Community Redevelopment Agency
2003	Plan East Gainesville: Final Report	Renaissance Planning Group and Metropolitan Transportation Planning Organization in Association with Alachua County, City of Gainesville, Gainesville Regional Utilities, and Florida Department of Transportation.

APPENDIX C CENSUS DATA

All data in the following table is extracted from block group level data except for Labor Force and Education statistics from the 2005-2009 ACS estimates. Where block group data was not available, tract level data was used to provide an estimate. However it should be noted that this estimate is for a larger area. Three tracts make up the Unincorporated area 6, 7 and 14. The percent of people in the Labor force was divided by the population (5980 / 11054) of the three tracts to find the percentage of the population in the labor force for 2005-2009 ACS estimates. Eight tracts make up the Incorporated area 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, and 19.02. The percent of people in the Labor force was divided by the population of the tracts (21,151 / 38693) to find the percentage of the population in the labor force for 2005-2009 ACS estimates

Table C-1 Census Data

Characteristic	Unincorporated Eastside 1990	Unincorporated Eastside 2000	Unincorporated Eastside ACS 2005-2009	Incorporated Eastside 1990	Incorporated Eastside 2000	Incorporated Eastside ACS 2005-2009
Population	5949	6318	6543	22535	26521	27763
Percent of Population with HS Degree	20.5%	43.02%	21.4%	11.7%	34.4%	12.5%
Percent of Population with BS Degree	3.5%	3.7%	4.11%	6.6%	6.3%	3.9%
% of Population in Labor Force (16 & older)	42.9%	33.65%	54.1%	49.1%	45.3%	54.6%
% Labor Force Employed	92%	93.6%	83.1%	90.1%	87.9%	88.95%
% Labor Force Unemployed (Unemployment Rate)	8%	6.4%	16.9%	9.9%	12.1%	11.05%
Households	1880	1945	2064	9,477	11444	11421
Owner Occupied	1242	1205	1219	3228	3334	3860
Rate of Homeownership	66%	61.2%	61%	34%	29.1%	33.8%
Median Household Income (\$)	\$38,144.98	\$36,054.31	\$31,966	\$27,057.07	\$31,653.43	\$23,014
Percent of Population Living in Poverty	28.15%	22.59%	33.7% TRACT	24.79%	39.40%	43.5% TRACT
HH receiving Public Assistance	14.52%	7.4%	2.08%	11.9%	6.04%	2%

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Crystal Torres received her bachelor's degree in sustainability science from the University of Florida. Her undergraduate research focused on sustainable transportation alternatives. She will graduate in December 2011, with a Master of Arts in Urban and Regional Planning from the University of Florida. Crystal's main planning interests include transportation, community redevelopment, and sustainable urban design.