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Editor's comments

This issue marks a major transition in the editorial leadership of *Community Development*. I want to thank Rhonda Phillips for her five years of service as editor of the journal and note the positive changes that were undertaken during her tenure. Successes include the partnership with Routledge, Taylor & Francis as the journal's publishing house, combination of print and electronic publication, and the move to five issues per volume, among many others. Additionally, it is imperative to recognize the work of Mark Brennan (cases editor) and Anne Silvis (book review editor) and thank them for agreeing to continue their service in these roles. I would like to show my gratitude to the special issues editors, editorial board, manuscript reviewers, and *Community Development* board of directors for their service and support of the journal. Finally, I must note the wonderful services provided by Routledge, Taylor & Francis. Production and dissemination of *Community Development* is truly a team effort.

With the change in leadership, the Editorial Office is moving from Arizona State University to The University of Mississippi in Oxford, Mississippi, and it will be housed within the Center for Population Studies (CPS), a unit of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology and the College of Liberal Arts. The CPS educates, conducts research, and engages in public outreach concerning population issues, including health, inequality, and community development. Among its programmatic initiatives, the CPS is the lead agency of the State Data Center for Mississippi and coordinates the Institute for Community-Based Research. In addition to my service as editor of the journal, CPS staff member Molly Phillips is serving as the editorial assistant.

Looking to the future of *Community Development*, I will endeavor to maintain its high level of quality and seek to publish articles that are relevant to the needs of both scholars and practitioners. As articulated by the Community Development Society, this is a broad multi-disciplinary field of study and practice concerned with purposive change. The journal is intended to advance the field by bringing together and widely disseminating scholarship to better inform this collective work. Through the mechanisms of peer-review, professional critique, and scholarly innovation, *Community Development* will help to improve the body of theories, methods, and practices utilized in the field.

The current issue of *Community Development* demonstrates the potential of the journal to advance the field. This issue focuses on the theme of inner-city empowerment and revitalization. Robert Mark Silverman and Kelly L. Patterson served as the guest editors for this collection of diverse and insightful articles. They provide a thorough introduction that readers should find informative. Of particular

interest is their discussion of the urban social institutions framework, and the connections between historical and contemporary scholarship in this line of inquiry. I support Silverman and Patterson in their challenge to readers of *Community Development* to build on this framework for studies in urban, rural, and international settings.

John J. Green
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GUEST EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

Themed issue on inner-city empowerment and revitalization

Historically, the community development field has focused on addressing the needs of inner-city neighborhoods. Although other areas of inquiry examined by community development researchers and professionals involve rural communities and the empowerment of disenfranchised groups in nonurban settings, the plight of the inner-city has had a substantial influence on the work of community development scholars and practitioners. Issues surrounding inner-city revitalization remain salient in the contemporary context. The community development field offers a critical framework for designing policies and programs relevant to these issues. This framework, which we identify as the *urban social institutions* (USI) framework, has a specific focus on addressing the needs of black, Latino, and other historically disenfranchised groups living in inner-city neighborhoods. This focus distinguishes the work of many community development scholars and practitioners from others engaged in neighborhood revitalization activities. The works in this themed issue represent a sample of contemporary scholarship that fits into the USI framework.

There are a number of challenges associated with the revitalization of inner-city neighborhoods. Some are tied to the built environment and focus on decaying infrastructure, obsolete buildings, industrial pollution, brownfields, poorly maintained parks, and vacant commercial and residential property. Others stem from institutional barriers linked to public and nonprofit service providers with limited capacity to address physical, economic, and community development needs. Many of the challenges associated with the built and institutional environments are perpetuated by historic patterns of discrimination that disempower the poor, minorities, and others who reside in inner-city neighborhoods. Given this context, we believe that community development scholarship and practice benefits from the application of the USI framework to the analysis of the nexus between inner-city empowerment and revitalization.

The USI framework examines community development processes in an institutional context. It focuses on how disenfranchised groups interface with institutions linked to housing, economic development, public participation and neighborhood governance, and public education. The USI framework is rooted in seminal works focused in the nexus between race, inequality, and community development. This body of work includes Breton's (1964) analysis of *institutional completeness* in Canada and Blauner's (1969, 1972) writings on racial oppression in America. Breton examined the relationship between the composition of institutions in immigrant communities in Montreal and the degree to which different ethnic groups adapted to life in the city. He examined the relationship between several ethnic groups and the religious, welfare, educational, civic, and media organizations they patronized. Breton found that the density of institutions and the degree to which immigrants had control of them were related to individual and group outcomes.

Blauner's (1969, 1972) work went a step further, accounting for power relations between majority and minority groups in society. The difference between his work and

Breton's was that Blauner distinguished between the generic experience ethnic groups had with institutions, and the institutional context of inequality experienced by historically disadvantaged groups. His approach typified how the nexus between race and institutions in the inner-city produced and reproduced inequality. Blauner argued that urban, black neighborhoods in the US faced multiple barriers to community development rooted in institutional relationships with schools, social welfare agencies, local businesses, and the police. He recommended that community empowerment and control of neighborhood institutions were essential to address inequality in society.

Another seminal work that created a foundation for the USI framework was Needleman and Needleman's (1974) analysis of community planning. Their work examined the role of local planning departments in the development and revitalization of inner-city neighborhoods. Needleman and Needleman had a particular focus on community planners and described how they were often alienated and marginalized in urban policy circles. In their efforts to advocate for disadvantaged groups, community planners faced opposition from local government and were forced to pursue their advocacy work covertly. Needleman and Needleman describe how community planners became *guerrillas in the bureaucracy*. Although the community development field is broader today, and the advocacy work of community planners takes place more openly across the public and nonprofit sectors, the role of the USI framework in informing advocacy is widely recognized.

This stream of thought in the USI framework was also visible in the works of Alinsky (1969, 1971) during the same period. His approach to community organizing emphasized the role of USIs in community development. This was evident in Alinsky's emphasis on: organizing through community-based organizations, building broad-based coalitions across grassroots associations, developing indigenous leadership, and focusing protests and conflict around inequalities stemming from larger institutions in society. Alinsky's work also emphasized the nexus between race, class, and institutional inequality. Consequently, his approach to community organizing and community development focused not merely on improving local conditions but on reshaping broader social and institutional relationships that reproduced societal inequality.

In addition to these seminal works, Kotler's (1969) study of neighborhood government contributed to the development of the USI framework. This work was one of the first to introduce the dichotomy between neighborhood and downtown interests. Kotler focused his analysis on the issue of institutional control and the emergence of an *imperial city* which displaced the traditional governance role of neighborhoods in civic politics. In response to this shift, Kotler argued for a more decentralized form of neighborhood governance in cities based on a system of autonomous neighborhood councils. He identified ongoing competition between neighborhoods and central business districts over the distribution of political power and economic resources as a driving force behind the proliferation of neighborhood-based organizations in the contemporary period.

Finally, it is noteworthy that the USI framework was not exclusive to the US context, but its development was heavily influenced by international scholarship. One of the clearest examples of this is the work of Memmi (1965). In his seminal book, *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, he examined the intersection of race, class, and institutions during the decolonization of North Africa. This work transcended that regional context and demonstrated how the USI framework could be applied elsewhere. In fact, Memmi's discussion of *internal colonialism* and its institutional context influenced

others like Blauner (1969, 1972) who focused on community development in the US context. This paradigm, which formed the foundation for the USI framework, continues to inform scholarship and practice in the community development field.

This themed issue draws from the paradigm outlined above, applying a USI framework to issues of inner-city empowerment and revitalization. This framework informs research focused on institutions and community development in an inner-city context. Moreover, lessons learned from this analysis can be applied to other community development work taking place in rural and international settings. The articles in this themed issue reflect the diversity of topics where the USI framework applies. Each article examines the nexus between community empowerment and inner-city revitalization.

The articles in this themed issue focus on empowerment and inner-city revitalization in the context of a diverse group of USIs. They include foundations, municipal governments, private businesses, faith-based organizations, colleges and universities, public schools, community-based organizations, public housing authorities (PHAs), and public transit authorities. The first article in the themed issue is entitled, "Private Foundations and Community Development: Differing Approaches to Community Empowerment" by Maria Martinez-Cosio and Mirle Rabinowitz Bussell. In this article, Martinez-Cosio and Bussell compare the neighborhood revitalization strategies of two private philanthropic foundations engaged in community development initiatives in San Diego. The first approach to community empowerment, adopted by Price Charities, focuses on forging public-private partnerships between the foundation and large public and private institutions. This strategy produced noticeable physical revitalization at the neighborhood level, but a limited level of grassroots, community engagement. In contrast, the second approach utilized by the Jacobs Center for Neighborhood Innovation places a heavier emphasis on cultivating grassroots networks as a basis for sustainable community-based revitalization.

Martinez-Cosio and Bussell's article highlights two core contrasts in the community development literature which extends the USI framework. First, they examine the contrast between emphasizing physical development as opposed to broader community development goals. Second, they contrast the short-term benefits of forging collaborations with larger institutions against the long-term benefits of pursuing institution building at the grassroots level.

The second article in this themed issue builds on these observations. It is titled, "The Changing and Differential Patterns of Urban Redevelopment in China: A Study of Three Inner-City Neighborhoods in China" by Zhiming Cheng. In his article, Cheng examines the tension between State-sponsored urban redevelopment efforts and grassroots organizations pursuing neighborhood preservation in contemporary Chinese cities. Through a comparison of three case studies, Cheng describes how the formal relationship between the State, private developers, and community-based organizations shaped urban revitalization projects. In general, he found that local communities benefited more from urban revitalization when they were represented by strong community-based institutions that could negotiate for development concessions. In the absence of these institutions, urban revitalization was driven by partnerships between the State and private developers, and punitive measures were used to quell resident opposition. Cheng's examination of contemporary Chinese cities is evidence of the relevance of the USI framework for the analysis of community development processes in an international context.

The third article in this themes issue, "A Dual Nature: The Archdiocesan Community Development Corporation" by Bethany J. Welch, examines the role of the Roman Catholic Church, another major institutional actor, in inner-city revitalization processes. Welch describes the genesis of the Archdiocese of Philadelphia's efforts to form a community development corporation (CDC). This organization was conceived as a catalyst for neighborhood revitalization and social service delivery in Philadelphia's inner-city. However, its ability to establish an autonomous, grassroots orientation was hampered by its affiliation with the Roman Catholic Church. Through her analysis, Welch highlights how the legitimacy of community-based organizations can be brought into question due to the broader institutional relationships in which they are embedded. In this case, the relationship between the CDC and the Church raised questions about community input and control over the context of urban revitalization efforts and social service delivery.

The fourth article is titled, "Measuring Neighborhood Distress: A Tool for Place-Based Neighborhood Revitalization Strategies" by James Jennings. It explores another dimension of the institutional context of inner-city revitalization, the manner in which distressed inner-city neighborhoods are measured and identified. Jennings argues that federal policies aimed at ameliorating inner-city ills are increasingly focused on developing measures for identifying distressed neighborhoods. In addition to identifying these places, measures are used to evaluate outcomes of public policies. The important thing to take away from Jennings' article is that the criteria for identifying distressed neighborhoods and evaluating urban policy outcomes are heavily influenced by institutional actors. He argues that policy mandating the measurement of neighborhood distress creates opportunities to expand the use of public participation and community-based research, including tools like public participation-GIS. The use of these tools can augment the scope of grassroots input in public policy implementation. Jennings provides examples of this in his discussion of the development of neighborhood distress scores during the implementation of public education reforms in Boston.

The fifth article in this themed issue is titled, "The Political Incorporation of Public Housing Residents: Challenges in HOPE VI Community Development" by Joanna Lucio, Wendy Wolfersteig, and Flavio Marsiglia. Lucio and her co-authors examine the implementation of two HOPE VI revitalization projects in Phoenix. They contrast resident participation processes used by the local PHA and examine how these processes were affected by race and ethnicity. Lucio and her co-authors found that the scope of public participation was greater in the HOPE VI development with predominantly black residents. In contrast, a predominantly Latino HOPE VI development had a narrower public participation component. These contrasts were attributed to differential levels of resources allocated to public participation components of the two HOPE VI developments, and Arizona's punitive immigration policies that suppressed Latino participation in public housing and other USIs.

The sixth article examines employment opportunities for low-skill, inner-city residents. It is titled, "Regional Clusters and Jobs for Inner-City Workers: The Case of Transportation, Distribution, and Logistics" by Jonathan Q. Morgan. This article examines the effectiveness of targeting employment in the transportation, distribution, and logistics (TDL) job cluster for inner-city residents in Memphis, Louisville, and Indianapolis. Morgan describes the role of partnerships between private sector employers and other institutional actors like community colleges that were designed to connect the unemployed with TDL jobs. He concludes that public-private partnerships designed to create inner-city employment in the TDL sector fell short of their

potential due to limited program capacity, a lack of career paths, and poor targeting of employment opportunities for inner-city residents.

The final article in this themed issue examines the role of public transit as a vehicle for implementing community development programs. It is titled, "Community Empowerment and Public Transportation Agencies: A Case Study Analysis of Transit Agencies Community Development Initiatives" by Gerald Wellman. The article presents best practices in combining community empowerment policies with public transit services. In essence, Wellman describes how a USI, like a public transit agency, can combine social services with its core mission in an effort to promote the empowerment of inner-city residents.

Combined, the articles in this themed issue describe how USIs impact community development. A broad range of institutions is examined including foundations, local governments, private businesses, faith-based organizations, colleges and universities, public schools, community-based organizations, PHAs, and public transit authorities. Although this is not a comprehensive list of all USIs, it illustrates the richness of institutions found in inner-cities that can be included in empirical research. It is noteworthy that each article focuses on USIs in an inner-city context, since this illustrates how the application of the USI framework enhances our understanding of the nexus between race and community development. We encourage readers to build on the analysis presented in this themed issue and further develop the USI framework and apply it to the study of inner-city empowerment and revitalization.

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Private foundations and community development: differing approaches to community empowerment

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Comprehensive community change through focused, place-based is gaining traction among private foundations and public partners frustrated with the lack of systemic change in poor neighborhoods. As they work to engage low-income residents, private foundations often describe their work as “bottom-up” participation. However, “bottom-up” approaches to empowering communities vary in their strategies, implementation and outcomes. We use an “outcome-based” and a “process-based” approach to explain the tension of two private foundations engaged in revitalizing two Southern California neighborhoods. Our findings suggest that the variation between approaches to community engagement is centered in the response of strategies to the political, organizational, programmatic, political, and cultural context of communities, as well as the foundation’s mission and values.

Keywords: community development; community engagement; private foundations; urban revitalization

Introduction

As local governments seek to respond to the growing needs of primarily urban, low-income neighborhoods while facing declining resources, private foundations are playing a greater role as partners in revitalization. Private foundations have a long history of funding community development initiatives, but an increasing number are focusing their resources on specific geographic areas in collaboration with public and private partners as part of comprehensive community initiatives (CCIs) (e.g. California Endowment, 2009; LISC-Chicago, 2009; MacArthur Foundation, 2009).

Community engagement is a key component of CCIs (Green & Haines, 2007; Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993; Mattessich, Mueller, & Holm-Hansen, 2009; Phillips & Pittman, 2009). The capacity of public and private partners, residents and nonprofits to work together can enhance existing, and create new participatory practices as residents become empowered to effect change in their neighborhoods. Thus, resident engagement and empowerment becomes both a process and outcome of comprehensive community development initiatives (Green & Haines, 2007; Phillips & Pittman, 2009; Putnam, Feldstein, & Cohen, 2004). Adams (1990, p. 43)

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defines empowerment as “the process by which individuals, groups and/or communities become able to take control of their circumstances and achieve their goals, thereby being able to work toward maximizing the quality of their lives.”

This article explores the process of resident engagement in the physical and social change occurring in two underserved communities in San Diego, California. Both communities are targets of CCIs by private foundations Price Charities and the Jacobs Family Foundation, and each describes their collaboration with residents as “bottom-up.” Yet our research indicates that the foundations’ efforts differed widely as a result of political and cultural differences in each community as well as the Jacobs Foundation’s process-oriented approach to engagement as compared to Price Charities’ outcomes-based approach. “Bottom up” refers to grassroots activity in community development whereby residents are empowered to set objectives and approaches to neighborhood change. “Bottom up” community engagement involves participatory decision-making at the local level through direct involvement of stakeholders (Andrews, Cowell, Downe, Martin, & Turner, 2006; Tiesdell & Allendinger, 2001; Turner, 2009).

This article presents an analytical framework focused on community engagement to tease out the political and cultural contexts, as well as the impact of each foundation’s approach on capacity building as it affects resident engagement (DeFilippis & Saegert, 2007; Dreier, 1997; Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993; Traynor, 1995). It concludes with an analysis of the benefits and drawbacks of each of the foundations’ approaches to community engagement, and it further addresses the challenges of actively partnering with residents from underserved neighborhoods in comprehensive community development initiatives.

Methods

Data were collected over the course of several years as both members of the research team have spent a considerable amount of time engaged in participant observation including attendance at public meetings, participation in community workshops, archival data collection, and conducting numerous interviews with stakeholders. The Price Charities data were collected from 1999 to 2003 and included individual interviews with staff from Price Charities, 15 residents, city staff, and school personnel. A second round of interviews was conducted in March 2009 with 12 participants including city staff, two Price Charities staff, four nonprofits and four residents to assess the current status of the foundation’s community development initiatives.

In 2006, data collection and participant observation began for the Jacobs Family Foundation and its operating arm, the Jacobs Center Neighborhood Innovation (JCNI). Thirteen interviews with board members and neighborhood stakeholders took place between 2008 and 2010. Interview and observation data were supplemented with archival data from newspaper articles, planning department reports from the City of San Diego, and data from the foundations’ websites as well as internal foundation reports.¹

The literature on CCIs is used to frame the analysis since both of the foundations identify their efforts as “holistic” as they seek to impact all sectors of their targeted communities, including the social, economic, educational, physical and cultural dimensions (Auspos & Kubisch, 2004; Kubisch et al., 2002).

Comprehensive community initiatives can be categorized into three types: those primarily focused on building human capital, particularly education initiatives; those

focused on building neighborhood capital, including the physical and economic infrastructure; and those primarily concerned with building social capital, including strengthening the civic life of a community as well as building relationships with resources outside the community (Kubisch, Weiss, Scorr, & Connell, 1995; Traynor, 1995). Some CCIs seek to encompass all three types, and as Auspos and Kubisch (2004) contend, this approach often leads to a multifaceted web of programs, interventions, and community building initiatives.

Assessing the success of these initiatives becomes challenging because of the complexity, dynamism, and variability inherent in the development process itself (Brown & Fiester, 2007; Rossi & Dentler, 1961). Long-term place-based systematic change involves numerous partners across a lengthy time period thereby raising numerous impediments to meaningful assessment. In addition, since CCIs involve more than just bricks and mortar projects, soft outcomes are often part of the analysis, and measuring these is messy (Glickman & Servon, 1998, 1998; Pastor, Benner, Rosner, Matsuoka, & Jacobs, 2004).

In response to this challenge, Auspos and Kubisch (2004) suggest that analysis of CCIs should focus on what “community-based actors described as their most important work: community building activities that resulted in capacity development, social capital and network creation, leadership development and community empowerment” (p. 14). Thus, this comparative case-analysis study of Price Charities and the JCNI is framed around these broad areas with a specific focus on community engagement and empowerment as critical areas in sustaining community change (Chaskin, Chipenda-Sansokho, Joseph, & Richards, 2001; Jackson & Marris, 1996; Kingsley, McNeely, & Gibson, 1997).

Private foundations and CCIs

In 2010, there were approximately 76,000 grantmaking foundations in the U.S. contributing approximately \$45.7 billion dollars to the arts, schools, social service agencies and communities in need in the U.S. (Foundation Center, 2011). Four important areas that impact community development initiatives are human services, education and health, and community improvement/development – received 68% of private foundation grant dollars (The Foundation Center, 2010). According to a survey by the Foundation Center, foundation giving has grown 31% since 2000, despite one of the longest economic recessions in U.S. history (Foundation Center, 2011).

Private foundations bring experience and a variety of resources to community development. Dreier (1997) documents the long-standing relationship between philanthropy (private foundations and other types) and housing reform, and notes the variation in their approach and philosophy. Fleishman (2007) adds that it is difficult to measure the extent of change produced by these private foundations as the culture of foundations is shaped by their founders’ values, beliefs, ideological differences, risk tolerance, and history. Some foundations may utilize an entrepreneurial, hands-on approach to grant making, collaborating actively with their community partners; while other private foundations may prefer to set only grant making policy, leaving individual decisions to senior staff.

Private philanthropic engagement in community development initiatives dates back to the Progressive Era (Lubove, 1962; Vale, 2000; Ylvisaker, 1987). These early

foundations were cautious in their approach to philanthropy and while motivated by social justice, they often supported conventional causes such as education. Building on this tradition, private foundations embarked upon more ambitious and comprehensive approaches to community action and urban revitalization by the mid-twentieth century (O'Connor, 1996). The Civil Rights Movement and the War on Poverty programs of the 1950s and 1960s were catalysts for increased philanthropic support of community development (Green & Haines, 2007). During the 1960s, hundreds of community development corporations (CDCs), with financial support from foundations, were formed to engage in urban renewal projects (Walker, 2002). By the 1990s, a more holistic and neighborhood-focused approach to community development was initiated through CCIs that sought to apply "the principles of comprehensiveness and community-building to improve physical, social, and economic conditions in one community or geographic area" (Fulbright-Anderson & Auspos, 2006, p. 2).

The Ford Foundation was one of the first philanthropic entities to engage in these holistic community development initiatives (Fleishman, 2007; O'Connor, 1996). But many others soon followed including the Steans Family Foundation in Chicago, the Riley Foundation in Boston's Dudley Street neighborhood, the Birmingham Foundation in South Pittsburgh, the Rosamond Gifford Charitable Foundation in Syracuse, New York, and the James Ford Bell Foundation in the Central neighborhood of Minneapolis.

The vast majority of private foundations engaged in community development are focused on urban areas. The size of the target area also varies, with some foundations encompassing large counties, like the Maddox Foundation in New Mexico, and the Springs Family Foundation that targets three counties in North Carolina. Both Price Charities and the Jacobs Family Foundation reflect a more focused geographic approach, directing their resources to specific neighborhoods. These boundaries are often defined by census tracts and may be anchored by a flagship program through which the foundation first gained entry into the targeted community.

Private foundations, as integral members of Community Development Partnerships (CDPs) also have a long history of working to build the capacity of CDCs in underserved neighborhoods (Glickman & Servon, 1998). Focusing on five key components of capacity building for CDCs – resource, organizational, programmatic, network and political – Glickman & Servon (1998) argue that all of these elements demand attention by CDCs and CDPs to address the complexity of interconnected urban problems (Sviridoff & Ryan, 1996). Glickman and Servon's (1998) framework is particularly useful for communities in which CDCs are effectively engaged in community development and may use this model to identify and address deficiencies in one of the five components.

Our contribution, in addition to highlighting the catalyzing force that private foundations represent in comprehensive community change, is the capacity-building role played by private foundations in neighborhoods without CDCs, or more typically, mature but underfunded CDCs. As the description that follows illustrates, Price Charities espouses an outcomes-based approach of comprehensive community change funded through its substantial assets of over \$100 million, experience as a commercial retailer and belief that physical change can lead to social change in addressing poverty. In contrast to Price Charity's resources, the City Heights CDC's total assets are modest in size: \$7,618,903 for 2011 with net assets of \$(1,455,164).

The Diamond Neighborhoods do not have a CDC that can partner with JCNI and the city's vehicle for redevelopment, the Southeast San Diego Economic Development Corporation (SEDC) was embroiled in a financial scandal that led to the prosecution of its CEO and finance director for fraud (Carless, 2012). Community engagement by these two foundations within the political, social, historical, and cultural contexts of these two neighborhoods impacts its efforts to effectively partner and engage with residents.

Two approaches to bottom-up engagement

Price Charities and the Jacobs Family Foundation share a number of characteristics. Both are private foundations in which the founder was actively involved in creating a vision for the foundation's work, and the first generation is now taking the helm. Both foundations were created at approximately the same time: The Price Family Charitable Fund was established in 1985, the Jacobs Family Foundation was established in 1988, and its operating arm, JCNI, was founded in 1995. Both are located in neighborhoods that are underserved and are ethnically and racially diverse.

Prior to the market collapse of 2008 each foundation's assets were approximately \$100 million (U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission, 2006, 2007). Asset security enabled them to think big and to confidently chart a broad vision.

The next section explores in more detail the community development strategies as well as the political, network, and organizational capacity building of the Jacobs Family Foundation and Price Charities, with a focus on their bottom-up community engagement strategies and the way in which their efforts impact community engagement (see e.g. Auspos & Kubisch, 2004; Coote & Woodhead, 2004; Ferguson & Dickens, 1999; Ferguson & Stoutland, 1999; Hollister & Hill, 1995; Traynor, 1995).

The Jacobs Center for Neighborhood Innovation

The Jacobs Family Foundation was established after the privately-held company Jacobs Engineering, went public. The family patriarch and company founder, Joseph Jacobs, established a foundation with the mission of "Resident Ownership of Neighborhood Change." The foundation's initial focus was conventional grant making and over the course of the next 10 years the foundation awarded grants to both domestic and international organizations, with an initial focus on micro-lending.

Dissatisfaction with the impact of their philanthropy led the board of directors (comprised exclusively of family members) to restructure its approach in 1995 and embark on a new direction in favor of place-based organizational support for entities that embodied the mission of the foundation. Through a lengthy discovery process, the foundation ultimately selected the Diamond Neighborhoods, encompassing 10 underserved communities in Southeastern San Diego, with approximately 60,000 people including African Americans, Caucasians, and Latinos along with a growing population of Somalis, Laotians, Filipinos and Samoans (SANDAG, 2012a; 2012b). In 2010, the area median household income adjusted for inflation was \$23,234, much lower than the City of San Diego's median income of \$59,759 according to U.S. Census Bureau as part of its Small Area Income and Poverty Estimates (SAIPE) program (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010a).

The foundation established an operating arm, the Jacobs Center for Neighborhood Innovation (JCNI) in 1995 to serve as the facilitator, capacity-builder, and primary funding source for the comprehensive revitalization of the Diamond Neighborhoods. Jacobs Center for Neighborhood Innovation's objectives are to build both the physical and social capital necessary to enable the neighborhood to grow itself.

Community engagement

Jacobs Center for Neighborhood Innovation realized that the first step was to become an accepted member of the community. Jacobs Center for Neighborhood Innovation experienced significant challenges to establishing a relationship of trust with the Diamond Neighborhoods. The city council member that represented the district encompassing this area was resistant to the organization's perceived intrusion. Under this councilmember's tenure, from 1991 to 2002, several community development projects were realized in Southeastern San Diego and issues of community ownership and territoriality were clearly present. The local redevelopment agency, the Southeastern Economic Development Corporation, has also kept JCNI at arm's distance for many years. Moreover, JCNI confronted a considerable amount of skepticism from community members who continue to be wary of the organization's motives. Residents of the neighborhood had heard many promises in the past but had yet to see major improvements.

The Jacobs Foundation (2010) approached its community partnership building on several concurrent fronts. At the same time that the organization introduced itself to the neighborhood, it instituted an organizational framework designed to incorporate significant neighborhood involvement with the end goal of building community capacity and assets so that the foundation could sunset in 2025.² When it sunsets, the foundation has committed to transferring JCNI's assets to the community.

Community empowerment

Jacobs Center for Neighborhood Innovation is divided into 14 different teams comprised of staff members, community members, and community partners that represent an "integrated network of stakeholders" (Jacobs Center for Neighborhood Innovation, 2007). The teams are designed to address every facet of the neighborhood's social, economical, physical, and cultural needs. As such, there are teams on physical development, property management, asset management, social fabric, evaluation and policy implications, and strategic direction.

By the time it sunsets in 2025, JCNI hopes to realize the completion of a comprehensive village redevelopment plan. Virtually, every component of comprehensive and holistic community development is incorporated into JCNI's strategic long-range plan. A trolley line runs through the neighborhood, thereby enabling JCNI to include transit-oriented design and smart growth principles as a significant component of the redevelopment. Adjacent to the trolley station is Market Creek Plaza, Jacobs' 10-acre cornerstone commercial center. With the first phase completed in 2004, this project brought the first chain grocery store into the neighborhood in 30 years. The plaza itself provides much needed services and products to the neighborhood, but it also stimulated job training and employment. Not only were

69% of the construction contracts awarded to local minority-owned businesses, but 91% of the initial hires at the grocery store were neighborhood residents (Robinson, 2005). Jacobs Center for Neighborhood Innovation organized cross-cultural teams to both plan and implement the project, and 2000 adults and 1000 neighborhood youths participated in various aspects of the planning process (Robinson, 2005).

In alignment with JCNI's goal of facilitating community engagement and ownership, in 2006 it offered shares in Market Creek Plaza through a public offering to people who lived, worked, or volunteered in the neighborhood. This unique investment approach offered Diamond Neighborhood stakeholders the opportunity to purchase ownership in the plaza at \$10 a share. It was a novel but risky venture that initially faced opposition from the California Department of Corporations for several reasons, including concerns about the fiscal stability of the center due to the presence of locally owned small businesses and the challenges of offering investment opportunities to lower income investors (Stuhldreher, 2007). The initial public offering (IPO) exceeded expectations and by October 2006, when it closed, it had secured 423 investments amounting to \$500,000 (Market Creek Partners, 2006).

In addition to its commercial component, Market Creek Plaza also incorporates the Joe and Vi Jacobs Community Center, located in Market Creek Plaza. The \$23.5 million facility opened in 2008 and contains 78,000 square feet that houses JCNI's staff along with meeting rooms, a community room, and a social hall. The organization is also in the early stages of developing a mixed-use development that will house both light industrial and office space.

To date, JCNI has focused much more on building relationships with local residents and nonprofit organizations than it has with the public sector. While staff and board members have contacts with city officials and employees, the organization has deliberately assembled a large staff in order to develop its own internal capacity to pursue its mission. This may or may not contribute to the relatively slow pace at which Jacobs completes actual projects. With its explicit focus on resident-engagement and capacity building, process is given equal, if not greater weight, than outcomes. Jacobs Center for Neighborhood Innovation has more than 70 staff members, including seven to eight senior staff members, and it has the financial resources to ensure that all aspects of the organization function properly. The foundation has used its resources to hire consultants who provide vital services and advice including Gus Newport, former executive director of the Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative, which is one of JCNI's inspirations. This access to capital has also enabled JCNI to allocate the time and resources to documenting and evaluating its efforts, presenting a sharp contrast to the typical neighborhood organization, such as CDCs, that often lacks both.

Price Charities

City Heights is also located in the City of San Diego, adjacent to the Diamond Neighborhoods. This older urban community has been called San Diego's "Ellis Island" because since the 1970s, it has served as the first stop for many new immigrants to the area. It was best known for its high crime rate, fueled by drugs and gangs. Yet City Heights is centrally located, contains affordable housing and borders several gentrified areas.

Some of City Heights' 74,000 residents (SANDAG, 2010) argue that the start of their community's decline can be traced back to the approval by California voters of

Proposition 13 in 1978, which capped property taxes at 1% of the value of the property. The referendum challenged many cities like San Diego to maintain the infrastructure of older neighborhoods. In the interim, growth continued as developers tore down small homes and replaced them with low-quality apartment buildings. As density increased, overcrowded schools became the norm. Children played in alleys or streets as parks were scarce; sewer and water systems were taxed; and parking became a major problem due to high population density, shoddy construction and poor maintenance.

In 1990, Sol Price and his son Robert were researching strategies for focusing their philanthropic resources in one location. The Price family had the resources to invest in City Heights through their successful operation of Price Club membership warehouses in San Diego, CA. A decade after opening the first Price Club in San Diego in 1976, the stores were generating \$2.6 billion a year (Wedemeyer, 1986). Later they sold the chain to Costco Wholesale Inc., but they retained a number of other business interests including commercial real estate enterprises. They eventually merged a number of their nonprofit entities into Price Charities, which according to IRS-990 records had assets of \$116.8 million in 2010 (Guidestar, 2011).

At the same time that the Price family was searching for a partnership for a place-based philanthropic endeavor, the San Diego City Council was adopting a “Declaration of Emergency” for City Heights due to the “increasing crime rate and lowered standard of living.” By then, approximately 40% of households had incomes of less than \$15,000 per year and half of the residents 18–64 years of age lived at or below the poverty status. Additionally, more than a third of residents age 25 years or older did not have a high school diploma (City Heights Community Development Corporation, 1990). This was a largely poor, uneducated, ethnically, and racially mixed community in desperate need of help.

The closing of the last major supermarket in City Heights in January 1994 was the catalyst for Price’s partnership with City Heights. Residents were working with the city to turn the closed supermarket site into a new police substation but the city lacked funding to develop it. Price provided funding for a redevelopment plan that incorporated the new police substation, public library, shopping center, park and sports field, and a recreation center with tennis courts and a swimming pool. In addition, through negotiations with the San Diego Unified School District, a new elementary school was added. In June 1994, the city council approved the master plan for City Heights’ new 20-block “Urban Village” and shortly thereafter ground was broken on the police substation thanks to a \$3 million dollar loan from Price Charities.

According to interviews with Price Charities staff members, the Price family’s community development approach is based on an entrepreneurial paradigm that included leveraging private funds to obtain a larger share of public funds for community development, moving quickly to effect physical change, and maintaining flexibility in responding to community needs and opportunities.

Community engagement

Sol Price and former San Diego city councilman William Jones tapped into the organized community groups in City Heights as they sought to begin their partnership. These are a predominantly white, active group of residents and investors who own property in this area. This property-owner group had developed a strong social network with city staff members, particularly the city manager, through their efforts to

gain attention for their neglected community. Although the homeowners in the area were the most vocal and actively engaged in Price's partnership, they represented only 25% of City Heights' population, as approximately 74% of residents in the 10 census tracts that largely comprise City Heights are renters (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010b, DP-1). Price was challenged to engage with renters, as language differences, along with long hours at low-wage work, long commutes and lack of childcare, all presented major challenges to community engagement.

Community empowerment

Price sought to foster social capital through several programs including funding the creation and development of neighborhood associations, and supporting the creation of a nonprofit and community agency collaborative that serves the largely immigrant and refugee population in City Heights. This collaborative, Mid-City Community Advocacy Network (CAN) celebrated its 21st year of existence in 2011 and currently has 1120 members on its roster representing over 150 organizations. As a centrally-located underserved neighborhood, City Heights is the target of a variety of services by nonprofits and public agencies, and the collaborative was formed to eliminate duplication and encourage partnerships. Price Charities remains an active player and financial supporter of the Mid-City CAN collaborative.

Price funds parent rooms with social workers as parent liaisons at each of the three public schools in City Heights that the foundation operates in partnership with the school district. Each parent room buzzes with activity most weekdays as Vietnamese, Laotian, Latino, African and African-American parents volunteer, socialize and enroll in workshops at their child's school. But connecting these school engagement efforts to community development initiatives continues to challenge the foundation.

Price has leveraged his approximately \$50 million investment in City Heights into more than \$140 million in improvements through partnerships with the city, the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), other nonprofit foundations, and private industry. Price's political and network capacity has served the community well as evidenced by the physical transformation of this community and the millions invested by the City of San Diego through the creation of a 1984-acre Redevelopment Project Area. Tax increment revenues from 2000 to 2006 for the City Heights Redevelopment Project area total approximately \$22.4 million fueled by rising assessed property values as new construction continues. The City Heights Redevelopment Project area generated an additional \$11.1 million in FY 2011, twice the amount generated by the Southeast Revitalization district that contains the Diamond Neighborhoods (City Heights Redevelopment Committee, 2007; Davis, 2009). To date, much of this funding has been pledged to service debt for Price Charities' projects in the Urban Village.⁴ Redevelopment ended in California after the State Legislature passed Assembly Bill 1X 26 (AB 26) which was later signed by Governor Jerry Brown. San Diego's Redevelopment Agency closed its doors on February 1, 2012.⁵

Analysis and findings

Each of the two foundations, Price Charities and the Jacobs Family Foundation, sought to work with residents as partners in improving social, cultural, and

economic conditions in each target area. But the partnerships vary substantially in terms of the emphasis and approach of each foundation to community engagement to achieve comprehensive change. Glickman and Servon's (1998) discussion of the five components of CDCs help illustrate the role appropriated by private foundations engaged in holistic community development, and their impact on organizational and resident capacity.

In private interviews, City Heights' residents and nonprofit leaders do not deny the positive impact of the physical improvements to their neighborhood as a result of Price Charities outcome-based approach, but some are critical of a process that appears to sacrifice community engagement for expediency. The result has been a vastly improved physical fabric, a thick network of nonprofits and community-based organizations that partner with Price Charities on a variety of initiatives, a broad menu of programmatic activities and enough political cache to warrant editorials in support of its efforts. But behind closed doors some argue, community buy-in and engagement has suffered, there is a lack of coherence in the programs and organizational resources offered, and the political clout accrued is not for low-income residents to use.

The JCNI employs a process-based approach that is in direct contrast to the Price model. It appears that it has not cultivated the institutional contacts that characterize Price's approach, and while Jacobs has relationships with many stakeholders one could argue that it has not yet fostered deep connections with the local, neighborhood political elites that can further facilitate its acceptance in the neighborhood. It has not yet developed a politically valuable relationship comparable to the one that Price had with former council members and the city manager. Part of this was due to the powerful African American political machine that serves in many respects as the critical neighborhood power broker. However, in recent years Jacobs has made a concerted effort to establish working relationships with a broader network of stakeholders, including elected officials.

What Jacobs lacks in its partnerships with local political elites, it compensates for with its partnerships with community residents. A cornerstone of Jacob's model is the implementation of a process that allows for resident ownership of neighborhood change as exemplified by the 2000 adults and 1000 youths that participated in the Market Creek Plaza process. This type of deep and lengthy resident engagement is a key part of Jacobs' process-based approach and it is a mandatory element of all of Jacobs' work.

By largely focusing on outcomes, Price has been much more expedient in its community development efforts. The relative speed at which Price has catalyzed the physical revitalization of City Heights is undeniably impressive. Price's most recognizable legacy is the completion of the approximately 30-acre Urban Village. This combination of retail, public, and nonprofit facilities has been the cornerstone of the foundation's community development efforts.

By focusing on process, JCNI's community involvement is less evident in the physical change to the Diamond Neighborhoods. Jacobs Center for Neighborhood Innovation's most significant effort has been the design, construction, and completion of Market Creek Plaza, a 20-acre former factory site. This project embodies the core philosophies of Jacobs' desire to foster community participation (through the design and planning process), generate economic growth (through the awarding of local contracts and jobs to people involved in the construction of the plaza as well as working there upon completion), and realize physical change (through a sizeable and attractive new retail and community center). Both Price and

Jacobs developed urban villages as their cornerstone projects. This was done to not only provide vital and previously neglected services to these target neighborhoods, but these expansive physical entities symbolize change in a tangible and visible manner.

A second finding is the value of analyzing case studies through a framework that focuses our attention on a few select components of comprehensive community development (Auspos & Kubisch, 2004). As the CCI research shows, these complex initiatives are lengthy, involve multiple private and public partners, and their foci varies based on political, cultural, and economic contexts. Selecting key processes to catalyze holistic community change – outcome-based vs. process-based – allow for a more thorough comparison of these major initiatives in ways that cut a path through a complex web of programs and interventions (Auspos & Kubisch, 2004; Connell, Kubisch, Schorr, & Weiss, 1995; Coote & Woodhead, 2004; Hollister & Hill, 1995; Schorr, 1998; Traynor, 1995). Attention to key variables such as CDC capacity components, but more importantly, the interaction between components, processes, and contextual conditions highlight the need for multiple lenses for understanding CCIs (Glickman & Servon, 1998).

The findings from this study point to the transformative impact of private community development philanthropies. Regardless of their participatory approach, they generate physical, social, economic, and/or cultural change. They also appear to share the same role as first-stage responders and in some cases operate as a quasi-CDCs. Due to the economic, social, and political resources at their disposal, private foundations are often among the first entities able to facilitate large-scale urban revitalization in a distressed neighborhood. Their institutional structures afford them a degree of nimbleness that most public entities certainly lack. This difference has both positive and negative repercussions. Well before Price and Jacobs arrived in their respective neighborhoods, both City Heights and Southeastern San Diego had a rich infrastructure of individuals and organizations dedicated to the neighborhoods' wellbeing. While they had the social and historical connections, often times these organizations lacked the political and financial capital necessary to realize comprehensive change. This is where private philanthropists offer opportunities for change.

Private foundations, as well as public and private entities seeking to impact change in underserved communities through a "bottom-up" approach must pay attention to the community's political, cultural, and social context. In the Diamond Neighborhoods, the African American political leadership resisted the JCNI's efforts at collaboration; in City Heights, immigrants were suspicious of white property owners and investors with whom Price initially collaborated in the redevelopment of this area. Each foundation was also influenced by its own mission and values. Price Charities entrepreneurial roots resulted in a focus on expediency and physical change as visible proof to residents of the foundation's commitment to revitalization. For Jacobs, process at the grassroots level was most important as a key element to sustainable change.

Over the past several decades, private foundations have increasingly focused on place-based philanthropy and large intermediaries such as the Local Initiatives Support Corporation (LISC) have taken notice. Local Initiatives Support Corporation has recently realigned its programmatic efforts to focus on comprehensive community development, allocating funding for such collaborative efforts (LISC-Chicago 2009). Private philanthropies can contribute by pooling their expertise and resources with national organizations like LISC. These combined resources will further facilitate local neighborhood revitalization.

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Notes

1. The data collected for this study is part of a larger research project funded by the Lincoln Institute of Land Policy examining place-based philanthropy and its role in community development.
2. A new date was set in 2011. The organization intends to sunset in 2030.
3. JCNI recently applied for state funding to begin construction of several hundred units of affordable housing adjacent to the trolley stop.
4. The Urban Village is 10-block area anchored by a 108,706 square foot shopping center that cost a total of \$30.7 million. It contains restaurants, retail, a bank, and a major supermarket. The Urban Village also contains a police substation; the Weingart public library that was built with a \$5.25 million grant from the Weingart Foundation; the recreation center with tennis courts, a swimming pool and tot pool; the Mid-City Continuing Education Center which opened in 2000 across the street from the library; 115 townhomes that opened in 2003 with a Head Start facility on the ground floor; and the six story City Heights Center, the tallest structure in the neighborhood that houses nonprofits and social service agencies, as well as offering meeting rooms for the community.
5. Retrieved from: http://www.leginfo.ca.gov/pub/11-12/bill/asm/ab_0001-0050/abx1_26_bill_20110629_chaptered.html.

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The changing and different patterns of urban redevelopment in China: a study of three inner-city neighborhoods

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China's urban growth is phenomenal, but some studies tend to see it as a consistent macro process without much turbulence at the micro levels. This article examines inner-city redevelopment in China by analyzing the cases of three types of neighborhoods: a work-unit compound, a historic quarter, and an urban village. It discusses how these projects were implemented, which actors were involved, and who the beneficiaries were. It argues that different patterns of redevelopment were applied in individual redevelopment projects, although all of these projects were property led. The local state's considerations when applying a particular pattern depends on institutional abilities, arrangements, recourses, and aims, as well as the power relations between the state, market, and community. A comparison of processes and outcomes shows that a top-down approach applied through delegated agencies or the immediate authority of the local state tends to implement redevelopment in a coalition with developers instead of considering the benefits for the affected residents and the preservation of the values of historic neighborhoods. In contrast, the bottom-up approach to the redevelopment of urban villages empowers the collective and villagers and enables them to benefit relatively more from the project. The local state has changed its role from an administrator to a facilitator, and has made significant economic concessions to advance the project in the context of significant policy changes in recent years.

Keywords: China; inner city; neighborhood; redevelopment; growth coalition

Introduction

Urbanization has been one of the major driving forces of China's dramatic socio-economic changes since the opening-up reform in 1978. The economic restructuring after China's accession into the World Trade Organization in 2001, and the growing importance of the headquarters economy have further pushed Chinese cities to compete with one another to attract investments and to promote themselves in domestic and global city systems (Chan & Poon, 2012; Li, 2011). In addition, the traditional socio-economic management system at the city level has changed radically, presenting new challenges to urban governance. For example, in the late 1990s, urban residents lost their right to free housing. Meanwhile, the loosening of the *hukou* (household registration) system, which once restricted domestic migration, has also compelled cities to take measures to accommodate the rapidly growing

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inflowing population of rural-to-urban migrants. By the end of 2010, more than 153 million rural-to-urban migrant workers lived and worked in towns and cities (MLSS, 2011). The level of urbanization increased from 18% in 1978 to 52% in 2011, and for the first time in Chinese history, the population of urban residents exceeded that of rural residents (Chan, 2012). This trend is projected to continue over the next several decades, and the urbanization level is expected to reach 70% by 2050 (United Nations, 2008). Suburbanization and inner-city redevelopment have been the two main approaches to accommodating the growing demand for urban space and facilities. Inner-city neighborhoods have been partially or completely demolished and rebuilt into high-end business and residential properties in the process of “new-build gentrification” (He, 2010).

The histories of some cities in developed countries such as Britain and the United States have shown that inner-city issues (such as congestion, pollution, and crime) have resulted in an exodus of middle-class households and businesses to the suburban fringe (Power & Wilson, 2000; Weaver, 1960). Inner-city redevelopment programs are complicated and relatively unattractive to real estate developers because of regulations on heritage conservation, slow cost recovery, resistance from property owners and tenants and other difficulties (Boston & Ross, 1997). However, many Chinese cities have fewer restrictions, and some of these can be bypassed illegally or with the payment of a penalty. In addition, the demand for properties in the inner cities is driven by a shift toward central business district (CBD)-centric, service-sector employment as well as a concentration of public resources and services in the more established inner-city areas. Although China has only recently become an upper-middle-income country, real estate prices in some cities are no less excessive than are those in some established global cities (Wang, Yang, & Liu, 2011b). This lack of a price differential has made the Chinese inner cities hotspots of international and domestic investment and redevelopment.

The close relationship between urbanization and the changing living conditions of a substantial proportion of urban residents has made China’s urban development a notable area of research. As Small (2002) suggest, “For scholars interested in how urban processes affect human welfare, it is hard to think of anything more important than urbanization in China” (p. 2159). A growing body of literature has contributed to the understanding of redevelopment practices that often involve the demolition of most buildings – or even whole neighborhoods – in a contentious and controversial process. For instance, residents have been relocated involuntarily or even forcibly (Wu, 2004a), and a large number of violent – and even fatal – incidents have occurred during housing demolition (Wu, 2012).

Although some research examines redevelopment at the micro level (Li, 2004), most studies emphasize the macro and technical aspects (such as land provision and residential displacement), and focus on some of the largest and most developed cities, such as Shanghai and Beijing. Some studies view redevelopment after the 1990s as a relatively consistent era of urban entrepreneurialism, and pay little attention to changes in policies and practices over time (Wang, 2011). As Fang and Zhang (2003) observe, most studies on redevelopment have “avoided assessments of social and economic impacts,” and “there has been a level of misunderstanding with respect to China’s urban redevelopment policies” because of the lack of data and sensitivity of the topic (p. 150). These authors suggest that the rapid changes in China’s inner cities cannot be explained appropriately by synthesizing existing perspectives based on the histories of Western countries, because the effects of redevelopment on Chinese cities

are complex, multifaceted, and geographically diverse. Therefore, a comparative analysis of Chinese cities can help reveal not only common trends, but also regional variations in these urban changes (Gaubatz, 1999).

To contribute to this research area, the present study use mainly original data to examine the stakeholders, mechanisms, patterns, processes, and consequences of inner-city redevelopment projects in the neighborhoods of multiple cities. The rest of the article is organized as follows. The next section analyzes the driving forces of redevelopment, conceptualizes the three types of inner-city neighborhoods that are usually targeted by redevelopment, and introduces the research sites. Three sections follow that describe case studies of inner-city neighborhood redevelopment in three cities. The final section provides the discussion and conclusion.

Research background

The emergence of property-led redevelopment in transitional China

In China, all urban land is owned by the state. A land market was largely absent for nearly four decades until the 1987 land reform, which legalized paid transfers of urban land use rights. This reform dramatically changed the pattern of land development and the spatial structure of Chinese cities by spurring urban development (Wu & Yeh, 1997). However, redevelopment projects were not attractive to the emerging private developers because regulations required on-site replacement of demolished housing and the provision of community facilities, in addition to imposing numerous fees and charges (Dowall, 1994). These regulations resulted in a low level of inner-city redevelopment activity after the land reform despite a rapidly increasing demand for properties (Wang & Murie, 1999).

After the early 1990s a series of institutional changes stimulated intensive and large-scale urban (re)development in Chinese cities. Fundamentally, the administrative and fiscal relationships between the central and local states were reconstructed and decentralized during this political devolution. On the one hand, the decision-making authority on local affairs was transferred from the central government to provincial and city governments (Heikkila, 2007). Since then, these governments have been allowed to formulate and implement their urbanization strategies, including (re)development projects, with little intervention from the central state. On the other hand, the 1994 taxation reforms granted permission to the local state to utilize its fiscal income to fulfill local institutional aims (Deng, 2005). The increased autonomy in fiscal management gave the local state an unprecedented degree of freedom to use unconventional mechanisms to expand its extra-budgetary revenue (Wang, Zhang, Zhang, & Zhao, 2011a; Wu, 1999). One of these mechanisms exploits inner-city land resources, which have high commercial value and the potential to generate fiscal income. Chinese cities have gradually adopted the financing model applied in Hong Kong, Seoul, and Singapore, which allows developers to provide compensation for buildings and urban land given up for redevelopment (Leaf, 1995; Zhang, 2000). This property-led (re)development approach has since become the norm, applied to meet the growing demand in the emerging property and land markets (Cao, 2009; Chen, Guo, & Wu, 2011).

During the course of these changes, local states and developers formed growth coalitions to boost land (re)development for rapid growth (Zhang & Fang, 2003; Zhu, 1999). This process is similar to that observed during urban renewal and

growth in the United States (Logan & Molotch, 1987). According to a study by Zhang and Fang (2004) comparing urban renewal in the United States in the 1950s and 1960s with inner-city redevelopment in China since the late 1980s, both programs used government authorities and subsidies to make large-scale private or quasi-private investments attractive in the name of improving living conditions. The authors argue that America's urban renewal was "an ill-fated federal program in which the local government and downtown business interests cooperated to boost declining inner cities that were competing with burgeoning suburbs (p. 286);" while in contrast, China's redevelopment was "propelled by emerging local elites using decentralized state power to pursue fast growth in rising real estate markets (p. 286)." A "growth machine," as initially conceptualized by Molotch (1976), formed during China's economic decentralization processes. The growth coalition and the growth machine are both results of neo-liberal urbanism, which emerged in response to multiple difficulties and crises, and to the desire for rapid development (Wu, 2009). The neo-liberalization process, as He and Wu (2009) argue, emphasizes growth first, and includes numerous controversies and inconsistencies involving conflicts between neo-liberal practices and social resistance, as well as tensions between the central and local states.

Inner-city property-led redevelopment in the Chinese context involves much more than rekindling degraded local economies and beautifying the built environment. It is a battlefield, with enormous benefits for different parties and groups in the emerging market economy, and contains elements inherited from the planned economy. For property developers, redevelopment provides opportunities for considerable capital gains. For local states, it attracts capital inflow, boosts employment, increases tax revenue, and strengthens governance. For some government officials, it provides opportunities for rent seeking and corruption. Redevelopment also delivers political premiums to those climbing the career ladder in a bureaucratic system that privileges the physical growth of cities. Many residents affected by redevelopment are forced to fight for compensation and live uncertain lives because their houses (and often their livelihoods) are demolished.

Local state and developers are usually perceived as sharing the goal of smoothing operations and preventing disputes in inner-city redevelopment. Communities and individuals rail against these potentially colluding parties to empower themselves because community organizations are excluded from urban (re)development (Zhang, 2002). However, previous studies have left many questions on the variations in property-led redevelopment unanswered. For instance, whether the coalition is always in a single, stable organizational structure that is exclusive to the local state and developers, and if not, what the roles are of the other actors in inner-city redevelopment projects.

Neighborhoods in inner-city redevelopment

This sub-section conceptualizes the neighborhoods involved in inner-city redevelopments. State-owned work unit compounds, historic and dilapidated residential quarters, and urban villages are the three major redevelopment targets in inner cities where land is scarce. Historically, these areas were formed by various social, economic, and political forces during different periods. This study adopts a broad definition of the inner city to examine the Chinese context, which includes not only the city centre or downtown areas, but also the centers of suburbs.

Mixed work unit compounds, most of which were built in the pre-reform era, are run by state-owned enterprises (SOEs) under the organizational structure of danwei, or the socialist work-unit, which performs both production and residential functions (Bray, 2005). These compounds were the dominant units in the pre-reform urban economy and society. Some large compounds aiming for maximum self-sufficiency became sub-centers within walled boundaries. Since the 1990s the national reform of the state sector has bankrupted and restructured a large number of SOEs. Consequently, many of these compounds have deteriorated significantly. Given that the state owns these compounds, it can dispose of land use rights with nearly absolute control, and can easily make these former industrial sites available for redevelopment (He et al., 2009).

Old and dilapidated residential quarters usually include concentrations of low-income households and dilapidated houses (Wu, He, & Webster, 2010). These neighborhoods usually have long histories. Many of them were formed before the foundation of the socialist regime, and the majority of the properties in these quarters are privately owned (Li & Wu, 2006).

Urban villages (*chengzhongcun*) in the Chinese context are rural settlements encircled by cities. They have become transitional neighborhoods in which farmland is requisitioned by the city government. However, the cores of villages often remain intact, and villagers retain property rights over their own houses and housing plots (Liu, He, Wu, & Webster, 2010). Many of these urban villages, which were originally in the outskirts of the city, have become centers or subcenters after decades of outward urban expansion. Villagers normally have two sources of income after losing their farmland: the first is rental income from properties leased to migrants who need cheap housing in the inner cities. To maximize rental income, many villagers expand their houses (without permission) to create more floor area. The other source is salaries and/or bonuses from the village's shareholding cooperative, which manages rental properties, businesses, and factories on behalf of the villagers.

Problems in these deteriorated neighborhoods, such as high crime rates, inadequate infrastructure and services, and poor living and environmental conditions, threaten the public security and management. Consequently, many of these neighborhoods are being redeveloped out of existence because local governments view these dense, informal spaces as a threat to their ideal of modernity and their ability to attract investments. Because these neighborhoods are often on prime location land, the projects present an opportunity for the local state to change perceived problems into a mechanism for urban transformation. The redevelopment of these neighborhoods has mostly followed the general pattern discussed above (that is, the development pattern led by real estate projects). However, the potential differences in the interplay between the state, the market and the community in different neighborhoods are unclear. Therefore, we need a comparative examination of these neighborhoods' histories and trajectories during the redevelopment process using a research approach that examines the underlying forces that have shaped and reshaped them (Arkaraprasertkul, 2010).

Research sites

In order to examine the three types of structurally different neighborhoods, the author conducted fieldwork in Xi'an in Shaanxi province and in Guangzhou and Foshan in Guangdong province from September 2008 to February 2012. Xi'an has

been a city since the eleventh century BCE, and is now the capital of the Shaanxi province in the underdeveloped north-western region. Xi'an has been the political and economic center of the north-western region, but was outstripped economically by the eastern region after the reform. Recently, Xi'an commenced a massive wave of urban (re)development with the goal of becoming an international city. The significance of Xi'an development lies in its characteristics as the representative of an inner-China development model (Walcott, 2004). In the Pearl River Delta, where the manufacturing industry earned the area its reputation as the "factory of the world," Guangzhou and Foshan represent cities undergoing high levels of industrialization, marketization, and openness in the developed coastal region. In particular, the urban villages in Guangzhou number more than 20 of these planned areas and provide homes to 80% of all migrants (Hsing, 2009).

During the fieldwork for this study, the author collected data while conducting numerous visits to one industrial and residential compound in Xi'an, one historical residential quarter in Foshan, and one urban village in Guangzhou. Contextual and historical information and original data were obtained at these research sites through documentary surveys, observations, and in-depth interviews with residents, business owners, government officials, and the representatives of developers. Appendix 1 provides basic information on the interviews cited in this article.

Fangzhicheng, Xi'an: vicegerent top-down redevelopment

Fangzhicheng (literally, "City of Textiles") in eastern Xi'an has a population of approximately 160,000 within an inner-city area of 5.3 square kilometers. Financed and built by the central government in the 1950s, it was once one of the largest mixed industrial and residential compounds in north-western China. During this period Fangzhicheng accommodated five large state-owned textile mills and numerous supporting institutions and factories. These mills provided workers and their families with lifetime jobs, discounted foods, accommodations, education, healthcare and recreation facilities. From the 1950s to the 1980s this area was widely perceived by the locals as one of the best places to work and live in the province (Cheng & Beresford, 2012). However, well into the reform era, Fangzhicheng failed to compete with the private textile enterprises in the coastal area. Since the mid-1990s some mills have reduced or ceased production, and many workers were asked to take compulsory leave with a small living allowance. In 2008 the central government handed Fangzhicheng over to the local government, which subsequently bankrupted four mills, and retrenched nearly 10,000 workers after paying them some compensation. A substantial proportion of the laid-off workers maintained their employment relations with their mills with the hope of becoming reemployed after the post-bankruptcy restructuring. As part of the national SOE reform, this move pushed many of these workers into hardship and poverty because of the state's renegeing on its welfare provisions (Wu, 2004b, 2007).

The city government of Xi'an was under pressure from the central and provincial governments to maintain social stability among the disgruntled laid-off workers. The city government faced an urgent need to revitalize the degraded and poverty-stricken city of Fangzhicheng and to create reemployment opportunities. However, these opportunities relied on external capital because of the local government's shortage of fiscal funds (Interview 1). Due to its proximity to a newly opened subway station, and because of the growing demand for housing in the surrounding area, several

developers and businesses (such as supermarkets and department stores) expressed interest in investing in the redevelopment (Interview 2). In 2008 the local government announced its plan to redevelop the compound into a mixture of new residential, business, and industrial buildings. The Fangzhicheng Integrated Development Office (IDO) was established as a vicegerent of the local state to manage the redevelopment process. For the first time in the history of the city's urban management the local government granted almost full administrative and approval powers to the IDO.

As the state-endorsed representative, the IDO worked to build a close relationship with the developers involved in the land acquisition, planning, and implementation phases of the redevelopment process. For example, the IDO borrowed nearly 204 million yuan from a developer to acquire land. In return, the developer was given surreptitious priority in its obtaining of land and project management (Cheng, 2011). This process is not uncommon. The lack of transparency in the trading of land use rights at the local level by SOEs and state agencies has troubled the central state for a long time (Xu, Yeh, & Wu, 2009).

Meanwhile, laid-off workers' benefits and interests were undermined under the coalition of the IDO and developers, as illustrated by one of the sub-projects that was designed to transform a self-built residential village (*Zijiancun*) accommodating nearly 400 households on 8000 square meters of state-owned land. The village was full of multistory brick houses built in the 1950s by workers who did not have access to public housing because of insufficient supply. Initially, most households welcomed the redevelopment. They were eager to move out of the dilapidated village and to receive in-kind or monetary compensation for the full floor areas of their houses, most of which were 100–180 square meters (Interviews 3). Unfortunately, in July 2011 the residents were told that full in-kind compensation would be provided for only 20 square meters of each house, and the households would be entitled to purchase discounted off-the-plan apartments at a price of 2300 yuan per square meter (for which the market price was approximately 5000 yuan) for floor area exceeding 20 square meters (Appendix 2). To receive the discount, the workers had to pay approximately 100,000–250,000 yuan in additional costs in only two instalments, depending on the floor area of the new apartment. This price was unaffordable to the vast majority of these households, which had been in severe financial difficulty since the late 1990s.

The residents angrily protested against the low compensation and asked for community participation and empowerment. Subsequently, the residents resisted the authorities and developers by initiating collective and individual actions, lodging formal and informal protests, forming rights groups, and presenting legal challenges (Ho, 2005). They held demonstrations, posted petitions in Fangzhicheng and online to increase public attention, and invited journalists to the village. The residents also pointed out that the policymaking processes driving the demolition decisions and compensation schemes had not followed the central government's policy, which required consultative meetings with the residents and the publication of compensation schemes for public comment for a minimum of 30 days. They also learned that, according to an internal document issued in 1956, the status of private houses was recognized by the Ministry of Textiles (MOT, the former management of Fangzhicheng), although the residents did not have property deeds.

The IDO applied several measures to dissolve the resistance under the guidance and assistance of the local state. First, in the name of maintaining social stability, online petitions were deleted from local websites, and media inquiries were prohibited through the local government's publicity department to "limit and solve

the issues within Fangzhicheng” (Interview 4). Second, the residents’ claims for private property rights were rejected by the IDO because the MOT was disbanded in 1993 and the document had expired. Thus, these claims were illegal under the current laws. Third, although the compensation standards were increased slightly after nine internal meetings, none of these meetings were open to the residents in accordance with the regulations. Because the households did not hold property deeds, they were told that the compensation was appropriate, and that it was the best the IDO could offer. Fourth, to impel residents to sign the demolition agreement, the IDO installed loudspeakers in the village to broadcast the announcement repeatedly, and officials from the IDO, as well as managers from the mills, visited the households to justify the importance of the redevelopment process and the legitimacy of the already scheduled demolition. Fifth, the IDO decided to present a hard line to demonstrate its control over Fangzhicheng to outside developers and investors, who might have been concerned about the negative effects of workers’ resistance on their business operations. The residents were told that there was no room for negotiation on the increased compensation (Interview 5). Households that hesitated to sign the agreement were threatened by the IDO’s demolition branch with the prospect of losing their electricity and water supply – a method widely used in China to threaten *dingzihu* (literally, “nail households”) who refused to sign agreements and move. Sixth, the laid-off workers who maintained their labor affiliations were told that they might be given priority for re-employment in the restructured mills if they signed the agreement, and that they would be entitled to an on-site low-rent apartment if they could not afford to buy a new one (Interview 6).

These measures effectively dissolved the cohesion of the resistance, and increasing numbers of households decided to accept the terms after realizing that there was little hope for better compensation. The demolition of the village, which is scheduled to be completed by the end of 2012, is currently being implemented in a steady but forcible manner. With the institutional support of the local state, more than 20 real estate projects with investments of 23 billion yuan will be introduced by the IDO to Fangzhicheng in the next few years. The massive redevelopment of Fangzhicheng has just begun, and other affected residents are likely to present disputes and resistance soon if the redevelopment process continues to operate in a way that leads these residents to feel that their rights have been violated.

Donghuali, Foshan: immediate top-down redevelopment

A historic residential quarter in the inner city of Foshan, Donghuali is famous for its cultural heritage. Most houses in the historic quarter can be dated to the 1800s and 1900s, and the quarter is the largest of its type in the Guangdong province. Most houses maintain their original architectural structures, with traditional Cantonese features. Donghuali was named as a site for national historical preservation in 2001. Covering 0.64 million square meters, this quarter accommodates 9635 households, with approximately 30,000 residents, as well as numerous small and family businesses, including the author’s maternal family. In early 2007 the city government commenced the redevelopment of Donghuali, which was the largest project of its type in China. Unlike the case of Fangzhicheng, the city government played a direct and overarching role, without a vicegerent.

The propaganda distributed asserts that the project is intended to improve the living and housing conditions of the residents, protect the historical quarter, and

revitalize the culture of south China. It also claims that 90% of the residents supported the redevelopment (Interview 7). However, a random survey of 100 households conducted by the author in July 2007 found that only 8% of the households supported the redevelopment without reservation. For many, redevelopment implied the disappearance of: their family homes, which hold memories; their neighborhood friendships; their culture, which has been cultivated for centuries; convenient access to jobs, facilities, and resources; and the traditional living environment in courtyard-style houses (Interview 8). A further investigation found that the motivation, process, and outcomes of the project differ from the claims made by the local state.

Although the local government denied these facts in the early stages, the Donghuali project closely followed the redevelopment model established in the (in)famous Xintiandi project in Shanghai, which represented a shift in inner-city development from a complete teardown approach to selective historical preservation (Yang & Chang, 2007). At Xintiandi, two blocks of houses built during the colonial period were converted into a high-class quarter with the support of the local government (Ren, 2008). The developer, the Hong Kong Shui On Group (SOG), claims that the project is a successful case of creating and promoting a consumption site (Wai, 2006) and uses the project to establish itself as a leading inner-city developer. The officials of Foshan were impressed by Xintiandi's success and considered the SOG the most suitable developer for Donghuali. Therefore, close contact was established between the local government and the developer as early as the mid-2000s (Interview 9).

The national policy requires auctions or bidding in leasing land for commercial use, and the local government is allowed to establish its own criteria for tenders. Thus, the legal framework is loose, and the government can easily choose the developer it prefers. Through a legally impeccable but controversial procedure for the land leasing of Donghuali, which was estimated to be worth more than 10 billion yuan (Interviews 10), a private–public co-operative was formed and strengthened under the direct management of the local government. Before the tendering, the local government set high entry requirements to deter all developers except the SOG. For example, a qualified bidder was required to have successfully implemented redevelopment projects in historic quarters of at least 100 million square meters, and to have had experience in transforming historic accommodations into multifunctional quarters with integrated offices, hotels, service apartments, shopping centers, restaurants, residential houses, recreation facilities, and open spaces. The SOG, which was in the process of implementing five inner-city redevelopment projects across China at that time, was clearly the only qualified bidder for the Donghuali project. Notably, the SOG's successful bid was only 10 million yuan (approximately 0.1%) higher than the base price of 7.5 billion yuan.

Normally, demolition commences after the land leasing fee is received from the developer. However, in this case, before the bidding was held (on 30 November 2007), the demolition had already begun in mid-2007 at the government's expense. The local government appeared to know in advance that the land would be successfully leased. Informants inside the local government admitted that the tender process lacked transparency, but refused to comment further on the rumored collusion before and during the bidding process. Simultaneously, the local government argued that the procedure was legal, and that the SOG had abundant experience in redeveloping inner cities, with which no other developers could compete (Interview 11).

Evidence of the local state serving public-private cooperatives' interests is illustrated by further examples. In the redevelopment projects of other cities, the administration and implementation of the demolition, reallocation, and compensation processes were normally outsourced to demolition companies. However, in the Donghuali project, the local government managed all of these factors by itself, with the direct involvement of more than 400 government officials, to "control the neighborhood fully to make the land ready for the SOG's redevelopment as soon as possible" (Interview 12). Initially, the redevelopment planning was conducted by the South China University of Technology's architecture school, which focused on historical preservation, rather than commercial redevelopment. This focus conflicted with the developer's aims of minimizing the protective areas and maximizing the commercial use of the land. As a result of the developer's objections, the local government agreed to replace the university's team with Skidmore, Owings, and Merrill LLP (a leading American architectural and engineering firm), which subsequently redesigned the master plan in accordance with the SOG's concepts.

Because most of the houses were legally owned by households with property deeds, residents had stronger bargaining power than did those in Fangzhicheng. Thus, the local government was pressured to hold several consultative meetings before the demolition commenced, although fewer than 25 representatives of the residents were allowed to attend (and only 22 actually attended). The original compensation standards, which ranged from 2800 to 4200 yuan per square meter, were declined by the representatives. The local government later extended the compensation standards with the option of in-kind or cash compensation (Appendix 2). For the former, the households would be provided with apartments equivalent to the size of their demolished houses (a 1:1 compensation ratio) in other locations. For the latter, the compensation standards ranged from 4500 to 5000 yuan per square meter. If the households signed the demolition agreement within three months of the project's commencement, a bonus of 1500 yuan per square meter would be awarded, making the total cash compensation between 6000 and 6500 yuan per square meter (close to the average price of a new apartment in the suburbs). These prices were, and still are, the highest compensation standards in Foshan. Nonetheless, because only 1.51 billion of the 7.51 billion yuan land leasing fees was spent on direct compensation to the residents, the redevelopment was a "rewarding project" for the local government, which happened to be in urgent need of income (Interview 13).

The demolition did not lack conflicts and controversies. Some of the households that selected in-kind compensation argued that they should be offered on-site resettlement. The local government refused their requests. Angry residents wrote slogans and petitions on walls to demonstrate their sentiments, and several residents sued related government agencies for depriving them of their right to on-site resettlement. Their claims were not supported by the courts. On article, the national regulations did not require on-site resettlement to be provided to the affected households. However, one interviewee revealed that the developer had strongly objected to the residents' requests to the local government because the new houses and apartments in the rebuilt quarter would be high-end properties targeting the rich. On-site resettlements of low-income households would therefore undermine the efforts to increase property and land values (Interview 14). Similar to the Fangzhicheng case, radical online petitions and media inquiries were also interdicted. In addition, some of the public servants who lived in the quarter and participated in the resistance were asked by their work units to sign the agreement or

face the prospect of having their salaries suspended; and the normal operations of some small businesses were frequently interrupted by taxation officers who arrived to audit their accounting records.

Eventually, most of the remaining households and businesses stopped resisting, although some still refused to move. From 2008 to 2011 the local government gradually and forcibly demolished all of these houses by applying the so-called administrative forced demolition (*xingzheng qiangchai*), which was supported by certain laws and regulations. This method revealed an evolving but ambiguous area in the legal system concerning property rights and the extent of local states' power over redevelopments. In 1999, Article 6 of the Constitution was amended to recognize diverse forms of ownership, including private ownership; in 2004, Article 13 was amended to say that "the state, in accordance with law, protects the rights of citizens to private property and to its inheritance," but at the same time, "the state may, in the public interest and in accordance with law, expropriate or requisition private property for its use and shall make compensation for the private property expropriated or requisitioned" (National People's Congress, 2004). However, the term "public interest" is not defined in the Constitution. Article 16 of the Regulations on Urban Housing Demolition and Relocation (RUHDR), which was enacted in 1991, gave the government or demolition contractor the right to demolish private property forcibly without seeking the court's approval if an agreement could not be made with the owners or tenants after several attempts (Central People's Government, 2001). Again, the number of attempts should be made before applying the administrative forced demolition was not defined. In sum, these regulations allow forced housing demolitions for the benefit and convenience of the developers and the local state in the name of an ambiguously defined public interest.

The master plan for Donghuali claims that the project "exemplifies how private development can be harnessed to preserve historic areas as well as help inspire the development of a city's unique identity" (Skidmore Owings & Merrill LLP, 2008). The first session of the Donghuali project, which covered the commercial and residential areas, was completed in 2011. However, the project does not adhere to the local government's and developer's promises to preserve the quarter in its historic form. All but a handful of buildings were completely demolished. Instead, traditional architectural elements were artificially manipulated, as seen in other redeveloped historic quarters in China (Chen, 2010). Since the opening, the quarter has become even more congested because of the increased flow of traffic onto old roads that were not upgraded.

Propagandized as a traditional, privileged residential quarter – a branding strategy widely used by developers in China (Shen & Wu, 2012) – the prices of apartments and townhouses start at 20,000 and 45,000 yuan per square meter, respectively. Few, if any, of the original householders can afford these prices. Meanwhile, the high rental prices in the commercial area have made it almost impossible for small and family businesses (such as handicraft shops, traditional herbal pharmacies, and lower-market restaurants) to return to the quarter (Interview 15). Instead, international brands (for example, Starbucks, Godiva, and Häagen-Dazs) that can afford the rent have taken their spots, even though they have no historic connections with the quarter. This example shows how the processes of gentrification and large-scale population replacement diminish the achievements of China's redevelopment (Song & Wu, 2010). The original Donghuali community,

along with its primary identity as a quarter for generations of households and their livelihoods, has completely disintegrated.

Wenchong, Guangzhou: facilitated bottom-up redevelopment

The institutional background and legal environment for this case differs from those of Fangzhicheng and Foshan. Facing the pressing issues of urban land shortages and conflicts in urban development projects, the Guangdong province issued a policy (Ordinance No. 78) in 2009 as a guideline for the redevelopment of the “three olds” (old urban areas, factories, and villages) across the province (Guangdong People’s Government, 2009). Aiming to promote a new redevelopment pattern, the provincial government received special approval from the Ministry of Land and Resources to administer the land and manage the redevelopment process through new approaches. Ordinance No. 78 allows not only private developers, but also current users and owners of land (such as collectives, communities, enterprises, and organizations) to participate in, invest in, or even lead their own projects, while the local government assumes an administrative and conducting role. More importantly, the ordinance aims to facilitate open, fair, and equitable urban redevelopment by implementing a more rigorous and transparent project application and approval process and by providing the affected residents with better compensation and reallocation options (Ye, 2011). This goal was supplemented by the development of a national policy in 2011 that abolished the RUHDR, which supports the much-criticized administrative option of forced demolitions. The RUHDR was replaced by the Regulations on the Acquisition of and Compensation for Housing on State-owned Land (RACHSL), which forbids the forced demolition of houses without the court’s approval, and requires compensation to be determined by the market value of the property. A redevelopment project requires the approval of at least 80% of the residents of a neighborhood, and public hearings must be held to collect residents’ opinions (Central People’s Government, 2011).

Against this background, Guangzhou has been working to redevelop 138 urban villages by 2020. In the last two cases, the urban land was owned by the state. That means that local governments requisitioned the land after paying compensation, and did not need to obtain consent from the households. However, the land in urban villages is collectively owned by all of the villagers, so the traditional public–private co-operative is less effective, and the local state is less dominant and powerful.

Before 2007 the urban village redevelopment process in Guangzhou was deadlocked because private developers were excluded (Tian, 2008). For the first time, in 2007, the Liede urban village redevelopment project, which aimed to improve the area near the site for the 2010 Asian Games, allowed private capital in the urban village redevelopment process. The Liede model of redevelopment has some distinctive features that contrast with those of Fangzhicheng and Foshan, and also differ from projects in other cities. The local government recognized the role of the village collective as its representative and acted mainly as a facilitator, rather than a direct administrator. In addition, the local government permitted a higher plot ratio of 5.3 (normally, a ratio of around two to three is allowed in Guangzhou) and a direct coalition between the collective and developers. In the Liede project the local government not only gave up the land leasing fees, but also allowed a vast amount of commercial space to flow into the supply (Interview 16). The study by Wu, Zhang, & Webster (2011) suggests that the case of Liede was exceptional, and

was only possible because it was inside the new CBD. However, subsequent redevelopment projects in Guangzhou have also applied the Liede model, in which village collectives are responsible for the various phases of the redevelopment process, including planning, financing, demolition, renewal, and resettlement. In that sense, the role played by the village collectives is similar to the roles played by the IDO in Fangzhicheng and the local government in Donghuali. The model is flexible because the local state does not impose a citywide uniform policy. Individual villages negotiate policies with the local government under the principle of “one village, one policy.” The following case, which is based on Wenchong, features one of the ongoing redevelopment projects founded on the Liede model. However, this project has its own variations, which have been adapted to the villagers’ requests.

Wenchong has a history of more than 800 years. With an area of 4.73 million square meters and more than 5000 villagers in 1916 households and 2315 buildings, it is one of the largest redevelopment projects in Guangzhou after the Liede project. Similar to other urban villages, Wenchong provides low-rent housing affordable for migrants, but it has many social, economic, and environmental problems (Tian, 2008; Zhang, Zhao, & Tian, 2003). Because urban villages are usually managed internally by collectives, the local authorities have limited influence in the neighborhoods, and villagers often show open defiance to the authorities (Li & Li, 2011). In other cities in Guangdong, the redevelopment of urban villages was predominately led by local governments and developers, but this was fiercely resisted by the villagers, who believed that their interests were being undermined (Chung, 2009; Hao, Sliuzasa, & Geertmanb, 2011). Therefore, the local state retreated in the Wenchong project – in part to avoid direct confrontation with the villagers in administrative and financial matters, which might lead to negative consequences similar to those in other cities (Interview 17). Instead, the local state empowered the collective, which operated through the Wenchong Shareholding Economic Cooperative (SRC) and the affiliated Wenchong Redevelopment Investment Company (RIC), by giving it full administrative and partial approval powers. Of the estimated total redevelopment cost (2.54 billion yuan), the local government only paid approximately 600,000 yuan as a start-up grant (Interview 18). All other costs were intended to be covered by the profits generated from the project.

In 2008, after several rounds of planning and negotiation between the SRC and a developer, it was announced that the redevelopment project would build 1.45 million square meter of property, with the plot ratio increasing from 1.27 to 3.07. Of this area, 409,000 square meters (28%) would be used for resettlements, 194,400 square meters (14%) would be owned and managed by the collective on behalf of the villagers, and 848,000 square meters (58%) would be sold by the developer to cover the redevelopment cost of 2.54 billion yuan. In the Liede project, all of the properties in the redeveloped neighborhood remained collective assets under “small property rights,” which could not be sold directly in the market. In the Wenchong project, the local government not only waived the land leasing fees, but also allowed the villagers to receive property deeds. Consequently, the villagers could sell their properties on the market. If they did not sell their properties, the property deeds would be valid perpetually. In comparison, normal property deeds on state-owned land are valid for only 70 years.

Acting as the primary administrator, as well as an intermediary agency between the local government, the villagers and the developer, the SRC was under scrutiny and pressure from all sides. From 2006 to 2010 several preparation and consultation

meetings were held between the villagers' representatives, the government officials, and the supervisory and advisory committees to draw up the compensation scheme. The final compensation standards (described below) were increased dramatically because of the villagers' strong and organized objections to the draft. In May 2010 the compensation scheme was finally approved by the shareholders of SRC and the villagers' representatives. In June 2010 the officials began to discuss signing the demolition agreements with individual households to reach the 80% agreement rate needed to kick-start the project.

The scheme provided higher compensation standards and more options than the redevelopment schemes in other urban villages and compared to Fangzhicheng and Donghuali. The households could choose from cash and/or in-kind compensation (Appendix 2). The standard of cash compensation was 5800 yuan per square meter for four times the floor area of the ground floor (no matter how many floors the house actually had) and, if applicable, 1000 yuan per square meter for the actual floor area that exceeded four floors. Alternatively, the villagers could choose an apartment (1:1 compensation ratio), a commercial space (3:1 compensation ratio), or a combination of these two for four times the floor area of the ground floor (again, no matter how many floors the house actually had). In addition, a 20,000 yuan bonus was awarded to the households that signed the agreement by July 2010. Regardless of which option was chosen, a cash allowance was granted for relocation (3000 yuan as the base plus 10 yuan per square meter), temporary housing (20 yuan per square meter for two years), and, if applicable, building material compensation for the floor area exceeding four floors (1000 yuan per square meter). The administrative levies for the apartments would also be waived, because the collective would use the rental income from the proposed collective-owned properties to pay for them. In the consultation meetings, the officials presented real examples to persuade the residents to sign the agreement. Based on the above standards, for instance, a typical six-floor house of 1306 square meters (including 830 for the first four floor and 476 for the remaining floors) could receive a cash allowance of approximately 910,000 yuan, and 830 square meter of in-kind compensation consisting of several apartments and/or shops.

Although the compensation scheme was passed, the process was contentious, and was accompanied by sporadic resistance from the villagers. However, it cannot be denied that the SRC responded effectively to the villagers' requests. For example, many villagers distrusted the capacity of the initially selected developer to finish the project, and asked the SRC to find a large developer. The SRC negotiated with the Vanke Group, one of China's largest developers, which agreed to invest 1.4 billion yuan and purchased shares of the RIC as insurance. The SRC utilized the high profits to persuade developers to form a coalition. For example, in the Liede project, the land cost of the newly built properties was approximately 8000 yuan per square meter, but they were sold for 45,000–50,000 yuan per square meter (Interview 19). Taking one of the sub-projects in Wenchong as an example, the land cost was approximately 3800 yuan per square meter and was expected to sell at 15,000–30,000 yuan per square meter (Interview 20).

By the end of 2011 a vast majority (86%) of the households had signed the agreement. However, the collective's officials found it difficult to deal with the remaining households that hoped for higher compensation (Interview 21). The author observed a meeting between the members of one remaining household and several village officials. The household argued that according to the RACHSL, their

house could not be forcibly demolished without an agreement. Conversely, the official explained that according to the RACHSL, forced demolition would be permitted after the court's approval. The household members said that they were not afraid of this outcome and would fight for higher compensation because their livelihood, which relied on rental income, would be destroyed.

Although the villagers of Wenchong received significantly higher compensation than did the residents of Fangzhicheng and Donghuali, the redevelopment has had worrisome effects on the villagers' financial prospects. The migrants in Wenchong, similar to those in most other urban villages under redevelopment, did not receive any compensation, and almost all of them were forced to move to farther locations (Song, Zenou, & Ding, 2008). Therefore, the prospects for the villagers' future livelihoods are less optimistic if their new properties cannot be leased to migrants. Although the officials criticized these remaining households for "taking the redevelopment as the last chance to get rich", it is unlikely that the officials will apply to the court to implement forced demolitions because social stability is a priority for governments at all levels in Guangdong, especially because 2012 is the year that government officials seek to be reemployed in a five-year cycle (Interview 22).

Discussion and conclusion

By examining three cases of inner-city redevelopment projects in three types of neighborhoods, this study illustrates the political processes and different patterns of inner-city redevelopment in the context of evolving relationships between the state, the market, and the community. Although all of these redevelopment projects were property led, the changes they made to previously developed inner-city neighborhoods involved different spatial, economic, social, and political issues. Therefore, the contextual backgrounds of individual redevelopment projects are important. Different redevelopment patterns depend on the institutional arrangements and resources available to the local states and the power relations among the stakeholders in the neighborhoods. Actually the loose legal frameworks have allowed coercion and roughshod tactics to prevail even when (slightly) illegal or at the best, unethical.

The first two cases, Fangzhicheng and Donghuali, involved projects in a work unit compound and a historic quarter, and demonstrated a feature of the entrepreneurial city: the political prioritization of local economic development over social redistribution and an associated institutional shift toward public-private co-operatives. The Fangzhicheng case shows that, despite the decline of the state sector, the local state and its agents (the IDO and danwei) retained their authoritarian power in dealing with the laid-off workers who did not hold property deeds for their houses and who had to rely on the local state to provide re-employment opportunities to resolve their financial difficulties. These two disadvantages for such households were used effectively by the local state to constrain resistance. Consequently, the households found it difficult to break through the public-private co-operative that attempted to advance the redevelopment in their own way. Similarly, in the Donghuali case, the local state made a series of institutional arrangements to support the preferred developer and to advance the project in an authoritarian and aggressive manner. Although the residents in Donghuali received better compensation than those in Fangzhicheng, most of the residents were displaced to suburban districts, and most of the historic buildings

were completely demolished to make room for the commercial use of the land at the discretion of the sole developer. Consequently, the redeveloped quarter lost most of its physical, economic, and social historic value, which can never be recovered. Under the local state's authority, these two projects were implemented directly and indirectly through the lower levels of the hierarchy, which attempted to comply with the higher-level administration, rather than listen to and act on the wishes of the affected residents.

Wenchong villagers were compensated significantly better than those of Fangzhicheng and Donghuali for several reasons. The collective rural land ownership and the village's traditional self-governance structure meant that the local state could not easily expropriate the land without the villagers' approval, as in Fangzhicheng and Donghuali. The new redevelopment model that was based on the new national and provincial policies also caused the local state to retreat from directly managing the redevelopment project and to relinquish the land leasing fees that would have been generated by the project. These changes altered the growth coalition, as shown in Fangzhicheng and Donghuali, in which the local state played a controversial dual role as both an administrator and a direct beneficiary of the land revenue and redevelopment projects conducted by the partnered developers. Under the management of the collective, the Wenchong villagers benefited more from the redevelopment process because it was relatively more transparent and consultative, although this process was not without controversies and conflicts.

An earlier study on Beijing argues that a shift in redevelopment policy does not indicate that the local state has become less entrepreneurial and more socially inclusive because the land use rights system effectively makes local governments *de facto* landlords (Shin, 2009). However, another study on Xiamen in the Fujian province argues that the local state has made a series of concessions, including compensation and a share of the urban land value uplift (Zhao & Webster, 2011). In both the Liede and Wenchong cases, the local government gave up a substantial amount of land revenue to accelerate the redevelopment process by facilitating cooperation between the collectives and the developers. This study supports the latter argument. Nonetheless, as the urban village disappears, so do the tenants of the villagers' properties. The economic prospects of Wenchong depend significantly on whether the local economy can be restored. A bottom-up approach facilitated by the local state was applied in the village to unite the level of expertise, the organizational structure, and the motivating experiences of the villagers who were responsible for the project.

Since the processes of rapid urbanization and inner-city redevelopment began, many neighborhood residents have expressed a strong desire to renegotiate the power relations to gain more control over their benefits, compensation, and their lives. However, most local governments and property developers have shown little interest in community participation and empowerment, which have essentially been viewed as obstacles for urban governance and corporate operations. Additionally, the coalition of the local state and developers in China frequently employs propaganda, media censorship, monetary incentives, legal actions, and other measures to disintegrate communities, alienate residents, and suppress their resistance and grassroots attempts to claim their rights.

To amend this situation, Chinese cities should learn from the recent histories of some developed countries, where governments and corporations have played generally positive roles in empowering and assisting affected communities and

individuals in inner-city redevelopment (Ball, 2004). In addition, the socio-culturally sustainable redevelopment of urban environments must accommodate local people (Lin & de Meulder, 2012; Lin & Meulder, 2012), rather than preserve certain traditional forms as cultural symbols.

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Appendix 1. Interviews.

- Interview 1: (Various days in 2008) Three officials, Xi'an People's Government
- Interview 2: (Various days in 2008) Five business owners and two representatives of developers, Xi'an
- Interview 3: (Various days in 2010) Fifteen residents of *Zijiancun*, City of Textiles, Xi'an
- Interview 4: (22 October 2011) Two officials, Xi'an People's Government
- Interview 5: (18, 20, 23 October 2011) Two officials, IDO, City of Textiles, Xi'an
- Interview 6: (21 October 2011) Five residents of *Zijiancun*, City of Textiles, Xi'an
- Interview 7: (Various days in 2007) Five officials, Foshan People's Government
- Interview 8: (Various days in 2007 and 2008) Thirteen residents of Donghuali, Foshan
- Interview 9: (Various days in 2007 and 2008) Two officials, Foshan People's Government
- Interview 10: (10 July 2007) One real estate agent and one land surveyor, Foshan
- Interview 11: (Various days in 2007 and 2008) Three officials, Foshan People's Government
- Interview 12: (10 January 2008) Official, Foshan People's Government
- Interview 13: (20 January 2008) Official, Foshan People's Government
- Interview 14: (15 June 2010) Developer representative, Donghuali, Foshan
- Interview 15: (Various days in January and February 2012) Four business owners, Foshan
- Interview 16: (12 February 2012) Official, Liede, Guangzhou
- Interview 17: (11 February 2012) Two officials, Guangzhou People's Government
- Interview 18: (13 February 2012) Official, Hungbu People's Government, Guangzhou
- Interview 19: (20 February 2012) Representative of developer, Wenchong, Guangzhou
- Interview 20: (23 February 2012) Representative of developer, Wenchong, Guangzhou
- Interview 21: (23 February 2012) Two officials, Wenchong, Guangzhou
- Interview 22: (25 February 2012) Two officials, Wenchong, Guangzhou

Appendix 2. A comparison of compensation schemes.

Case	Type of neighborhood	Compensation ratio	Compensation options	Allowance/bonus
Fangzhicheng, Xi'an, Shaanxi Province	Industrial compound	1:1 for the first 20 square meter only (as of December 2011)	Option 1: Cash compensation (approximately 270 <i>yuan</i> per sq m) plus discounted off-the-plan apartment (at the price of 2300 <i>yuan</i> per square meter); Option 2: Cash compensation (approximately 1400 to 1800 <i>yuan</i> per square meter); Option 3: Low-rent public housing (for households that selected option 2 and in extreme poverty only).	None (as of December 2011)
Donghuali, Foshan, Guangdong Province	Historical quarter	1:1 for officially certified floor space in property deed	Option 1: Off-site apartments (priority in selecting an apartment if the agreement was signed early); Option 2: Cash compensation (4500 to 5500 <i>yuan</i> per square meter plus 1500 <i>yuan</i> per square meter as a bonus if an agreement was signed within three months); Option 3: Combination of options 1 and 2.	1. For all options: Removal fee (600 to 800 <i>yuan</i> per household); 2. For option 1: Temporary housing fee (18 <i>yuan</i> per square meter per month until two months after moving into new apartment) and waiver of the administrative fee for a new apartment.
Wenchong, Guangzhou, Guangdong Province	Urban village	1:1 (residential space) or 3:1 (commercial space) for four times the ground floor's floor space (regardless of the actual number of floors)	Option 1: On-site residential and/or commercial property; Option 2: Cash compensation; Option 3: Combination of options 1 and 2.	1. For all options: Removal fee (3000 <i>yuan</i> as base plus 10 <i>yuan</i> per square meter) and agreement signing bonus (20,000 <i>yuan</i> per house); 2. For Option 1: Temporary housing fee (20 <i>yuan</i> per square meter for two years), building material compensation for the floor space above four floors (1000 <i>yuan</i> per square meter), and waiver of the administrative fee for a new property.

A dual nature: the archdiocesan community development corporation

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New models for urban revitalization continue to emerge as the community development movement evolves. This article discusses a study that explored the formation and activities of a unique community development corporation (CDC) that is situated within the Archdiocese of Philadelphia, a part of the Roman Catholic Church in America. It begins with a look at how churches have historically served both anchoring and mediating functions in cities. The discussion then turns to the structure and nature of the archdiocesan CDC, particularly examining the challenge of applying a traditionally place-based model in an institutional context spanning a five county region. Recommendations emphasize deeper citizen participation with the CDC and the codification and adoption of a formal process to secure and then adaptively reuse vacant church properties to advance urban revitalization.

Keywords: community development corporation; adaptive reuse; Catholic; urban revitalization

Introduction

New models for urban revitalization continue to emerge as the community development movement evolves. This article discusses a qualitative study that explored the formation and activities of a community development corporation (CDC) that is situated within the Archdiocese of Philadelphia, a part of the Roman Catholic Church in America. It begins with a look at how churches have historically served both anchoring and mediating functions in cities. The discussion then turns to the structure and nature of the archdiocesan CDC, particularly examining the challenge of applying a traditionally place-based model within an institutional setting that encompasses a five county region. The viability and legitimacy of that model and its impact, or lack of impact, on the city's blighted neighborhoods are addressed. The article concludes with recommendations for engaging deeper citizen participation with the CDC and the codification and adoption of a formal process to secure and then adaptively reuse vacant church properties to advance urban revitalization.

Anchoring and mediating functions

The concept of the church as an “anchor” or serving in an “anchoring” function in the city is discussed in a wide array of past and present literature (Gamm, 1999;

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Aspects of the case study featured in this article have been presented in papers at the Urban Affairs Association Annual Meetings in 2008 and 2009.

Kotkin & Speicher, 2003; Livezey, 2000; McGreevy, 1996; McKinney, 1971; Moberg, 1962; Price, 2000; Ramsay, 1998). There are two parts to this function. One is the description of a physical characteristic where the property, home to the operation of the institution, becomes central to community life. Dolan (1985) depicts the Catholic parish as a space in which members both express their faith and find outlets for civic participation. Most recently, research during the post-welfare reform era has characterized the urban church as a vital stakeholder in distressed communities, chiefly due to church provision of community-based social services (Bane, Coffin, & Thiemann, 2000; Dionne & Chen, 2001; Gornik, 2002; Owens & Smith, 2005; Smith, 2001; Wuthnow, 1998). This role of anchoring is a departure from the second category, which is a theoretical anchoring whereby the religious institution acts as a guardian of society. Moberg (1962) remarks, "By preserving and transmitting such values the church provides an anchorage for the social order, acting as a primary agency of stability and continuity" (p. 51).

The mediating quality of religious institutions is a foundational concept in research on civil society and religion (Wuthnow, 2006). Sociologists Peter Berger and Richard John Neuhaus (1977) defined the latent potential of alternative mediating structures in the 1970s against the backdrop of flawed government attempts to renew the urban core and the social unrest of cities facing discrimination and oppression. Berger and Neuhaus argued that families, churches, neighborhoods, and voluntary associations (nonprofit organizations) provided both a forum and a means to engage citizens while collectively buffering them from hardship.

During the height of industrialization and immigration, the Catholic Church in America was a major provider of education and social services to urban residents. Over time, it also became known for its national advocacy campaigns seeking to break the cycle of poverty in the United States. Like its secular or Protestant counterparts, Catholic-sponsored community development eventually emerged in the 1960s as a viable strategy to respond to declining inner city neighborhoods, shifting demographics and devolution in the public sector. For example, New Community Corporation in Newark, NJ, one of the largest CDCs in the country, was founded in 1967 by a parish priest desperate to assist the fragile local community that was devastated by race riots (Gittell & Wilder, 1999).

In urban studies literature, Brodie (2000) argues that it is the very place-oriented structures and identity of cities that makes them ideal agents to foster citizenship and democracy in an ever-globalized world. The neighborhood church engaged in community development furthers this aim. Many Catholic-sponsored community development corporations function in the tradition of secular, distinctively neighborhood-based CDCs. They provide deliberate action and activities designed to build the capacity of a specific geographic locale or self-identified collective, also termed "place-based approaches" (Bratt & Rohe, 2004; Green & Haines, 2002). The parish boundaries of a local church can serve to target revitalization efforts to a manageable geographic space and the common bonds of church membership can enhance the development of social capital (Silverman, 2001).

The research presented here suggests that the community development corporation founded by the Archdiocese of Philadelphia was intended to be a vehicle to continue the historic anchoring and mediating functions of urban parishes while also forging a new model for supporting communities in the face of persistent blight, concentrated poverty, and the aging of parish residents.

Method

Grounded theory formed the theoretical framework for the study presented in part here, an inductive process in which empirical data are analyzed for the purpose of defining and understanding concepts in a specific context (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). The process of building grounded theory prompted an analysis of how ideology informs power, and power influences institutional decisions (Martin & Turner, 1986). Second, it prompted a discussion on issues of internal and external legitimacy, an area that was not previously considered in the framing of the study.

Exercising the grounded theory approach also yielded a working knowledge of the interaction between the archdiocese, the community development corporation, and the urban communities in which it functions. The reflexive nature of this approach gave permission to revise and construct explanations from the practices being observed and from the narratives of interviewees (Creswell, 1994). By first considering the narratives that operate within these entities, the author could give voice to emerging concepts and groupings of ideas that might not be captured in a news report, program evaluation, quantitative study on program capacity, or other document (Merriam, 1998). This person- and practice-based approach is equitable and activist-oriented, recognizing the inherent value of participant perspective (Williams & Demerath III, 1991; Yanow, 2000). Furthermore, this form facilitated the acquisition of meaning from human interaction, a practice that is valued in community development research (Hustedde & Ganowicz, 2002).

Data collection and analysis

Using both exploratory and descriptive processes, the study aimed to contribute to knowledge, policy, and practice relating to community development. Field research was conducted in the Philadelphia metro region and included interviews, document collection, and direct observation of the institution site, and participant observation in the CDC neighborhood projects was supplemented by newspaper accounts and archival records such as organizational charts, budgets, and census data.

Rubin and Rubin's *Qualitative Interviewing: The Art of Hearing Data* (1995) was the guide for the interview approach and coding method. Five interview groups were defined: community stakeholders, current CDC staff, current Archdiocesan staff, founding figures, and CDC board members. The interview protocol was adapted to address each group. For example, current CDC staff was asked how they came to be involved in the organization and were probed more directly for specific details relevant to the questions, such as number of units in a development. Community stakeholders were people who worked at other CDCs, provided funding to the archdiocesan CDC, or who led a group or parish in a neighborhood where the CDC is operational. The group of founding figures included former CDC staff, those who were involved in decision-making within the archdiocese at the time of the CDC founding, and community leaders present in meetings in which the formation of the CDC was discussed. Eighteen interviews were conducted from February to July 2007. The interviews were then transcribed and the transcripts utilized for coding and analysis.

Case context

The religious pluralism present in William Penn's colonial Philadelphia made it possible for the Catholic Church to develop a strong foundation in the city (Nash,

2006). However, anti-Catholic and anti-immigrant sentiment perpetuated by nativists eventually affected Catholics seeking outlets for education, employment, socialization, and even banking (Bennett, 1988). Local parishes and diocesan entities soon became alternative institutions, mediating exclusion and oppression. Parochial schools provided a choice from the Protestant influenced public education system. Catholic-sponsored social services met other needs associated with immigration and assimilation, including language training, basic emergency care (food and shelter), and support for widows and orphans (Kotkin & Speicher, 2003).

By the 1950s, what Gerald Gamm (2001) refers to as the “exceptional” presence of the Archdiocese of Philadelphia was diminished by the effects of migration and de-industrialization. Like other northeast cities, Philadelphia experienced significant suburbanization (Kiley, 2004) that led to waves of parish and school closings. Nonetheless, during this same period, Catholic-sponsored social services and the Church’s engagement in public affairs broadened. Multiple family service agencies were created across the Philadelphia region, offering everything from help with adoption to assistance for adjudicated youth to English as a Second Language classes. Voting and politics were of a particular concern to the Archdiocese of Philadelphia and of the national Catholic Church, especially as it related to the subject of abortion.

Despite demographic changes and recent scandals, the Archdiocese of Philadelphia remains one of the largest concentrations of Catholics in the country. It encompasses a five county region that includes the city of Philadelphia (whose boundaries comprise the county limits) and four less dense suburban counties. According to reports from the archdiocesan Office of Research and Planning, registered parishioners in this region of four million people numbered 1.16 million in 2010, representing approximately 400,000 households (Archdiocese of Philadelphia, 2011). In 2010, these households were served by 268 parishes and 367 priests and 52,000 students were enrolled in K-8th grade parochial schools.

The Church’s community development corporation was founded in 2001 as the Office for Community Development of the Archdiocese of Philadelphia. It currently has an operating budget of \$850,000 and employees six staff: a part time director, two project developers, a corridor manager and a corridor maintenance worker. The activities of the Office for Community Development are similar to those of secular, non-affiliate CDCs. Since its founding, the agency has been engaged in developing new bricks and mortar projects, rehabilitated infill housing for low-income families to achieve homeownership, and coordinated economic development projects in a particularly blighted inner city commercial corridor. In addition, the Office for Community Development adapted a former boy’s high school for low income senior housing in one urban neighborhood, has initiated a similar project in a former parochial school, and is in discussions with parishes throughout the region about schools, convents, rectories, and worship spaces that have been closed.

Much like other CDCs, funding for these projects has come from city, state, federal government grants or tax credits, private donors and foundations, corporate partners, and revenue generating programs or projects (such as developer’s fees, program fees, etc.). However, in the case of the Office for Community Development, it has also leveraged Catholic Charities and the Catholic Campaign for Human Development resources. Catholic Charities funding is generated by an annual archdiocesan appeal in each local parish. The funds are then allocated to the Church’s central office to distribute to social service and charitable programs as

needed. The Catholic Campaign for Human Development is a national fundraising initiative whose monies are designed to be distributed to agencies that work at the grassroots level. This Campaign is largely concerned with enhancing the advocacy skills of marginalized persons.

Discussion

The case study research suggests that the Office for Community Development of the Archdiocese of Philadelphia is unique in its structure as both a community-based organization and a unit of the authority of the regional Catholic Church. The resulting dual nature has implications for functionality, extending to capacity and neighborhood impact. Institutionalization of community development activities has brought perceived credibility, but the organization struggles with how to resolve issues of internal and external legitimacy. The following discussion addresses each of these findings in greater detail and concludes with two key recommendations that suggest implications for community development research and practice.

Dual nature and functionality

When comparing the Office for Community Development of the Archdiocese of Philadelphia with other community development corporations, the first major difference that stands out is the dual relationship between the parent institution and the subsidiary or affiliate organization. The Office is one of three other agencies organized under what is called the Secretariat for Catholic Human Services, including Catholic Social Services (CSS), Catholic Health Care Services, and Nutritional Development Services (NDS). Comparatively, the Office for Community Development functions on a different scale than these other entities. For example, CSS posted revenue of \$ 114 million in 2010, 82% coming from government contracting for programs like out of school time care, adoption, and shelter facilities for homeless persons (CSS, Annual Report, 2011). Catholic Health Care Services operates six skilled nursing homes and an array of other services and properties for the elderly and infirm. It reported over 500,000 resident days in 2010 and net revenue of \$127 million (CSS, Annual Report, 2011). Nutritional Development Services (2011) provides school lunches and other government-supported meals to over 100,000 unduplicated persons in the archdiocese's five county service area (www.ndsarch.org).

According to staff interviewed for the study, the ability of the Office for Community Development to receive the developers' fees for bricks and mortar projects is intrinsically complicated by these relationships. In its current form, the CDC functions as a de facto developer with some of the financing for staff positions being channeled or "sub-granted" through these other larger agencies of the archdiocese. Maintaining a steady stream of income could ease dependency on archdiocesan charitable funding and allow for greater staffing capacity to engage local residents in each of the communities where the projects are located.

The dual nature of the archdiocesan CDC is perhaps most obvious in the governance structure where the head of Catholic Human Services is also the president of the board of directors of the Office for Community Development. As a result, the community development corporation is accountable to the larger

regional “parent” institution and its stakeholders, which include clerical authorities and professional lay staff as well as donors and funders. This configuration is markedly different than a board of neighborhood residents and leaders, something more typical of a traditional place-based CDC created to empower local residents.

As standard practice, the Office partners their development projects with the local Catholic parish, although the resulting housing units and programming are not restricted to Catholics. The parish partnerships often assure that local community organizing affiliates and neighborhood coalitions are courted in the development planning, ultimately resulting in their support for the projects. In the words of one Office for Community Development staff member, “Many CDCs have to work to establish a community base. One of our biggest advantages is that we are part of an organization that already has a monumental base.”

The value of the local parish as a base of community support was continually recognized in the study interviews as one of the strongest assets of the Office for Community Development. This built in community can gather together at the church structure for planning meetings like a design charrette or for financial literacy programming without the need to pay for space. Priests can publicize programming in each Mass and through parish bulletins. Two priests who served in parishes where the archdiocesan CDC has developed projects described this process in action. To them, the partnership makes sense. It helps the Office advertise its programs while ensuring that their parishioners have access to opportunities that will improve the quality of life in their homes and neighborhoods.

The “institutional footholds” in Philadelphia are the backdrop to the new work and on occasion are also the resources through which the work is pursued. In many cases, these were the same entities that once anchored or rooted the Roman Catholic Church in urban neighborhoods. For example, in one target neighborhood, the parish leadership team in conjunction with an Alinsky style community organizing affiliate contributed significantly to the process of developing the transitional housing facility and convening support for the addition of a community center to that project. In another neighborhood, it was the local parish priests who approached the archdiocese after their parishioners expressed interest in senior housing that would allow residents to age in place. The Office for Community Development was tasked with responding to their request. As a result, a closed Catholic high school in their community was adapted for senior housing. In this way, an institutional foothold continued as a conduit for service delivery, albeit in a different form. Adaptive reuse of properties for senior housing is currently the most popular, and fundable, strategy the CDC is using in a campaign for “Preserving Parish Neighborhoods.”

Interviews with external stakeholders yielded a good deal of discussion of how to engage both parishioners and non-Catholic community members in the actual work of the Office for Community Development. The most commonly held assertion, among both internal and external stakeholders, was that because this CDC does not serve a specific geographic target area, it would be difficult to define who the community constituency would be. Although the Office for Community Development has (to date) conducted most of its programming in North Philadelphia, it did develop a low-income senior housing project in South Philadelphia and is currently considering projects in other counties within its borders. This expansive geographic scope seemed to most interviewees to render it impossible to

distinguish how a resident would represent the area on the board. A staff member pointed out:

As you can see, we are kind of unique in that most community development corporations would select an area bounded by certain streets, north, south, east and west, and then work in that area. We have expanded, if you will, our work but have functioned differently. We have remained dynamic to function that way.

Perhaps in contrast to the views of external stakeholders and even staff, clergy interviewed for this study described the relationship between the archdiocese and the Office for Community Development as a natural choice for organizational form because of the Church's long history of hierarchical structure. An archdiocesan staff clergy described that this arrangement provided for an, "economy of resources and energies." He went on to liken the role of the archdiocese in the relationship to an airport control tower. "There is a central control power that could help make sure the individual flights or individual actions or individual motions are not going to collide, but are rather going to be in harmony and in tandem with each other." He continued with this caution that the current arrangement could result in dissonance:

The tension with all that is always to make sure that we don't, by going into the tower to control things, lose connection with the people on the ground and the needs on the ground, and the day-by-day activities, and the minute-by-minute activities that need to be incorporated into major decisions.

The clergyman's response illustrates the presence of "institutional isomorphism" discussed by DiMaggio and Powell (1983). In their work, they examine the ways in which organizations relate to each other. One of their predictors of future organizational change is the degree to which one organization depends on the other. The stronger that bond, the greater the likelihood that the dependent organization will become more like the independent organization in "structure, climate and behavioral focus" (p. 154). In the case of the Office for Community Development, the CDC is heavily reliant on the structure, authority, and resources of the parent institution, that is, the central church authority for the region. Embodiment of institutional culture by staff, board members, and archdiocesan leadership leads to increasing similarities between the norms of the CDC and those of the archdiocese.

Institutionalization and legitimacy

In the early stages of the CDC's formation, there was desire to make the most of any good will that the initiative might engender with the public due to a growing distrust of Catholic leadership. Securing control of the messaging surround the Office for Community Development ensured that the work was associated with the larger parent institution, a practice common when processes are implemented to create a new normal (McMullen, 1994). In this case, the emerging reality was one of positive action by the central church authority to benefit the people of the city. When asked about institutionalizing the community development function that the archdiocese undertook at the start of the 21st century, one archdiocesan leader said:

Think about what was going on in the Church at the time; this [the formation of the CDC] was a potential win-win for everyone. For the neighborhood, for the city, and

importantly, for the Church. There wasn't a lot of good news coming out of the archdiocesan offices at the time. Clergy sexual abuse. Nationally there wasn't a lot of good news. One of the areas in looking back we could always say is that we have a good track record as a church in how we serve the community—social services, human services.

This practice, of shaping the public message, is what Kowalewski (1993) describes as “impression management.” His research on the Catholic Church's attempts to coordinate communication at the onset of the clergy abuse scandal situates the control as a way to preserve the identity of Catholics in a constantly changing environment. Ongoing coverage of the CDC's projects has been promoted consistently, and throughout the stages of planning and construction, by the archdiocesan communications office and coordinated with the archdiocesan weekly newspaper. Reinforcing the organizational identity of the archdiocesan community development corporation seems to have achieved the desired result. The Office has generated numerous regional news stories since its inception in 2001. National Catholic press has covered project developments and the funding relationships between the CDC and private investment through tax credits.

Much of the discussion on legitimacy came from the portion of interviews in which the subjects were asked about the rationale for institutionalizing the community development function (instead of leaving it up to local parishes or social services), the organization's relationship to the archdiocese, the impact of the Office for Community Development on Philadelphia neighborhoods, and the goals and vision for the Office in the years to come. There was agreement that institutionalizing the community development function had resulted in credibility, power, resources, and visibility. The result of institutionalization was an organization that could do work that parishes could not, even though they were aware of the need. There was no doubt in the interviewees' minds, whether internal or external stakeholders, that there are valuable aspects of being affiliated with the Archdiocese. There was almost a mythic sensibility around this area.

Interviewees identified responsiveness and flexibility as considered strengths of the Office for Community Development, when contrasted with the other agencies of the Archdiocese in Philadelphia. Many of the archdiocese's social programs are focused on specific service populations in institutionalized care settings (health care, adjudicated youth, disabilities, seniors). Thus, the CDC stood out to those interviewed as a dynamic agency, one that can adapt more quickly and perhaps even more liberally to changing demographics, funding streams, and private investment trends.

In assessing how the organizational model or nature affects functionality, the issue of legitimacy remained preminent. Some of those interviewed thought that coupling a grassroots type organization with a central institution yielded greater objectivity. A local Catholic priest in one of the target communities believed a parish might be myopic in its focus, whereas the archdiocesan CDC can achieve more balanced outcomes for a greater measure of the population. In reference to a united plan for community development across the parish campus, the priest suggested, “I think you can do that if you are official, if you are a CDC, if you have the whole archdiocese behind you, and you are not an individual parish that can be perceived as sinking in its own self-interest.”

For external observers, it appears that the relationship is valuable for the resources and visibility it must bring. There was a perception from the outside of

unlimited resources, unlimited potential, and unlimited staffing. Yet the CDC staff disagreed. They may receive local and state funding more quickly because of their reputation as part of this large institution, but they still must execute the projects within the scope of their small staff. Moreover, internal stakeholders (staff and board) are expected to leverage the parent/subsidiary relationship for influence, but not to exploit what the parent institution sees as tight resources that must be shared with other agencies and initiatives under the umbrella of the archdiocese. These other priorities include Catholic education, sacramental formation activities, and care for elderly clergy, etc.

Addressing vacant church property through adaptive reuse

While internal stakeholders interviewed for the study focused on the legitimacy of the CDC within the larger institutional structure of the Archdiocese of Philadelphia, the external stakeholders were most interested in what the CDC might do about the increasing roster of vacant properties the Church accumulated each time a parish, school, convent, or rectory closed. Nationally, blighted buildings are one of the foremost concerns facing both urban planners and community residents. Adaptive reuse—the reinvention of a space for a use other than its original purpose—is an increasingly popular practice, particularly in the urban context where the infrastructure is shifting and changing (Cantell, 2005). Repurposing is also seen as a green or environmentally friendly practice (Bullen & Love, 2009; Langston, Wong, Hui, & Shen, 2008).

Rather than building new where fresh resources are expended and new environmental impacts are realized, adaptive reuse has resurrected blighted and forgotten spaces (National Trust for Historic Preservation and Partners for Sacred Spaces, 2009). For example, residential and commercial space has been carved out of many former industrial properties (Duckworth, 2010); in other instances, former parochial schools now house charter schools or apartments (Welch, 2009). The downside to adaptive reuse is that it can be expensive and tedious. In the age of modern construction, it can often be less costly and faster to build new (Kostelni, 2006).

One defining decision within the institutional structure seemed to position the CDC to pursue revitalization through adaptive reuse. In 2002, the Archdiocese of Philadelphia's Tenth Synod of Bishops made a decision that offered the Office for Community Development the right of first refusal for vacant church property (Tenth Synod, 2002a,b). However, only two properties have been secured and only one has been successfully redeveloped in the years since the decision. While the Synod expressed the desire for the archdiocese to utilize properties in this way, the requisite next steps to create a formal or codified process for pursuing adaptive reuse did not take place. According to those interviewed, including CDC staff and external stakeholders with knowledge of the internal politics, support for carrying out the actual community development activities associated with the Synod's decision ended with the retirement of the Cardinal whose leadership initiated the formation of the Office. More recently, the political will to codify the practice and operationalize the Synod's decision seems to have been overshadowed by ongoing clergy abuse trials and parochial school closings. This, ironically, will produce an even broader array of available properties.

Conclusions

Deepen citizen participation to increase accountability and effectiveness

There is a rich body of work on the contributions of neighborhood residents in community development planning and practice (Manzo & Perkins, 2006) as well as the role citizen participation plays in fostering self efficacy and local control (Glickman & Servon, 1998; Silverman, 2005). The Office for Community Development has relied on parishes in the project neighborhoods to host planning meetings and design charettes, cultivate good will among other neighbors for zoning changes, and be a base of recruitment for the eventual residents or users of the properties. These activities represent important “instrumental participation” at one end of the Citizen Participation Continuum described by Silverman (2005). Wouldn’t a role in governance be the next logical step to institutionalizing community development while at the same time result in greater grassroots participation?

A more intentional, activist relationship between parishes and neighborhoods to the Office for Community Development could make the work of the organization more relevant to a greater number of city residents and move it beyond public relations to truly collaborative or participatory community building. Solidifying these attributes could also reap benefits in terms of new sources of funding and partnerships that place a value on this kind of accountability. Furthermore, the participation of community members, such as that encouraged by other CDC models, could diversify the cultural capacity and social capital available to the staff when determining project goals and locations.

Embrace the dual nature to advance adaptive reuse

The potential for adaptive reuse of dozens and dozens of vacant church properties is the most provocative idea to emerge from this case study. Interview after interview with internal stakeholders revealed a desire to see the Church present and active in neighborhoods while external stakeholders expressed concern about the continual closure of buildings throughout the region, most especially in already blighted neighborhoods. Securing formal access to the vacant properties is a first step to operationalizing this idea, something that could be facilitated by the centralized, hierarchical nature of the parent institution. Parishes must report annually on the status of their facilities and this information could be mined more aggressively to create a platform for reuse projects.

New technology, such as sustainability index software or SINDEXTM, can guide communities and experts in a cost-benefit analysis when weighing the merits and challenges of vacant properties for adaptive reuse (Langston, et al., 2008). While a smaller CDC might not have the resources or expertise to handle this kind of technology, a larger institution with many multi-million dollar subsidiaries could share the responsibility for purchasing and maintaining the tools. Consideration must also be given to the scope of the reuse. Will it be a full-scale preservation of a historic property? Or, as is the case with the reuse of some church properties, does the shell remain intact while the interior is altered? These decisions become part of a larger dialogue around place making and can engage the community losing the space (such as the parishioners of a closed church), the residents who live in the geographic area, and perhaps even future or prospective users of the redefined space

(Clark, 2007). This possibility further reinforces the need for participation that ultimately could lead to inter-group perception of legitimacy, something that the archdiocese and its parishes will require to weather the current climate.

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Measuring neighborhood distress: a tool for place-based urban revitalization strategies

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The United States federal administration's recent Promise Neighborhood and Choice Neighborhood initiatives are part of increasing calls for place-based strategies in the delivery of education and human services in inner cities. Within this new policy context, measures of community-level inequality emerge as a key tool for identifying places which manifest relatively high levels of social and economic distress and where this condition places acute pressures on local service-delivery nonprofits. Measuring and spatially showing levels of neighborhood social and economic distress can enhance our understandings of the needs associated with low-income communities and facilitate civic engagement in the development of neighborhood-based responses. A "neighborhood distress score" can be generated and used to target services into urban areas but can also encourage greater resident civic participation. This score is based on the variables identified in the literature and input from community and civic leaders in Boston, MA.

Keywords: place-based revitalization; neighborhood distress; spatial inequality

Introduction

Place-based strategies for improving urban living conditions are gaining increasing attention as reflected in the national administration's recent Promise Neighborhood and Choice Neighborhood initiatives. Based on the availability of funding announcement in the *Federal Register*, the components of place-based strategies aimed at the "transformation of communities" include identification of places with the greatest social and economic needs; developing strategies that benefit the entire neighborhood; building partnerships among neighborhood organizations and provision of "continuum of services" throughout the lives of residents; linking activities to improve the quality of schooling and raising academic achievement within a neighborhood context; and residential governance and decision-making about planned activities and implementation (*Federal Register*, 2011). These components differentiate place-based strategies from others which focus on providing mobility opportunities for residents in distressed neighborhoods, or identify individuals with specific needs for need-specific services (Melendez & Stoll, 2000).

Broadly, place-based strategies seek to strengthen neighborhoods and community-based organizations. Ironically, this idea emerges at a time when a number of

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local service-delivery nonprofits in Black and Latino communities in Boston are closing or in eminent collapse. The Barr Foundation, the largest foundation in Massachusetts and one with a strong social justice mission, retained the author in 2008 to help provide an overview of the social and demographic characteristics of neighborhoods in Boston. This was considered a first step in highlighting contextual conditions impacting the work of neighborhood organizations. After meetings with foundation representatives and community and civic leaders such as City Year's Hubie Jones, Marilyn Anderson Chase, Assistant Secretary for Children, Youth, and Families in the Massachusetts Executive Office of Health and Human Services, and others, the idea of documenting spatial inequality emerged as an important need. While other research reports and papers have documented inequality among individuals and families across the city, a systematic look at the distribution of inequality on the basis of community or neighborhood indicators was lacking. The systematic measure of neighborhood distress at the census tract level, and development of spatial visualizations of distress levels, can help to identify residential areas requiring greater targeted attention.

The use of community indicators is one way of showing varying levels of needs in a city composed of neighborhoods. A range of community indicators can be indexed in order to differentiate areas. Along with this, the use of Geographic Information Systems (GIS) can assist with showing how different levels of needs are reflected spatially. Measuring and spatially showing neighborhood distress is an effective mechanism for identifying places characterized by social and economic inequality, and where such conditions impose greater demands on service-delivery nonprofits. In order to show areas of the city that reflect relatively higher needs in addressing a range of problems, and to facilitate the design of several place-based neighborhood initiatives emerging in Boston, the author constructed a neighborhood distress score for each census tract in this city. The model described here can be used in other cities focusing on the design of place-based strategies to identify and respond to the needs in low-income communities.

Measuring neighborhood distress

Neighborhood distress is defined as situation reflecting concentrated social and economic conditions which point toward lower living standards for residents, and where such conditions can raise organizational demands on local and small and service-delivery nonprofits. Community indicators can help to assess the needs of the city's most vulnerable populations and the places in which they live. This is one reason "Communities around the U.S. are significantly increasing their use of community indicators to assess their well being and to measure their progress toward shared visions and goals" (Dluhy & Swartz, 2006). Indicating the level of neighborhood distress or spatial inequality through GIS can be used to identify areas requiring targeting in terms of public services and interventions, but also to engage community groups in planning and implementing place-based initiatives.

The construction of a neighborhood distress score illustrates how a range of social and economic variables are distributed throughout a city's neighborhoods and communities. As observed by Lobao, Hooks, and Tickamyer, the "where" dimension of inequality, or how inequality is manifested in places, is as significant as the study of inequality itself: "Inequality – the study of who gets what and why – has been at the heart of sociology since its inception. However, this simple formula

fails to acknowledge that ‘where’ is also a fundamental component of resource distribution” (2007). The “where” of inequality in Boston shows the sub-neighborhood areas that should be targeted for focused intervention.

There are several earlier studies and initiatives that have used similar approaches as a tool for assessing local inequality. One study reporting the measures of distress for purposes of comparison across the country was published by the United States Government Accounting Office in 1998, “Community Development: Identification of Economically Distressed Areas.” It utilized poverty and unemployment variables to compare the state of social and economic distress at the census tract level across counties in the United States. In another study, the city government of Tucson, AZ, developed a list of measures to determine the comparative inequality reflected in different parts of the city (City of Tucson, Arizona, 2002). However, the report states:

Our review of the literature did not reveal any National standards or thresholds upon which neighborhoods might be judged or weighed. We did not find theory or practice, attractive to us, which might tell leaders when an area needed assistance. These decisions are innately political in that they involve the distribution of public monies and goods Given these facts, staff decided that all one could do was measure the City’s “neighborhoods” against the average condition of the City as a whole. (City of Tucson, Arizona, 2002)

Other studies discuss a range of social, economic, and political factors that could comprise measures for determining and comparing the quality of life in urban neighborhoods (Coulton, 2008; James, 1990; Montiel, Nathan, & Wright, 2004; Phillips, 2005; Rogers, 2008; Schulz, Williams, Israel, & Lempert, 2002). The National Neighborhood Indicators Project based at the Urban Institute in Washington, DC, was an initiative aimed at helping “local institutions develop a comprehensive and technically sound set of indicators of neighborhood conditions, so that community residents, public officials, and civic leaders can better plan appropriate strategies to improve their communities” (Sawicki & Flynn, 1996, p. 165). A report issued by this organization emphasized that the development of indicators should be based on the participatory processes involving both residents and experts and that the indicators could be useful for citizen action and public policymaking (Stoeker, 2006).

The Office of Policy Development and Research at HUD commissioned a research report to review various approaches utilized in designing a community needs index (Eggers & Econometrica, Inc., 2007). The indicators included variables associated with poverty, family structure, housing, schooling, and unemployment. The indicators above were selected on the basis of literature reviews and interviews with researchers and representatives of various government agencies.

Neighborhood distress scores and Boston neighborhoods

For Boston, the author selected some of the variables described in the literature cited above, as well as review of earlier research reports and papers documenting inequality in Boston. He also solicited informal input from a wide range of key informants and advocates and elected officials, about the factors that tend to place greater pressures on the work of neighborhood-based nonprofits and organizations. Input was also gathered through participation in community meetings and events over a 10-month period as part of the work for the Barr Foundation (Jennings,

2009a, 2009b). The selection of variables reflected Eggers' concern that measures based on the ground-level experiences should be encouraged (Eggers & Econometrica, Inc., 2007).

The neighborhood distress score is an index based on housing, education, employment, poverty and income, and public safety variables. In addition to using data from the US Bureau of Census and the Bureau of Labor Statistics, population estimates and projections at the census tract level for 2006 and 2011 were provided by two proprietary and highly respected demographic companies, Claritas, Inc. and Applied Geographic Solutions; the latter compiled crime data based on the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI)'s Uniform Crime Index. The source for foreclosure data includes ForeclosuresMass and the Warren Group. GIS software programs, *MapInfo* and *Pcensus*, were used to produce standardized scores. Using what is referred to as a site score methodology, the variables are all measured and ranked in each of Boston's census tracts in order to produce a measure for comparing how the variables are bunched up in these places.

The following variables (based on 2006 estimates unless indicated otherwise) were used to construct a distress score for Boston:

- # foreclosure petitions (2007)
- per capita income (inverse ratio)
- average household size
- # of children 17 years and under
- % labor force non-participation
- % families in poverty
- % female-headed households
- % foreign born (2000)
- % persons 5 years + who do not speak English at home
- % of persons 25 years + without a high school diploma
- # homicides (2006, 2007, 2008) and
- FBI crime index (1999–2003).

Health data or school achievement data were not utilized for construction of the neighborhood distress scores. Health data and related information are critical in describing the degree of well-being, or lack thereof of individuals and families. Due, in part, to the need to protect confidentiality, a wide range of health data is not collected or reported in ways that it can be geo-coded at the census tract or block level. School achievement data were not used, because under the city's busing and racial balance policies children and youth can be assigned to schools outside of their immediate neighborhoods.

Each variable was assigned a weight of 1 in order to generate a rank ordering of census tracts based on all the variables. The assigned weight of 1 is justified in that the purpose of the distress score was not to measure how specific variables affect individuals and families, as noted above, but rather to ascertain the distribution of concentrations of the variables. Census tracts with higher distress scores mean that these factors are more prevalent or concentrated in that particular area than census tracts with lower distress scores. Census tracts are used as the unit of analysis for measuring neighborhood distress due to wide social and economic variability within Boston's neighborhoods. By using census tracts, the index captures social and economic variability within neighborhoods that in the aggregate or at the zip code

level might be hidden or not apparent (Krieger, Chen, Waterman, Soobader, Subramanian, Carson, 2003). Some earlier studies of inequality have relied on zip codes, or neighborhood boundaries that do not capture significant differences within these boundaries.

The use of census tracts versus aggregated neighborhood-level or zip code-level data highlights differences within neighborhoods. One of the city's poorest neighborhoods, for example, Roxbury, registers a poverty rate of all persons at 31% based on the data reported by the American Community Survey (2005–2009). Yet there is a wide range of variability in this rate in the 23 census tracts which compose the Roxbury neighborhood. A few tracts report rates in the range of 10% or so, and others are as high as 50% or more. This variability can also be hidden at the zip code level. There are three zip codes composing Roxbury, and all reflect a wide range of poverty rates when census tracts are considered.

In order to avoid an arbitrary determination of population distributions via colorized theme assignments for the maps, a method known as “natural break” was used to thematically differentiate the various neighborhood distress scores across census tracts in the city. This allows the reader to visualize spatial concentrations based on a mathematical formula versus arbitrary assignments of color. According to the user guide for *MapInfo Professional Version 9.5*, the GIS software program used for this purpose, “. . . Natural Break creates ranges according to an algorithm that uses the average of each range to distribute the data more evenly across the ranges. It distributes the values so that the average of each range is as close as possible to each of the range values in that range. This ensures that the ranges are well-represented by their averages, and that data values within each of the ranges are fairly close together” (p. 340). The natural break algorithm is based on a procedure described in an earlier article on choroplethic maps (Jenks & Caspall, 1971).

Figure 1 shows the index that was generated for each census tract. In effect, the map shows the degree of concentration for the variables identified by census tracts. Those census tracts with higher scores mean that the factors associated with social and economic distress are more “bunched up” in those places.

The census tracts with the highest distress scores (≥ 70) are actually located in Boston's predominantly Black and Latino neighborhoods as shown in Figure 1: Roxbury, South Dorchester, and Mattapan. Even within these three neighborhoods, however, there is variability in the levels and distribution of neighborhood distress scores. This is illustrated in Figure 2 showing the distribution and concentration of Black residents and Figure 3 showing the Latino population's distribution and concentrations.

The Asian-descent population is more dispersed than that of Blacks and Latinos. But, pockets of Asian-American residents are still found in the areas with higher neighborhood distress scores, as shown in Figure 4.

These maps help to illustrate that race and ethnicity are associated with spatial inequality in Boston. And even where most Blacks and Latinos tend to reside, we find varying levels of spatial inequality at least measured by the neighborhood distress scores. The maps discourage a view that social and economic distress is simply a problem for individuals or families, as the unit of analysis. As warned by Robinson (2005) regarding this matter in the field of public health, “. . . two critical errors are often committed: (a) race is viewed as an individual characteristic and (b) the analytic methods used in its assessment fail to consider the contextual nature of race, which in turn undermines the ability to discern the root causes of racial

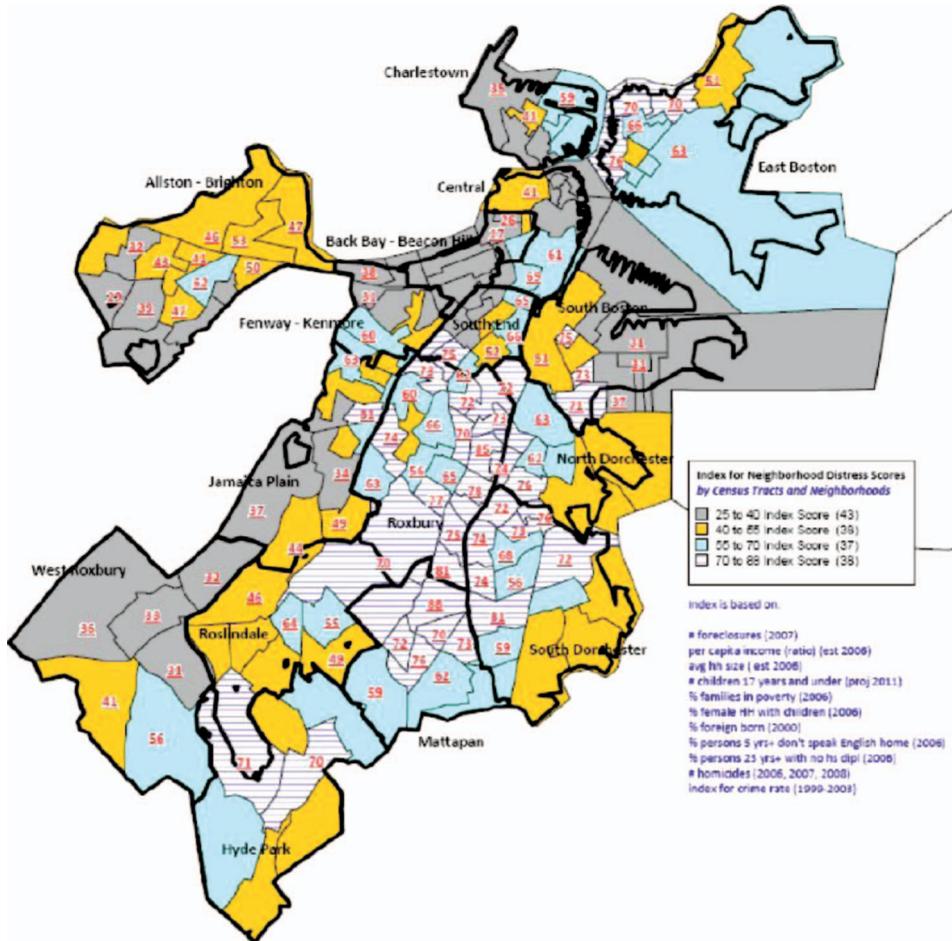


Figure 1. Neighborhood distress scores by Boston's census tracts.

disparities" (p. 338). Robinson (2005) adds: "... epidemiologic methods of defining and measuring variables such as race/ethnicity and socioeconomic status must be overlaid with more focused assessment and analysis of relevant characteristics that may exist within at-risk populations" (p. 344). Along this line of thought, the current study shows that both individual characteristics and the use of neighborhood distress scores can help to show the location of inequality. This, in turn, can raise questions and issues which go beyond the experiences of individuals or families.

Advantages and limitations

What has been described in some literature as PP-GIS, or public participation – GIS, indicates that the use of GIS can be a very powerful tool to engage civic audiences. In a review of the impact of GIS on a group of nonprofits, Bishop (2010) cites a range of literature that point to the possibility of greater civic engagement on the part of residents. This kind of impact could be useful in building an understanding of indicators to measure the effects of a range of problems or challenges facing residents in low-income urban areas. Further, it can encourage program benchmarks that are

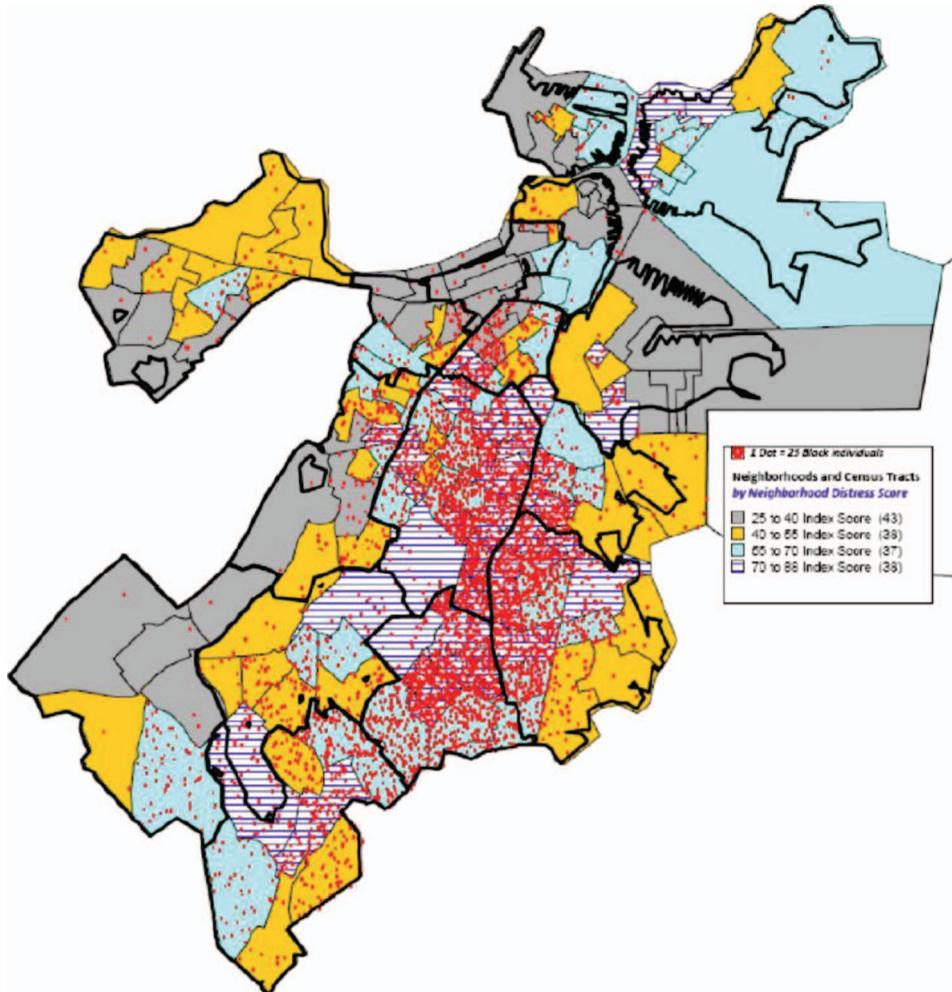


Figure 2. Distribution and concentration of Boston's black population.

locally determined. Schlossberg and Shuford (2005) observe that “the spatial visualization and analysis capacities inherent in GIS present a unique opportunity for enhanced citizen involvement in public policy and planning issues.”

Bishop identified several dimensions in which GIS can be utilized by local government officials and nonprofits: “Grant applications; Avoid duplication; Find commonalities with other organizations; Improve internal communication; Inform decision making; Meet client need; Adjust staff; Develop partnerships; Promote collaborations; Facilitate communication; Analysis with GIS; Share database” (Bishop, 2010). Presentation of spatial inequality can be a lens for community-based organization decision-making and for enhancing civic discourse and participation among residents in areas reflecting living conditions such as higher poverty rates compared to the overall city rate; higher unemployment levels; higher housing vulnerability; higher number of homicides; and other problems. As a planning tool, community indicators at sub-neighborhood levels can be used to frame civic discourse around social and economic inequalities. This would be particularly

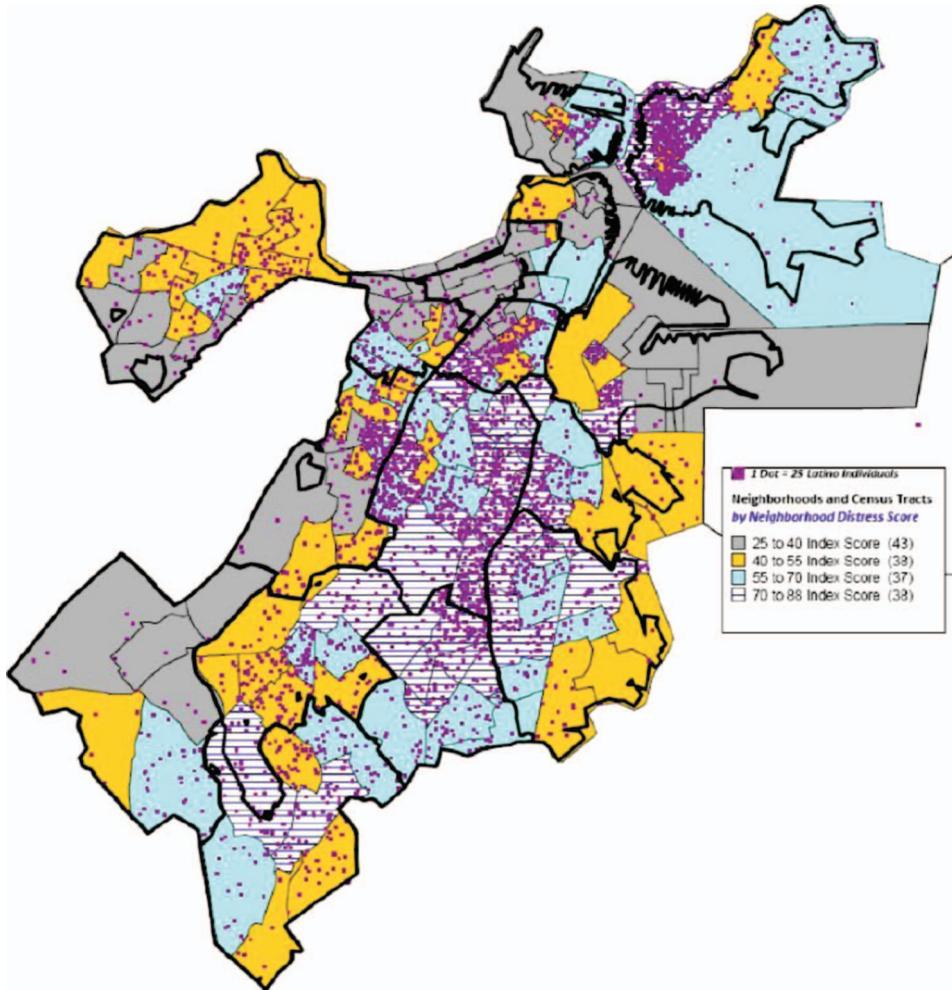


Figure 3. Distribution and concentration of Boston's Latino/a population.

helpful to community health organizations serving vulnerable populations where public feedback represents a tool for improving the delivery and quality of services (Jennings, 2009a, 2009b).

There are some limitations in using distress scores and GIS for showing spatial inequality. It should be cautioned, for instance, that in some ways GIS “has emerged as an elitist, anti-democratic technology by virtue of its technological complexity and cost”; nevertheless, utilization of GIS to highlight spatial inequality can also increase and enhance civic participation (Ghose, 2001, pp. 141–163). GIS programs can be costly both in terms of software and training, representing a serious obstacle for its wide utilization.

There are potential problems associated with community indicators to show spatial inequality. As noted by Krieger et al. (2003), “Despite the well-known existence of socioeconomic inequalities in childhood health within the United States, efforts to monitor trends in these disparities are hampered by two problems: The first

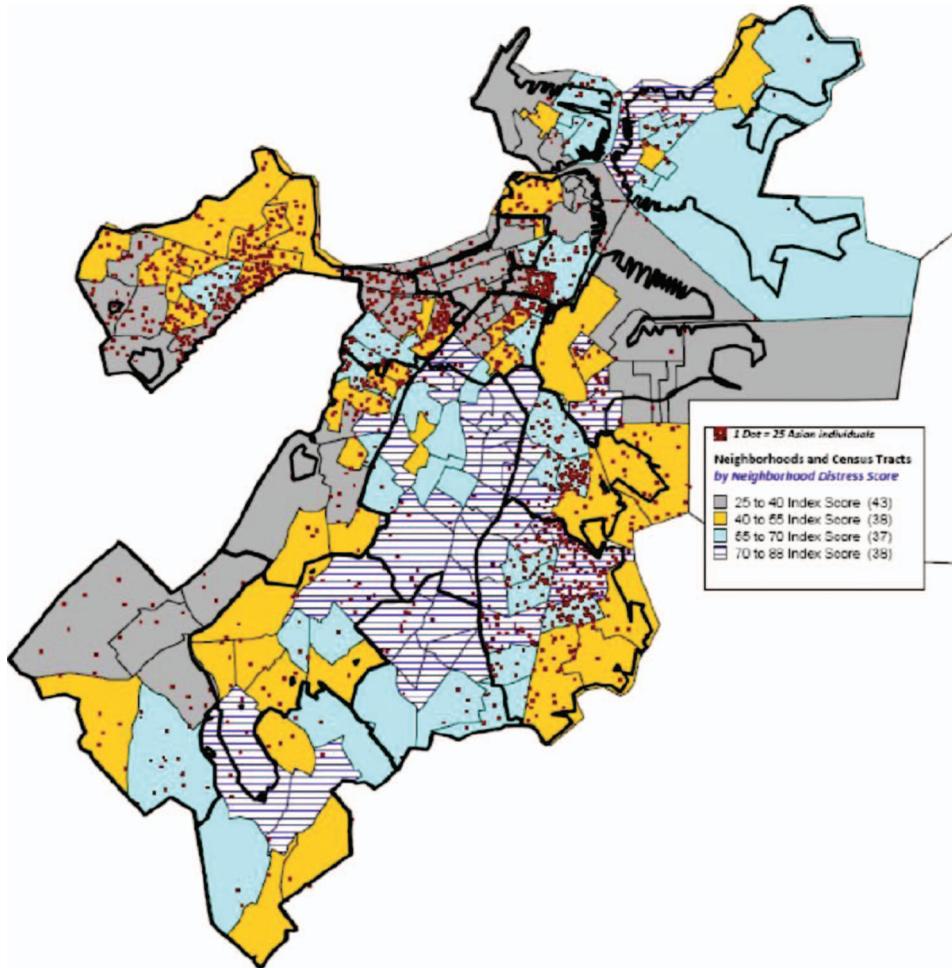


Figure 4. Distribution and concentration of Boston's Asian-descent population.

is the scant data available on socioeconomic position in US public health surveillance systems ... and no socioeconomic data are included in public health data systems ...” (p. 186). And, “... without adequate socioeconomic data, US public health monitoring systems are compromised in their ability to track disparities and trends in childhood health” (p. 186). A second problem according to these researchers is lack of consensus regarding the appropriateness of the types of data and its geographical level; that is, do indicators improve based on the utilization of block groups, or census tracts, or zip codes?

Another potential problem with the use of community indicators for assessing neighborhood distress and spatial inequality is that it could still encourage presumptions of pathology or behavioral defects among residents in places with high levels of poverty and economic depression. Along this line, some social scientists see “neighborhood disorder” rather than neighborhood distress and link the former with behavioral issues rather than historical and contemporary decision-making in policy and political arenas (Fiss, 2003; Ross & Mirowsky, 1999).

According to Wacquant (1997), this is one pernicious premise found in some urban literature which must be challenged as ahistorical and inaccurate. It is, therefore, important that discussions about neighborhood distress and spatial inequality may not be confined to the research or policy community, but readily available to residents, as well. Residents must have opportunities to help interpret and consider the implications of neighborhood distress scores in terms of a range of institutional practices.

Conclusion

Neighborhood distress scores, as illustrated in the maps above, are being utilized for grassroots planning initiatives in Boston. According to the leadership of one organization, the Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative (DSNI), these illustrations and related discussions of spatial inequality helped the organization obtain a major US Department of Education planning grant to consider how education reform can be placed more effectively within a place-based framework in low-income neighborhoods. DSNI was one of the 20 recipients in the nation to obtain this planning award. Uphams Corner Community Health Center, a health center in a very impoverished part of the city, used these maps and distress scores to pursue a health grant from Health Resources and Services Administration in Washington, DC.

The maps and approach described here are currently being utilized by public agencies, as well. According to Mary Ann Crayton, Executive Director of Community Engagement for the Boston Public School system, this information has been used to “synthesize background information on neighborhood geography . . . access to this statistical data also assists BPS in structuring inter-departmental collaborations with city agencies working on place-based solutions” (email correspondence, September 27, 2011). And, the Chief of Staff for the Boston Housing Authority, Trinh Nguyen, noted that they have used this kind of information and presentation “to align the same needs of other residents with similar distress scores with BHA’s residents, to strengthen partnerships to address the needs of public housing residents” (email correspondence, September 25, 2011).

Of course, measuring distress and sharing findings with communities is not a panacea for improving the quality of public policies (Shaw-Ridley & Ridley, 2010). In fact, such indicators can be “more effective as tools for community engagement and education than as a means for directly influencing public policy” (Gahin and Paterson, 2001, p. 358). Nevertheless, measuring distress spatially can “. . . yield information about past trends and current conditions and can reveal target areas for the community to focus on for policy and budgeting” (p. 353). Variables associated with inequality can simply be presented statistically and focus on individuals and families as the unit of analysis, but spatial demonstrations of indexed community indicators can be reader friendly and empowering by facilitating the sharing of information and encouraging civic discussion about inequality among residents and others.

The construction of neighborhood distress scores can help to identify places requiring targeted attention in terms of resources; it could also have the effect of informing neighborhood groups in understanding how to become more effective in proposing solutions to neighborhood-based problems. It can empower residents to ask questions about the location and distribution of quality basic services that might not be considered without actually seeing how inequality is played out spatially. It

has the possibility of moving residents and neighborhood activists who live in impoverished areas from simply being perceived as victims versus potential change agents at the local level. This is a key for place-based urban revitalization strategies.

Identification and visualization of neighborhood distress levels can help to raise policy-related and program-related questions such as how are resources being distributed to reach areas – versus only targeting individuals or families. Robinson (2005) explains that using community as the unit of analysis holds advantages in the area of understanding health disparities:

A Model based on community rather than traditional reductionist approaches may begin to affect those more intractable disparities that remain, particularly those heavily influenced by poverty and racism. Interventions that reach deeper into at-risk populations and use a comprehensive strategic plan to focus scarce resources where they can do the most good will facilitate empowerment and intersectoral planning to address problems that are embedded in social structure and the legacy of social injustice. (p. 345)

Measuring neighborhood distress should be part of place-based strategies in urban areas for similar reasons. In Boston, this kind of tool was utilized to identify patterns of spatial inequality. It is a tool that is being utilized to facilitate designing strategies aimed at rectifying the inequality between various parts of the city. Further, and more importantly, it is an approach for empowering residents in low-income and distressed areas to understand how inequality affects the places and city where they live, and to question the location of inequality.

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Political and social incorporation of public housing residents: challenges in HOPE VI community development

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The purpose of this paper is to examine the implementation process of Housing Opportunities for People Everywhere (HOPE) VI for two developments in the Southwest and to explore its impact on the rights of dispersed residents. Drawing on the concept, “right to the city,” this paper describes the participation of residents and their right to appropriate space and the role of Community and Supportive Services (CSS) in facilitating those rights. As a measure of residents’ right to participation, this paper examines whether the residents played a significant role during the redevelopment phases. Next, it looks at the residents’ potential for place making. This paper concludes that the residents’ right to participation and place making were not inherent in HOPE VI implementation, but that CSS could enhance both rights in future programs.

Keywords: HOPE VI; participation; community development

Introduction

Faced with limitations, cities often turn toward privatization as a way to cut costs. Many local governments have been privatizing public housing with the help of federal Housing Opportunities for People Everywhere (HOPE) VI grants that allow them to demolish deteriorating public housing stock and replace it with mixed income developments. One intention of the HOPE VI program is to revitalize the neighborhood and provide better opportunities for residents in the area with the help of Community and Supportive Services (CSS), which are meant to be a coordinated effort at providing case management to residents during their relocation and resettling. Residents are supposed to play an active role in the implementation of HOPE VI and benefit directly from the new development and community support. However, HOPE VI has been a controversial program, in part, because of the forced relocation of residents and low return rates.

The purpose of this paper is to examine the HOPE VI implementation process for HOPE VI sites in Phoenix, Arizona, in order to explore the impact the program has on the rights of dispersed residents. Drawing on the concept, “right to the city,” this case study takes a twofold approach to describe rights. First, as a measure of resident’s right to participation, different stages in the implementation process where

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residents could potentially have a significant role are examined. Second, to determine the right of residents to appropriate spaces, this paper considers how the program's implementation affects residents' place making. For both place making and participation, CSS plays an integral role, and this paper focuses on the CSS process and its potential impact on residents' rights. The research question is: through forced relocation programs, how does CSS affect residents' participation and place making? The research on HOPE VI in the Southwest has been limited, and the growth and development strategies and sociopolitical climate are fairly unique; it is necessary to consider the program context with regard to the rights of individual residents. Moreover, as cities turn to private funds for revitalizing neighborhoods, the interests of their vulnerable residents are often lost in the process; exploring ways to increase residents' involvement is necessary for the long-term success of projects that attempt to balance multiple interests and target groups. In summary, this paper finds that residents' right to participation and place making were not inherent in the HOPE VI implementation, but that CSS could enhance both the rights in future programs.

HOPE VI and community development

In the past several decades, housing research turned its focus to the effects neighborhoods had on residents (Coulton & Pandey, 1992; Jenks & Meyer, 1990; Leventhal & Brooks-Gunn, 2003; Sampson & Raudenbush, 1997). The theory that one's physical environment affects the quality of one's life is often explored in the urban poverty literature with the results generally supporting that neighborhood can have a detrimental influence on one's life along a number of dimensions, including health, job opportunities, and general well-being (Curley, 2005; Dreier, Mollenkopf, & Swanstrom, 2004; Ellen & Turner, 1999; Galster & Killen, 1995; Wilson, 1987).

Spurred on by neighborhood research, housing policy began to shift away from a project-based approach to a tenant-based approach. The tenant-based policies implemented in the 1970s began moving a relatively small number of residents living in public housing out of the poorest parts of inner cities, a significant departure from concentrating residents in one development or neighborhood. Mobility programs operated under the assumption that once removed from an environment of concentrated poverty, residents would have the opportunity to thrive (Galster and Killen, 2005; Wilson, 1987). Yet in practice tenant-based approaches have met with some criticism and implementation problems. For instance, when people move away, there is still a struggling community left behind. Imbroscio (2008) saw attempts at dispersing low-income residents as a way of neglecting the "inside game"; that is, not acknowledging the community development opportunities in inner cities that could be achieved through resident empowerment. Moreover, the mere opportunity to move away from a neighborhood does not always make it a reality and residents often end up living in comparable high-poverty neighborhoods. As McClure (2008) describes, there are obstacles in place for residents using HCV, such as the fear of discrimination and imperfect knowledge of housing market choices that might prevent some residents from entering low-poverty neighborhoods.

The federal HOPE VI program, which was implemented in the early 1990s, departs from earlier relocation programs in that it is place-based with a focus on transforming blighted areas. HOPE VI operates under the assumption that beyond the negative effects of neighborhoods, the severely distressed conditions of public housing developments were detrimental to residents as well as the wider community,

and it addresses the problem by razing or rehabilitating developments. In their place are developments with mixed-tenure housing and programs that are supposed to develop a community center and other support services often lacking in traditional models of public housing or voucher programs. Moreover, grant awardees partner with community stakeholders in order to bring a wider degree of support to the project (Cisneros, 2009).

In design, the HOPE VI program aspires to redevelop communities and empower residents. In practice, there are a number of issues, including low return rates, poor health outcomes, and a loss of social ties that stand in the way of declaring the program a widespread success (Goetz, 2003; Kleit, 2005; Manjarrez, Popkin, & Guernsey, 2007). To some extent, the limitations of the program can be traced to the reality that in the wake of demolition and redevelopment, residents' interests are forsaken for the pursuit of development and wider community goals (Fraser & Kick, 2007). The redevelopment and aftermath have an effect on residents that goes beyond outcomes, which are the focus of many evaluation case studies around the country, such as measures of education, social ties, income, and quality of life (Brazely & Gilderbloom, 2007; Buron, Levy, & Gallagher, 2007; Kleit, 2005). Few studies look at the rights of public residents to occupy space and have a central role in the implementation process.

Right to the city

This study uses "right to the city" to frame the rights discussion. The concept "right to the city" is an international movement that has taken up the cause of disenfranchised and vulnerable groups whose right to space is often contested in urban areas. Although there is some vagueness to the term with regard to specifics about whose right and what right, the concept is useful for understanding practical demands of deprived residents (Marcuse, 2009). The right to the city for public housing residents demands more than just access to shelter, although policies have generally limited the rights to just that. Purcell (2003) extends Henri Lefebvre's classic call that the right to the city "is a cry, a demand" to a twofold right: the right to centrally participate and the right to appropriate space. DeFilippis and Fraser (2010) recently defined it "the right to inhabit or create space" (p. 144). Duke (2009) has argued that considering the "right to the city" is important to the success of mixed income housing development in that it goes beyond the right to physically occupy space in a low-poverty neighborhood or mixed income development. The "right to the city" incorporates the right to create urban spaces, to feel as if one belongs to a community and can participate in important decisions and community building.

HOPE VI and participation

In theory, there are several stages during the HOPE VI process where CSS can help incorporate residents. The first stage is the decision to apply for a HOPE VI grant where cities conduct needs assessments and sometimes meet with residents to discuss the grant process. Generally, cities make the decision to apply on their own and inform residents of the choice to apply. Studies on the degree of participation at this stage indicate that there is no widespread buy-in or involvement from the residents (Crowley, 2009).

The next opportunity for participation is the design of the development. Residents are mandated by HUD to have some participatory role in the planning of the

redevelopment, although they are predominately encouraging grantees and providing suggestions for involvement rather than requiring specific participation mechanisms to be in place. HUD discusses different ways and levels at which public housing residents and the greater community can be involved in the HOPE VI process. The focus of the participation language is on making information, meetings, procurement plans, and grant details that are readily available to residents who wish to participate, with reminders that public housing authorities (PHA) and city officials have final decision-making power (HUD, n.d.). The intent is for residents and community partners to have a say in the process, but there are no set mechanisms in place that must be carried out by each grantee. Thus, the implementation of HOPE VI programs varies greatly from site to site, and different sites have discretion over the degree they involve residents in decision making (Keating, 2000). Keating (2000) and Libson (2007) found that residents' participation was not a priority and ultimately had little impact on final redevelopment outcomes.

The next opportunity for participation is during relocation; Are residents able to choose where they go next? The discussion of lack of choice must also consider that even if residents desire to move out of a neighborhood, their options are often limited. The displacement element is peripheral to proponents, because despite evidence that displaced residents often end up in other high-poverty neighborhoods (Goetz, 2003, 2011), the outcome is viewed as a *choice*. Some have been critical of this aspect, claiming that choice would include the choice to stay in the original neighborhood (Imbrocchio, 2008; Wilen & Stasell, 2006).

Finally, being able to return to the HOPE VI development, for those who wanted to, is an indication that residents participated in their relocation. Original residents generally have the opportunity to move into the new development; however, for a number of reasons, the national average return rate has been 30%, which means that the program becomes a de facto mobility program for residents who do not return to their original neighborhood (Goetz, 2003). However, unlike other mobility programs that attempt to relocate residents to lower poverty neighborhoods, a significant amount of HOPE VI relocatees end up in high-poverty neighborhoods (Popkin, 2006). There are a variety of reasons why residents might not return to the HOPE VI site; for instance, Chaskin and Joseph (2010) noted that the stricter screening, uncertainty, and the hassle of moving again contributed to Chicago residents' not returning. The CSS plays an important role in assisting residents with both their physical relocation and the social integration that is associated with the right to appropriate space.

HOPE VI and appropriating space

The right to appropriate space for residents is the right to place making or access to the use value of the spaces in their community, whether they return to the development or not. Place making involves settling into a community and feeling as though one belongs. CSS is meant to facilitate the success of residents in their new communities through helping residents to integrate into their new communities and negotiate the private side of the HOPE VI process.

Private over public interests

There have been several strategies designed to encourage mixed-income housing, allowing for creative financing and leveraging of resources (Schwartz & Tajbakhsh,

1997). HOPE VI was designed in such a way that cities often partner with private developers to create projects, combining private and public interests. The CSS can be described as the “public” side to the public and private dimensions of HOPE VI, but one can also argue that CSS is aimed to help residents succeed in the private side. DeFilppis and Fraser (2010) point out the obvious problems in a mixed-income environment, such as how public housing residents are targeted for inspections, which creates an uneven living environment across the development that could engender feelings of not belonging. Stricter screening might hinder residents who return to a HOPE VI development, and even the perception that the costs and regulations would be greater can serve as a barrier to residents who originally wanted to return (Joseph, 2010). “Implementation strategies such as these focus on maintaining the economic value of a community and could lead to affluent residents’ believing that their rights supersede those of their lower income neighbours” (Duke, 2009, p. 113). This environment limits residents’ ability to create urban spaces for themselves, as they might feel as though they are visitors to the location or that they must conform to different norms, and for those who do not return, that they do not have a right to that space that they once called home. Although the design aspects of mixed-income housing often draw on seamless integration strategies that allow for some anonymity (Brophy & Smith, 1997), the routine practices and rules that are tied to public housing can present a divide between market rate and public housing residents.

Community

There has not been much research on the role CSS plays in community integration for HOPE VI residents. However, there has been some research on residents’ participation in the services provided. Chaskin and Joseph (2010) interviewed service providers who described challenges getting residents access to services, especially the dispersed nature of residents’ relocation. Without access to the broader range of services or the assistance that is often required to return, residents might find place making in their new communities difficult.

The relocation and resettlement process, even when it results in moving back to the original neighborhood, is often stressful. Manzo, Kleit, and Couch (2008) describe the meaning making public residents had in their original communities, prior to relocation. Residents’ attachment to place was significant, and there was resistance to relocating evident in their interviews. Despite the deteriorating physical conditions, social conditions can be stable and serve as a mediating factor in low-income neighborhoods that might not be immediately in place in the new development or locations (Clampet-Lundquist, 2004; Kleit, 2005; Popkin et al., 2004). Chaskin and Joseph (2010) discuss community building in mixed-income developments. Their analysis describes the complexity involved in building bridges across income lines and that while there were some practices in Chicago that proved successful, meaningful interaction between diverse groups was not common. Nonetheless, interactions within groups show promise of community building carried over from the former development.

Methodology

In order to answer the exploratory research questions, this inquiry draws on an embedded case study of the implementation of HOPE VI grants in Phoenix, AZ

(Yin, 1994). The two subunits of analysis are two HOPE VI sites, Henson Village, completed in 2005, and Symphony, completed in 2011. The sites are close to each other, and for the most part, the same actors were involved in the development of both projects. Comparisons are explored between the sites as a way to illustrate the variation of implementation strategy within the city.

Data sources

Data for this project came from several sources. Since 2007, the authors have been part of an evaluation team for the Symphony HOPE VI project and managed the collection of the baseline data for Symphony in 2008. These interviews were collected in-person using a survey that asked residents a variety of questions pertaining to their neighborhood, family, and socioeconomic factors. The survey included oft-used close-ended measures and open-ended questions asking residents about the positives and negatives of their community and where they wanted to move and why. Forty-two of 60 (70%) households were interviewed from Symphony.

In addition to the Symphony data, the City of Phoenix provided the data from the Henson Village evaluation and tracking data from the city of Phoenix's database of all residents involved in both projects. The Henson Village baseline data included 291 of 372 (78%) residents. These data were in official evaluation reports. The authors also had direct access to the City's tracking system. All these data were used to determine baseline interview responses with Henson Village and the return rates and relocation outcomes of all residents. In order to ascertain the initial response to the Henson Village HOPE VI decision, newspaper archives were searched for articles relating to the initial announcement and the aftermath of the Henson Village relocation.

In addition to data on the residents, the authors conducted in-person interviews with three City of Phoenix staff members in 2008 and 2011. These interviews focused on the grant, relocation, and CSS process. Finally, the authors did a content analysis of the original HOPE VI grant applications for both the sites, Henson Village and Symphony evaluation reports, and the minutes from quarterly service provider meetings in 2011.

There are some limitations in this case approach. The data are from just two sites and not generalizable beyond the case; however, the theoretical approach has implications for all mobility and mixed-income programs. The data themselves have some limitations. The resident data are limited to samples of residents from the developments and are skewed toward those who did not immediately leave or get evicted following the announcement of the grant. Although resident views were documented in comparable baseline surveys, the evaluations surrounding the two sites were carried out in very different approaches and with different surveys over the span of several years. The authors were careful to corroborate numbers, events, and stories with multiple sources.

Data analysis plan

The case analysis was constructed from these data using a deductive approach driven by the "right to the city" constructs, participation, and appropriation. The open-ended questions, interview data, and archival data of the survey were analyzed using content analysis for themes related to residents' participation and place making. For

the participation themes, including the decision to relocate, role in the relocation process, and return to HOPE VI, data were combed for initial feelings about relocating, the degree of participation in their relocation, and input into the new development and community. For appropriation, data were sorted by feelings about community, integration into new communities, services and amenities, and discussions about private market interests.

Case background

Located in the Central City, South neighborhood in Phoenix, Henson Village and Symphony are located roughly a mile apart. Although they are adjacent to a reviving downtown center, a railway overpass has left challenges for the area. It serves as a physical barrier for pedestrians, as one cannot easily walk to the center of the city from the HOPE VI neighborhoods.

Henson Village

The original Henson Village project was constructed in 1941 for African Americans (completed in 1960). Tainted by racial segregation from inception, the project grew to accommodate a more diverse group of residents, but remained an important historical marker of discrimination and disenfranchisement. Despite the rough and impoverished conditions, early residents of Henson Village were a close-knit community and many former residents continued to feel strong ties to their former residence (Matthew Henson Historical Documentation, n.d.). Henson Village was the first public housing development in Phoenix and is noted for its historical significance based on a historical event and architecture. The City has preserved several units of original development in accordance with the state of Arizona's historical site requirements.

In November 2001, the City of Phoenix received their Notice of Funds Availability (NOFA) in the amount of \$35 million dollars. The total cost of the project came out to a little more than \$100 million dollars. Three hundred seventy-two units were considered obsolete, 356 were demolished, and 16 units were historically preserved. By the end of Phase V, there were 611 units with a net gain of 239 units. The plan called for one-to-one replacement of public housing units. In addition to apartments, Henson Village boasts a youth center, community training and education center, parks, and pools.

Symphony

About a mile from Henson Village stood a much smaller public housing development with only 76 units. In 2007, the City of Phoenix received \$6.5 million in HOPE VI funds, and with a combination of other funding sources, the Symphony emerged as a \$19.9 million development. Redevelopment resulted in 83 units and no additional amenities.

Symphony's residents were a bit younger than Henson Village's with age not more than 65 years. Henson Village set aside 129 units for a senior living development. At baseline, at least 10% of Henson Village residents were older than 65 years; Henson Village includes a senior living center with separate amenities including a pool and community center. The residents at Henson Village and

Symphony were predominately Hispanics with about one-third of the residents undocumented. Many residents on both sites were Spanish-speaking only (see Table 1 for demographics).

Case

In order to gain support for the HOPE VI proposals, the City conducted needs assessments at Henson Village and Symphony. The results of these surveys outlined many challenges in the neighborhoods, such as high crime and poor employment opportunities and the need for a variety of services, such as English and General Education Development (GED) classes. The City saw the potential of HOPE VI's CSS to help the residents and saw the surveys as input from the residents as well as validation for pursuing the grants. While the needs assessment did not ask if the residents wanted to pursue the grant, it did ask if residents want to return to the neighborhood and where they would want to initially move, providing at least one early outlet for discussing the process. Validation also came from a broad network of community partners who viewed pursuing HOPE VI grants as a way to bring investment to the extremely underserved Central City South neighborhood that was surrounded by big development projects.

However, the widespread support did not include all the residents of Henson Village and Symphony residents whose feelings were mixed, in part due to the uncertainty over what would happen to them. According to the city staff, the Henson Village residents seemed to feel as if the city "was trying to get rid of the poor people." Another staff member pointed out that it was difficult to describe what the change would look like or mean for them. The fairly substantial media coverage at the time reported on the City's and residents' reactions to the plan to demolish and rebuild Henson Village into a mixed-income community. In addition to quotations from city officials touting the broad-scale benefits that would result from investment in HOPE VI, some of the Henson Village residents' resistance was documented in the *Arizona Republic*. One resident said that the redevelopment of Henson Village was an "unnecessary disruption that will disconnect them from churches, schools, and families" (Wingett, 2003, A1). Another suggested renovating the projects rather than tearing them down. Families had relocation fears and concerns about the utility bills. One Henson Village resident referred to the change the neighborhood had already undergone, indicating that the neighborhood was already much safer.

Symphony residents did not express resistance to the City or media, but the baseline residents' interviews indicated some resistance. Residents were not asked if they wanted to move initially, but when asked if they had made a decision about moving, many of the residents mentioned that they did not want to move, and one

Table 1. Baseline demographics for Henson Village and Symphony.

Race/ethnicity	Henson Village		Symphony	
Non-Hispanic White	2.80%	8	2.3%	1
Hispanic	70.30%	206	88.1%	37
African American	17.20%	50	7.1%	3
Other	9.70%	29	2.3%	1
Spanish-speaking only	33.70%	98	48.00%	29

resident even indicated that he/she did not think it would happen. These interviews conflicted with the City staff who felt certain that residents were eager to leave what was perceived to be a terrible neighborhood with little opportunity. Symphony residents were able to see the completed Henson Village project before they were relocated and much of their resistance was tied to the belief that the neighborhood would not change significantly or that they would not be able to afford to move back. On hearing of the relocation, most Symphony residents scattered right away, leaving participation in the program challenging. HOPE VI staff mentioned that residents were more apprehensive in the wake of controversial immigration legislation that had passed in Arizona. In addition to worrying about where they would go next, undocumented residents had to worry about the risk of deportation.

Once the grants were awarded, formal participation mechanisms were in place at both sites to involve residents in the planning and development stages. The HOPE VI staff sent and posted fliers to residents informing them of meetings. The Henson Village residents were more active in the grant process. The City offered bus rides to initial meetings and held meetings on-site with the residents. Henson Village developed a resident council, and its members served on subcommittees during the development phase. The participation in Henson Village led to a separate recreation center and employment center. Residents did not want to have their employment searches and classes mingling with their downtime. Participation and financial resources allowed the City to respond to this request. The Symphony residents did not have the same degree of participation, and the City did not have the money if there had been any requests. City officials said that the Symphony residents were not active participants in the grant process throughout. After attending the initial meetings, Symphony residents did not attend meetings on design or implementation.

The relocation process is where some residents appeared to have the most say in the process. Henson Village residents received assistance from a private relocation firm, whereas the Symphony relocations were handled by the caseworkers. The caseworkers felt that they were able to meet all the needs of the Symphony residents better than the private firm because they knew that the residents and were able to leverage resources. With the private assistance, the staff were not caseworkers, so it is not clear if special needs were met. Caseworkers felt that Symphony residents moved where they wanted to move for the most part. There were barriers for undocumented residents who would not be able to return to the development due to their inability to work and the steeper costs. Caseworkers admitted that they steered residents away who they believed would not be able to afford to return in an effort to help residents find placement where they could be successful.

The caseworkers described the Symphony move “voluntary,” because everyone left before they had to leave. Between the extremely poor conditions of the neighborhood and the lack of resistance by residents, there was widespread belief that Symphony residents wanted to relocate. Although the interviews with the Symphony residents painted a different story, many of the Symphony residents had described their community and housing as “comfortable.” Others felt a strong sense of community and a desire to stay in the neighborhood. Additionally, some residents spoke about the physical aspects of the development, describing the cement walls providing relief from the heat and thick doors providing security from external threats.

The conditions in the neighborhood began to deteriorate with the lack of maintenance and empty units from early departures to the point that residents were

afraid. Two Symphony residents stayed until the end, but left because they felt it was too dangerous with no one around. One resident said, "It was bad since 2006 for the reason that when they told me and the rest of the residents that they were going to tear down the apartments they stop caring to fix the appliances in the house, AC toilets, and anything to do with plumbing. The City of Phoenix would not come and clean the street like they used to. They, especially management, stopped caring for us." A similar situation occurred at Henson Village. Pitzl (2003) profiled a single mother from Henson Village who would walk to school, the WIC office, and doctor's office and relied on friends who drove to get groceries. She felt scared as people relocated, because the relocation occurred in phases, and there was a time when she felt there were not enough people living there to be safe.

The choice to stay in the original project might not have been a possibility, but for some, the next best thing might have been able to return to the new development. With their one-to-one replacement of public housing units, the City boasted that all residents could return if they qualified. Of the residents who initially indicated that they wanted to move back, about 30% returned to Henson Village and Symphony. Nearly a quarter of Henson Village residents and a half of Symphony residents moved into other public housing (see Table 2 for a summary of relocation outcomes). The management team of Symphony offered \$300 to help with relocating costs. Although there are many reasons why one might not move after an initial move, in both projects, interviews revealed that the credit check requirement was a barrier, and that some residents were afraid of the higher utility bills. For Symphony residents who were undocumented residents, they would not be able to move back since their employment options were limited, and they would not be able to pay the higher costs of living. Another barrier for Symphony was that the one bedroom apartments were tax credits and residents would need to apply for a Section 8 voucher first. In some cases, residents were satisfied with their first relocation and did not want to move again.

Appropriating space

The needs assessments conducted by the City describe the Henson Village and Symphony communities as socially isolated with few residents accessing services that are available to them. In the grant proposal, the City outlined the extensive network of services in the neighborhood and discussed how they would provide space for some of the service delivery and coordination of those services. When the initial Henson Village grant was funded, there was confusion over whether some of the community partners would receive part of the funding. The Community and Supportive Services for both

Table 2. Baseline relocation and return rates.

	Wanted to return to new development	Relocated-not HUD assisted	Relocated-public housing	Relocated Section 8	Returned to HOPE VI
Henson Village	207/244 (70%)	78/244 (32%)	58/244 (24%)	46/244 (19%)	62/207 (30%)
Symphony	26/58 (45%)	13/58 (20%)	32/58 (54%)	13/58 (21%)	7/26 (27%)

Data Source: HOPE VI Tracking at a Glance system (TAG), City of Phoenix.

projects are provided on-site at Henson Village, where a CSS coordinator with an Masters on Social Work (MSW) oversees the services and has quarterly meetings with providers. The services are not contracted out; most of the providers were already providing services in the area, and they were expected to keep doing so. There was some disagreement over who should be responsible for marketing the services, the City or providers. The City felt that the providers should be responsible as they were already delivering the services in the area. The City has taken on some of the marketing and sends out flyers for the different services, but there is consistently low turnout.

Case management is an integral part of delivering CSS. During the grant period for Henson Village, there were four caseworkers involved with residents and a CSS manager. These caseworkers were located on-site and they got to know the residents very well. They knew where they wanted to move, and they were able to specialize in serving their needs; one caseworker handled youth and parenting issues, one handled career support, and another was assigned mainly to senior services. Due to limited funding and budget cuts, there were only two caseworkers left at the start of Symphony. These caseworkers were located at Henson Village and were responsible for Henson Village and Symphony residents. The caseworkers felt that they were just putting out fires and dealt only with the residents who approached them and were more likely to know that the resident of the Henson Village needs more than those of the Symphony. There was some concern that Symphony residents were neglected and that they were not receiving the attention they needed. Additionally, caseworkers were busy with new public housing residents moving into Henson Village and getting to know those residents' needs. The City relies on Social Work student interns to help cover some of the service gaps.

Resources for CSS greatly dwindled following the end of Henson Village's grant period. Henson Village initially had extensive CSS resources, including job training, GED classes, English as a Second Language (ESL), schoolbook funds, and other school supplies. The money and staff for these programs were significantly cut, and the city was not able to provide funds to compensate. The much smaller grant for Symphony and small city contribution left these residents strapped for resources. Caseworkers have had to "reinvent the wheel" on where to get resources. It has been much more difficult for caseworkers to find resources for undocumented residents, including mental and physical health services. In addition to an increased caseload, caseworkers have had to prepare residents for deportation planning.

Before the relocation, Henson Village was a place of strong community, with historical ties for many prominent residents of Phoenix. The community was more than just the buildings that were preserved; residents come back every year to connect with their former community. At Symphony, residents were not viewed as connected to the space as Henson Village residents were to their former homes. Therefore, the outreach that went into Henson Village planning, such as busing residents to the main planning meeting, forming subcommittees with residents, and organizing reunions was not part of Symphony. While the Henson Village community was evident to community partners and city officials, Symphony residents were seen as better off anywhere but the former Symphony development. However, the baseline interviews with Symphony residents revealed a strong sense of community; the majority of respondents interviewed discussed their neighbors and social ties as being an important part of their community. Further evidence of community comes from the open-ended responses. When asked about their community, most residents made comments such as "got along with neighbors,"

“everyone knew each other,” “one knew who to acquaint with,” and “my neighbors and the neighborhood was good. I never had problems with my neighbors.” Other residents felt that they received respect in the neighborhood and that they had lived there a long time and had raised a family there.

Private interests

In order to maintain a more stringent environment for the benefit of the market rate residents, changes went beyond the physical appearance of the units. Caseworkers reported that Henson Village residents who returned felt that there were too many rules and maintenance upkeep concerns. There are also rules about what can be placed on the patio and balcony, which some residents found too restrictive. Focus groups revealed that youths were excited about amenities, such as the basketball court and community center. They were also glad that there were no more gangs. They were dissatisfied that their friends had left and that no one was ever outside. Youth also did not like the extra rules and feeling like they were always being watched. A consistent complaint was that the walls were too thin and that neighbors would call the cops if music was played (Nagasawa & Montiel, 2004). One example that helps illustrate the mismatch of private and public goals was when several young kids vandalized one of the apartments at Henson Village. The management side took a hard stand and evicted the family. The city would have worked with the family to discipline their children, but also said they understood that a statement needed to be made to the rest of the residents.

Private development also led to higher utility bills, as the former units had swamp coolers which were replaced with central heaters/air conditioners. According to city officials, residents were most often unsuccessful at staying in the new units due to having to pay utility bills. The initial return rate Henson Village boasted was actually much lower after evictions related to residents' inability to pay utilities. In the needs assessment, Symphony residents mentioned that they wanted parks and recreation. At Symphony, there is not a community center, and there are no playgrounds. Through leveraging the resources of Henson Village, the City was able to cut costs on the second project.

Analysis and discussion

Drawing on the concept “right to the city,” this case study looked at residents' right to participate in the HOPE VI process at different stages in development. Inextricably linked to the right to participate is the right to the use value of a community; empowering residents can increase their access to having access appropriating space and amenities. This case study focused on the CSS process for two HOPE VI developments, one prior to an economic crisis when funds were more abundant and one following a drastic cut in resources and a change in political culture.

HOPE VI has several stages where residents could have meaningful involvement. From the start, the City used surveys to get resident's input into their community desires. Unfortunately, the surveys were limited and did not collect qualitative data on what the residents might have been feeling or thinking upfront. Generally, evaluators have several follow-up surveys, and these formal evaluation tools could have the potential to give residents a voice and influence throughout the implementation if they include questions about the process, and the results are

used by HOPE VI staff to improve implementation. The degree to which they had a say in their development varied between the sites, and it seemed sensitive to the economic and political climate. Yet, while Henson Village residents had more say in the development side, Symphony residents were perhaps better off with relocation services provide by caseworkers instead of a private company, a positive side effect of fewer resources. Even when residents had a more active role in the planning and development stages, it is difficult to contend that their participation had a lasting impact on their lives when most did not return to the development upon completion. For those who were unable to return to the development their right to participate in place making in their original home was severely compromised. Moreover, it is difficult to think that residents had much of a say in the relocation process when they end up living in comparable housing in the same neighborhood. It seems a reasonable to assume that either those residents were satisfied with where they were or did not get the assistance they needed to overcome barriers to leave eave public housing. For instance, Henson Village had a larger African American population and was a segregated community for a long time. After being relegated to one part of the city for many decades, relocating to other neighborhoods might not be easy.

The right to appropriate space was based on economic and political contexts. Despite a limited budget, the city pursued a second grant with fewer resources, spread across the second and first projects' residents and complex needs. The political climate at the time of relocation, including the passage of harsher state immigration laws seemed to affect the Symphony residents' place making as they had limited options of where they could live and few services they could access. Moreover, there was evidence of a community in place for residents at both sites, and the dispersal might have made the community even more vulnerable. City budgets can only do so much to help address the shortfall, and residents pay the price at the end. The rushed nature of the Symphony relocation and the lack of involvement of the residents suggest a priority on meeting development deadlines and goals. If private interests take precedent, it is difficult to imagine meaningful participation. "With the emphasis being placed on the protection of home values and private property, the ideology that the exchange value of a community is more important might be reinforced" (Duke, 2010, p. 71). These feelings are reinforced with strict community rules and harsh penalties for deviating outside of the norm (Duke, 2010).

With the CSS, there is some way to help residents, but with the retraction of those services, or in the case of Symphony, where those services are not on-site, residents are falling even further behind in the right to appropriate space. The lack of participation is currently viewed as voluntary and of course residents cannot be made to attend services. However, perhaps residents can be a part of the quarterly meetings in order to provide insight into service delivery barriers. Moreover, CSS might want to include community building by looking at ways of keeping existing social ties in place and by integrating evaluation survey results into the program. It is easy to say that services were offered and not received due to a lack of interest on the part of residents, but the needs assessments and follow-up interviews indicated a need; it is important to discover the reason for this disconnect.

If HOPE VI or programs similar to HOPE VI intend to empower residents, then they should take advantage of the CSS' potential to foster authentic participation at multiple stages in the process and services that can increase residents' integration into communities. The physical aspects of a neighborhood might not matter as much as having a meaningful role in creating community. Moreover, the revitalization of

the inner city cannot be built upon the backs of new investors alone. Chaskin and Joseph (2010) discusses how participatory mechanisms in Chicago are in place but often exist for different groups, such as a condominium association. These governance structures can lead to divisions between groups. Rather than focusing on the participatory mechanisms after the fact, there needs to be opportunities for significant involvement prior to the decision to pursue a grant.

Conclusion

The implementation of a HOPE VI project can be described in terms of whether or not it expands rights for residents living in public housing. Specifically, the “right to the city” includes the degree residents can participate meaningfully in their community. That is, they refer to their right to create and transform spaces, build community, and affect change at the local level. Until this type of transformation takes place, residents will not be able to overcome the structural barriers that persist in low and high poverty neighborhoods for them.

Currently, it is evident that HOPE VI is not a program for the original residents, but for the wider community, and that authentic resident participation could result in outcomes that are focused on the residents’ needs versus what officials might believe is best for a locality. By incorporating resident views at different stages of development and by providing services that help integrate residents into their new community, perhaps the goals can become closer to being aligned.

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Regional clusters and jobs for inner city workers: the case of transportation, distribution, and logistics

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This article examines the usefulness of a particular type of industry cluster – transportation, distribution, and logistics (TDL) – for linking less-skilled workers in the inner city to job opportunities that exist in a larger regional economy. The findings are based on case studies of cluster-based development in three metropolitan regions: Indianapolis, IN, Louisville, KY, and Memphis, TN. These regions are known for their high concentrations of TDL firms. The TDL cluster was selected as the focus for this study because it potentially offers substantial employment opportunities for low-skilled workers at the entry-level and might be able to accommodate those that are hard to employ. The article discusses what these regions have done to leverage TDL to provide jobs for inner city workers and identifies some of the factors that either enhance or constrain the cluster’s usefulness for that purpose.

Keywords: regional development; economic development; community-based organizations; workforce development; social capital

Introduction

The purpose of this study is to examine the usefulness of industry cluster-based development as a framework for improving the labor market prospects of inner city residents. Residents of the inner city are disproportionately represented among the unemployed and poor (Engberg, 1996). Many factors contribute to the plight of inner city residents including human capital and social capital deficiencies that make it difficult for them to qualify for entry-level positions or be connected to information about job opportunities that exist in the larger regional economy. Thus, economic development strategies aimed at helping inner city residents must focus on building their human capital through educational and skills advancement, and strengthening their social capital by linking them more fully to regional employment opportunities.

Economic development strategies that target key industry sectors or “clusters” offer a potentially promising framework for making the connection between inner city workers and the jobs that are available in a larger regional economy. An industry cluster is a geographically concentrated group of interrelated firms and supporting organizations (Porter, 2000). The purpose of cluster-based development is to identify and target key industries in order to systematically support their

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competitiveness and growth in a particular geographic region. Cluster strategies recognize the interdependencies among target industries and the organizations that support them, and seek to facilitate collaborations that benefit firms and regions. The need for qualified and skilled workers is a shared concern around which cluster firms and related organizations will often join together to address.

The idea of targeting strategically important business clusters has gained widespread acceptance as a way for regions to better understand their economies and take actions to become more competitive as a whole. However, it is not given that cluster-based development will improve the economic prospects of less-skilled workers in the inner city. This study hypothesizes that to be effective in this regard, would require that the cluster approach place a greater emphasis on questions of equity in terms of how the benefits of regional clusters can reach the people and places that are most in need. The distinctive aspect of a cluster-based approach is that it emphasizes the linkages and interdependencies among *multiple* related industry sectors. As a result, a cluster approach can potentially provide a broader range of employment opportunities for inner city workers than strategies that target a narrower segment of firms or a single sector. But, the lack of an explicit focus on helping disadvantaged, less-skilled workers could limit the extent to which regional cluster development efforts will benefit those most in need.

This study extends the industry cluster model of economic development by incorporating a more explicit focus on equity and distributional concerns. The research examines the usefulness of the cluster-based approach for linking less-skilled workers in the inner city to job opportunities that exist in a particular regional industry cluster: transportation, distribution, and logistics (TDL). The findings are derived from field work conducted in the three metropolitan regions of Indianapolis, Indiana, Louisville, Kentucky, and Memphis, Tennessee. These regions are known for their high concentrations of firms in TDL (see Table 1) and each region has identified this “cluster” as an important part of its overall economic development strategy. The article compares and contrasts how these regions are using their respective TDL clusters to provide employment opportunities for inner city workers. The TDL cluster has not received much attention in previous research because of its perception as a low-tech, low-wage group of industries.

The TDL cluster was selected as the focus for this study because it potentially offers substantial employment opportunities for low-skilled workers at the entry-level and might be able to accommodate those that are hard to employ for a variety of reasons. The findings are based primarily on in-depth interviews with local experts from government agencies, education and training providers, non-profits, community-based organizations (CBOs), and business representatives in each region. In comparing and contrasting the three study regions, the article identifies some of the factors that potentially enhance or inhibit the intentional and strategic use of the TDL cluster to improve employment opportunities for inner city residents.

Industry clusters and equity

Cluster-based economic development strategies typically have not explicitly focused on increasing opportunities for economically disadvantaged people and places, with the exception of cluster-based policies in lagging regions abroad (Rosenfeld, 2002b) and to some extent Michael Porter’s (1995) work on inner city competitiveness in the US. Clusters have most often been used to target industries for recruitment and for

Table 1. Top 25 Transportation and Logistics Clusters by MSA.

MSA	Employment	Population	Employment per capita*	Firms	Wages
Houma-Bayou Cane-Thibodaux, LA	6,714	201,137	3.34	196	\$69,110
Laredo, TX	7,567	233,152	3.25	637	\$28,256
Lebanon, PA	2,714	127,889	2.12	19	\$14,111
Anchorage, AK	6,344	362,340	1.75	222	\$56,490
Savannah, GA	5,734	329,329	1.74	180	\$42,357
Valdosta, GA	2,237	130,170	1.72	22	\$40,000
Memphis, TN-MS-AR	21,423	1,280,533	1.67	447	\$39,984
Weirton-Steubenville, WV-OH	2,043	122,580	1.67	20	\$32,587
Kankakee-Bradley, IL	1,836	110,705	1.66	17	\$23,938
Harrisonburg, VA	1,915	117,563	1.63	17	\$25,000
Texarkana, TX-Texarkana, AR	2,119	134,215	1.58	29	\$58,000
Altoona, PA	1,897	125,527	1.51	32	\$41,656
Columbus, OH	26,487	1,754,337	1.51	386	\$32,501
Cheyenne, WY	1,244	86,353	1.44	18	\$42,897
Honolulu, HI	12,985	905,601	1.43	366	\$43,093
Harrisburg-Carlisle, PA	7,508	528,892	1.42	127	\$36,442
Louisville/Jefferson County, KY-IN	17,313	1,233,735	1.40	263	\$36,697
Houston-Sugar Land-Baytown, TX	77,098	5,628,101	1.37	1,606	\$45,734
Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta, GA	69,446	5,278,904	1.32	1,382	\$46,364
Tulsa, OK	11,763	905,755	1.30	185	\$38,676
Fayetteville-Springdale-Rogers, AR-MO	5,533	435,714	1.27	103	\$36,491
New Orleans-Metairie-Kenner, LA	13,020	1,030,363	1.26	574	\$51,205
Eau Claire, WI	1,963	157,808	1.24	20	\$29,349
Indianapolis-Carmel, IN	20,800	1,695,037	1.23	348	\$29,688
Salt Lake City, UT	13,374	1,099,973	1.22	275	\$50,899

Based on 2007 employment per capita. *Author's calculation. Cluster employment divided by total population, multiplied by 100. Source: Cluster Mapping Project, Institute for Strategy and Competitiveness, Harvard Business School. Note: The Harvard Cluster Mapping Project defines the transportation and logistics cluster to include air transportation, bus transportation, marine transportation, ship building, transportation arrangement and warehousing, trucking terminals, airports, and bus terminals.

increasing the competitiveness of the key industries that already exist within a region. But as Porter (1995) suggests, "The most exciting prospects for the future of inner city economic development lie in capitalizing on nearby regional clusters: those unique-to-a-region collections of related companies that are competitive nationally and even globally" (p. 60).

The fundamental question, then, is how can clusters be utilized to achieve greater equity in the distribution of economic development opportunities such that regional prosperity is more widely shared? Rosenfeld (2003) ponders precisely this question by asking: "Can clusters become equitable and just tools for economic development or do cluster strategies skew resources to those already better off" (p. 359). Answering this question is important because "the governmental and non-governmental entities that support clusters as development strategies do have social and civic

responsibilities to see that their investments ultimately have a reasonable chance to reach all segments of the population and all regions” (Rosenfeld, 2002a, p. 9).

In this sense, cluster-based development can relate to the sectoral employment programs being implemented throughout the US that do explicitly seek to promote greater equity. These sectoral initiatives are designed to expand job opportunities for low-income workers by preparing them for specific occupations within targeted industry sectors (Clark & Dawson, 1995; Dresser & Rogers, 1998; Giloth, 1995; Siegel & Kwass, 1995). Sectoral initiatives and cluster-based strategies share a focus on facilitating collaboration between industry and supporting organizations. However, cluster-based development is primarily intended to boost industries and companies with “no inherent employment strategy embedded” within it, “which may or may not improve the job opportunities for any particular group of workers” (Conway, Blair, Dawson, & Dworak-Muñoz, 2007, p. 13). By contrast, sectoral initiatives are much more explicitly concerned with disadvantaged people and their relation to the competitiveness of industries and regions. Another important distinction between cluster and sector strategies is that clusters are comprised of *multiple* related industries (e.g. TDL) and not just a single sector (e.g. distribution). As such, a broader cluster of firms may provide a wider range of job mobility and career advancement opportunities for disadvantaged, inner city workers.

While it is useful conceptually to differentiate cluster strategies from sectoral employment strategies, the overlap between them is inescapable. Several foundations and other organizations have been experimenting with sector-based initiatives and their experiences thus far are relevant to this study. These include major multi-site demonstrations supported by the Annie E. Casey Foundation, Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, Aspen Institute, and the National Economic Development and Law Center. These programs strive to connect workers and potential workers from low-income communities to livable wage jobs in a region’s growing industry sectors. They often focus on a narrow set of entry-level occupations in a small number of industries that might be most appropriate for less skilled people such as health care, metalworking, and construction trades. Giloth (1998) refers to this approach as “job-centered economic development” because it “focuses on identifying and accessing good jobs, networking among employers, building career ladders, enabling job retention, and advocating policies in support of livable wage jobs” (p. 2).

The organizations implementing sectoral employment programs serve as labor market intermediaries by improving the flow of information and linking qualified workers to good job opportunities within target sectors (Molina, 1998). Labor market intermediaries are organizations that “help broker the employment relationship through some combination of job matching, training, and career support services” (Benner, Leete, & Pastor, 2007, p. 10). While matching job seekers with employers has typically been performed by temporary agencies, staffing firms, and government workforce and social service agencies, increasingly industry associations, CBOs, community colleges, and labor unions are getting involved in this arena (Giloth, 2004). Two examples that illustrate the roles that CBOs can play by serving as labor market intermediaries on behalf of inner city workers are the Milwaukee Jobs Initiative (Dresser & Rogers, 1998) and Project Quest (Quality Employment through Skills Training) in San Antonio (Harrison & Weiss, 1998). Initial assessments of major sectoral initiatives in the US show promising results in terms of higher wages, decreased poverty, and improved job quality, and increased job satisfaction for low-income workers (Roder, Clymer, & Wyckoff, 2008; Conway

et al., 2007; Zandniapour & Conway, 2002). Although sectoral employment programs tend to focus on individual industry sectors rather than broadly defined groups of related industries or clusters, they provide a glimpse into the potential of cluster-based development as a framework for connecting residents of the inner city to opportunities in the larger regional economy.

The social capital dimension of sectoral employment programs can be extended to cluster-based economic development. It accentuates the deliberate linkage efforts required to strengthen the connections between inner city workers and the competitive regional clusters that drive metropolitan economies, and underscores the need for intermediary organizations to connect inner city residents to better job opportunities in those clusters. This linkage role is important for inner city workers who typically do not live in communities where major employers exist and often lack the personal and professional connections through which information about job openings is shared. In this way, intermediary organizations can create valuable connections on behalf of inner city residents that fill the gaps in their existing social networks and enhance their employment and economic prospects. These social network proxies for inner city workers matter because significant employment opportunities often come about as a result of “who you know” and “who knows you”.

Trends in the TDL cluster

The TDL cluster cuts across a number of industry sectors including trucking, warehousing, courier services, air transportation, distribution, and wholesale trade. These sectors can provide significant numbers of entry-level jobs for people with limited education and lower skill levels. The cluster has historically been involved with the mere movement of goods, but now managing the information and services supporting that activity is becoming just as important (Feldman, Bell, & Salamon, 1996). The job opportunities available within TDL are diverse, ranging from lower wage entry-level warehouse workers to higher-tech, knowledge-intensive logistical management. Some analysts view the cluster as a dynamic set of growing high-wage industries and believe “it is a mistake to see transportation and distribution as consisting of low wage enterprises, workers in coveralls, and forklift trucks” (Regional Technology Strategies, 1999, p. 72). A chronic shortage of qualified workers, particularly in trucking services, becomes more acute during periods of robust economic growth.

Trends in the TDL cluster are requiring firms to demand a higher level of skills from certain workers. Increased use of automation and technology within TDL could reduce the number of low-to-mid skill occupations available for less skilled inner city workers, but it is unlikely to substantially reduce the need for workers at the lowest level who do the manual labor of picking, packing, and loading. However, automation and technology might affect the career advancement prospects of entry-level workers with low education levels and limited skills. In light of increasing skill requirements, training and certification becomes more critical given the fact that cluster firms tend to promote from within.

Research design and methods

To examine how the TDL cluster might be used to create employment opportunities for inner city workers, I used a case study research protocol to conduct fieldwork in

three metropolitan regions: Memphis, Tennessee, Louisville, Kentucky, and Indianapolis, Indiana. My approach to conducting the research and reporting findings is consistent with how many qualitative studies in community and economic are done (for examples see Kimelberg, 2010; Mayer & Greenberg, 2001). The data in Table 1 show how the TDL clusters in these regions are compared to other prominent ones in the US. The TDL clusters in the three study regions are roughly comparable to each other in terms of employment levels. The average wage levels for TDL within the study regions represent a range of possible employment opportunities for inner city workers.

The research is based on a series of semi-structured interviews with 10 local experts in each study region. In total, 30 face-to-face interviews were conducted with representatives from local governments, CBOs, chambers of commerce, education and training providers, and cluster firms. An initial list of cluster firms was identified from the membership databases of local and national transportation-related organizations. The actual list of firms selected for interviews was generated through contacts with knowledgeable local experts and a review of published documents and media reports.

I sent letters to make the initial contacts with potential interviewees and followed up with phone calls to explain the research study, secure participation, and schedule the interview meetings. Interviews lasted roughly 45 minutes to an hour. Each interview session was tape-recorded, with advance permission, from which a professional transcription service generated verbatim transcripts. The actual identities of those interviewed for the study are not disclosed in order to maintain anonymity and protect professional reputations. The data collected from interviews were supplemented with quantitative data about the TDL clusters, information from a review of relevant documents, and personal observations within each region. This was done in order to triangulate the data for the possibility that findings from multiple sources will converge (Creswell, 2003; Yin, 1994).

The research for this article was one component of a much larger study on the role of regional industry clusters in urban economic development that was funded by the US Department of Housing and Urban Development through its Doctoral Dissertation Research Grant program (Morgan, 2004). The interviews conducted for the larger study on the role of the TDL cluster in urban economic development produced a more than 540 pages of transcripts. This article focuses only on the interview responses from local experts in each region regarding the use of TDL to provide employment opportunities for inner city workers. The actual interview questions used to guide the conversations with local experts included the following:

- (1) What efforts have been attempted to connect the TDL cluster to low-income, inner city communities? How have they fared?
- (2) Are there any local efforts to connect inner city workers to employment opportunities in TDL industries?
- (3) Are you aware of any CBOs involved in preparing inner city workers to meet the requirements for jobs in TDL industries?
- (4) What are education and training providers doing to prepare disadvantaged, inner city residents for jobs in the TDL cluster?
- (5) What barriers do you think inhibit the ability of inner city communities to tap into the economic opportunities created by the TDL cluster in the broader region?

I initially did a quick read of the transcripts to gain a general sense of the relationship between the TDL cluster and inner city employment efforts in each region. I subsequently re-read the transcripts more carefully in order to identify key themes related to how the TDL cluster is used to create employment opportunities for inner city workers. I used open coding techniques (Strauss & Corbin, 1998) to conceptualize the interview data and organize raw responses into categories that reflect the key themes. Categories were assigned based on the frequency of a particular theme (i.e. how often different respondents said the same thing). Within the categories of recurring themes, I tried to capture any variations across regions and by type of respondent (e.g. CBO staffers vs. economic development professionals).

Findings

This section discusses the key findings from the case study research in each region. To allow the richness of the data to “tell the story”, the analysis liberally integrates direct quotes from the structured interviews with local experts to demonstrate how the study regions use (or fail to use) their respective TDL clusters to create and expand employment opportunities for disadvantaged inner city residents. The findings are organized based on the recurring themes from the case studies and interviews across regions with regard to: (1) employment opportunities within the cluster; (2) perceptions of job quality and desirability; (3) career paths in TDL; (4) roles of intermediary organizations; and (5) the need for a strategy to utilize the TDL cluster to provide inner city employment.

Employment opportunities in the TDL cluster

Many of the interview respondents observed that TDL industries provide meaningful entry-level job opportunities for inner city workers and those most in need, including people who might be hard to employ for a variety of reasons. A chamber of commerce executive in Memphis explained why entry-level TDL jobs are good to have as part of a region’s employment mix:

There’s still a lot of poverty here. We have people that need the first job out. What these firms say is “Give me somebody that has a decent work ethic and certain levels of math and so forth and I’ll train them.” That’s what we’re trying to do to make sure that nobody’s left behind. In that industry you’ve got a range. There are people on the low end. That industry will hire people that are just off the streets, prisoners, ex-offenders and whatever else. Yet they also have people making \$12-plus an hour with benefits and medical coverage. There’s a spectrum of pay within that. If somebody gets in at the entry level, then there’s an opportunity for him or her to advance.

In describing the importance of having a diverse range of employment opportunities within a region, an economic developer in Memphis echoed this sentiment:

Some of the political leadership in our community has said, “We don’t need to attract any more distribution jobs. We want to be the center for rocket science and brain surgery.” Well, hey, we want to be that, too. Our answer to that is, “Great.” Let’s launch off of that into bio-logistics and other things. But let’s also make sure that

we're providing jobs for all those who need them. We've got a lot of people that need work.

A local official in Louisville highlighted the importance of the employment opportunities made possible through TDL's entry-level jobs:

Even if they are working part-time pushing boxes, they are making \$8, \$9 or \$10 an hour with benefits. You are providing lots of employment opportunities to college kids, mothers working part time and all kinds of people. And you've got all these possibilities for spin-off companies wanting to take advantage of the logistics base.

The data in Table 2 provide additional evidence that the TDL cluster has ample job opportunities for inner city workers based on sheer numbers. The occupational category with single largest number of jobs in all three regions is laborer and material mover by hand. This is a set of positions that requires minimal skills and no formal education or training. Despite the numbers of jobs available, CBO staff in the study regions expressed a fundamental concern about the low-wage, low skill nature of the work within TDL and questioned the premise that these jobs are useful as a means for improving the long-term employment prospects of inner city workers. The president of a Memphis CBO noted the low wage levels and other challenges faced by people taking entry-level jobs in TDL:

There are a lot of lower end jobs in distribution and warehousing. The folks that are working there are the folks that need linkages in every way. They need social service providers, affordable housing providers as well as educational opportunities that can better their existence. The problem is that these jobs are always going to be here. While Memphis may be the distribution capital of America, the jobs don't pay anything.

A TDL expert at one of the universities in Louisville reiterated this point in commenting on the nature of the entry-level jobs in the cluster:

Table 2. Employment in selected TDL occupations by study region.

Occupation title	Indianapolis	Louisville	Memphis
Laborers and freight, stock, and material movers, hand	27,690	14,760	29,600
Truck drivers, heavy and tractor-trailer	17,240	10,730	15,340
Stock clerks and order fillers	11,600	10,120	11,200
Industrial truck and tractor operators	6,190	6,680	4,960
Truck drivers, light or delivery services	6,140	4,780	4,110
Packers and packagers, hand	5,740	3,970	4,160
Shipping, receiving, and traffic clerks	5,660	5,890	8,110
Driver/sales workers	2,510	2,020	2,070
First-line supervisors of helpers, laborers, and movers, hand	1,890	890	1,630
First-line supervisors/managers of material-moving operators	1,700	1,570	1,740
Transportation, storage, and distribution managers	820	610	1,160
Couriers and messengers	550	560	290
Logisticians	480	280	750

Source: May 2008 Occupational Employment and Wage Estimates. US Bureau of Labor Statistics.

I guess that gives somebody a minimum wage job, but a person could not support a family on that wage. It is below the level that you could support a family on, so they are part-time and second jobs for a lot of folks. We don't see a whole lot of the higher dollar jobs coming in, and that's just the nature of logistics industry. They basically just need strong backs.

The data in Table 3 confirm what many of the people interviewed claimed regarding the relatively lower pay in entry-level TDL jobs. Entry-level positions in TDL include so-called "picking and packing" and jobs as couriers that pay well below the average wage in each region. The next tier of jobs such as laborers, freight and material movers, stock clerks, and shipping clerks pay a higher wage, but still below average for the regions. The higher wage jobs in the cluster are mostly supervisory, management, and technical logistics positions, which are fewer in number and require relevant work experience and higher levels of formal education and skills. Truck driver positions pay reasonably well and are the second most plentiful group of TDL occupations in the three study regions.

Entry-level positions in TDL require some physical capacity for heavy lifting and moving of cargo. Beyond that, there are minimal requirements for such positions. Some of the larger companies require a high school diploma or GED. The availability of clearly defined opportunities to advance beyond the entry-level varies considerably by company. Larger companies like FedEx and UPS appear to provide more options for entry-level workers to move up along a career ladder. As a FedEx executive noted:

The entry-level job at FedEx is handler, which means that the units of knowledge are at the lowest point. However, for the most part, any employee that is ready to take on more responsibilities, within 30 to 90 days can move up to what we refer to as the higher units of knowledge work, which is checker/sorter, ramp agent, team leader, material handler—all of which require decision-making skills. The starting salary here is above \$10.50 an hour. So, it's not exactly what I would call entry-level dollars, but yes, it

Table 3. Average annual wages for selected TDL occupations by study region.

Occupation title	Indianapolis	Louisville	Memphis
Packers and packagers, hand	\$21,850	\$20,240	\$20,680
Couriers and messengers	\$23,310	\$22,030	\$24,150
Driver/sales workers	\$24,380	\$26,470	\$24,430
Stock Clerks and order fillers	\$24,400	\$22,380	\$22,650
Laborers and freight, stock, and material movers, hand	\$24,660	\$23,730	\$22,990
Shipping, receiving, and traffic clerks	\$28,710	\$30,190	\$28,010
Truck drivers, light or delivery services	\$29,490	\$31,120	\$28,900
Industrial truck and tractor operators	\$30,210	\$28,610	\$26,560
Truck drivers, heavy and tractor-trailer	\$37,420	\$37,660	\$41,010
First-line supervisors of helpers, laborers, movers, hand	\$44,970	\$44,540	\$45,370
First-line supervisors/managers of material-moving operators	\$52,150	\$53,590	\$64,290
Logisticians	\$68,010	\$67,080	\$53,150
Transportation, storage, and distribution managers	\$82,810	\$92,250	\$87,390
All Occupations in MSA	\$41,420	\$38,920	\$38,030

Source: May 2008 Occupational Employment and Wage Estimates. US Bureau of Labor Statistics.

would be entry-level work. I think the starting salary for a forklift operator outside of FedEx is \$7-\$9. Our forklift operators are considered premium; they are not entry level here. They earn in the \$12 an hour range, but nobody starts as a forklift operator. You start as a handler and work through the process.

As will be discussed later in greater detail, the interview responses indicated that such clearly defined career progression opportunities do not exist at many of the cluster's smaller firms. Career advancement from the entry-level is associated with the larger employers within the cluster and appears to be more the exception than the rule.

Perceptions of job quality and desirability

A consistent theme across the study regions was that core entry-level jobs in TDL are considered undesirable by potential workers. This viewpoint is based on the perception and to some extent the reality (shown above in Table 3), that TDL jobs are low paying and provide little opportunity for career advancement. Since entry-level warehousing and package handling jobs do not require high levels of education and skill, the people willing to do the work earn relatively low pay. The work is physically demanding and working conditions are not always the best. Potential workers must also be flexible in the hours that they work, particularly at the overnight shipping hub facilities, which require working the night shift. In addition, a lot of the jobs in TDL are part-time, temporary, and/or seasonal positions and do not include full benefits. Even the dominant companies like FedEx and UPS rely on a workforce at their hub facilities that is more than 75 percent part-time. As a result, employee turnover at the entry-level can be high and the perception of TDL job quality generally is low. According to an economic development executive in Indianapolis:

The most prominent opportunities within the cluster are fairly low-skilled, low-paying warehouse jobs—temporary jobs at FedEx. Those folks are in there from 2:00 in the morning until 5:00 or 6:00. It's not full time. So at the end of the day we have to ask the question, "Where are the workforce opportunities within that industry that provide living wages, career advancement, and so forth?"

The job training coordinator at a CBO in Indianapolis commented on how the lackluster perception of TDL jobs can keep inner city workers from considering such jobs as a viable employment option:

You don't see certain things about that industry that are attractive to potential workers. I think you have got an industry that on the surface doesn't appear glamorous one bit. But it feeds households and puts kids through college and has done so for decades. I don't think you've got enough folks coming from the inner city and more disadvantaged communities that look at that and even remotely vision that as an opportunity for them.

Employment opportunities at the larger companies like FedEx and UPS are somewhat more desirable than those at a typical TDL firm because of the benefits they provide even for part-time workers. Larger firms seem to have more of a commitment to providing some opportunities for folks to develop their skill levels and advance within the company. But most TDL companies use staffing agencies to hire entry-level workers and bring them on as temporary workers with no benefits. This contributes to the perception that many of these positions are essentially dead

end jobs. For example, staffers representing CBOs in inner city Louisville indicated that the larger TDL companies do not typically recruit their clients directly and tend to hire packagers and handlers through temporary staffing agencies. By doing so, companies avoid paying for employee benefits and get an opportunity to evaluate work performance before making a commitment. This sort of arrangement can lead to permanent employment for inner city workers, but workers will typically start on a part-time, temporary basis. The negative perceptions regarding job quality and desirability make inner city CBOs in all three regions reluctant to target TDL industries for their clients or to connect to the cluster in any meaningful way to provide employment opportunities for inner city residents. These CBOs desire to place inner city residents in jobs that pay good wages, provide benefits, and have advancement potential. They are concerned about providing their clients with the skills needed to secure living wage employment that leads to long-term economic self-sufficiency. According to the training manager at a CBO in inner city Indianapolis:

We equip people to become self-sufficient. We don't want to train people to go out and get minimum wage jobs. We want to train people to get jobs that are going to at least start them on the path to self-sufficiency. Those \$9, \$10, and \$11 an hour jobs where they will have a career path and where they will be able to grow and support their families.

Although CBOs recognize the overall importance of TDL to their respective regions, they question the cluster's potential for providing increased economic opportunity to inner city residents. According to a community development practitioner in Memphis:

Some of the dominant industry clusters here in Memphis don't really provide good jobs. We are specifically not going to put people in distribution industry jobs because those jobs are considered, for the most part, to be minimum wage jobs. There is no career path associated with them for most people. So, that is certainly an issue here.

It was clear in all three regions that CBOs do not go out of their way to place their inner city clients in TDL jobs, despite the cluster's prominence in their regional economies.

An executive at one of the smaller TDL companies in Memphis was conflicted about the role of the cluster in advancing the economic prospects of disadvantaged inner city workers:

It's a double-edged sword. It's good that we're providing a lot of jobs and we employ several hundred people, but at the same time I recognize there are a lot of working poor at these wage levels. So I get really excited when we have some people that move through these entry-level wages into higher salary positions. That's probably more the exception than the rule. So in one respect it's kind of sad; in another respect it's still providing some income. So how do you change things and make it better?

This concern about job quality helps explain why most of the CBO staff interviewed across the three study regions expressed considerable doubt, if not dismay, at the prospects of using the TDL cluster as a means for providing better employment opportunities for inner city workers. Even those that see some value in using the TDL cluster as a mechanism for increasing economic opportunity among inner city residents cautioned that a number of barriers stand in the way of

effectively doing so. These include the lack of clearly defined career paths within cluster occupations, gaps in the roles of workforce intermediaries, lack of policy coordination among economic, workforce, and community development efforts, and the absence of a deliberate strategy for utilizing TDL as means for boosting inner city employment.

Career paths within cluster

Assuming entry-level workers have the desire and ability to obtain better jobs within TDL, it is unclear whether such advancement opportunities widely exist and are readily accessible. Many of those interviewed in the study regions were skeptical about whether clearly defined career paths are apparent among the cluster's occupations. According to an economic developer in Indianapolis:

The question is, are you positioning people into a career path, or are you just putting them into a job? I would question whether or not there is an obvious career path once someone gets into that position. Do they have increased capacity to add to their skill-base that makes them able to move somewhere else? Is there a career path within the industry that they can follow? Or is the fact that you get in there and you have a job mean that you don't now have enough money to continue training and you don't have enough time, and so do you get stuck in that position?

In addressing this issue, a local government official in Memphis characterized TDL jobs in the following manner:

It's a good place to start. I think people get tired of that kind of work if there's no way within the company to increase your skills and move up. So one of the reasons there's a lot of turnover is that there is no skills development in those companies. It's a great place to learn to work, whether or not somebody wants to move boxes for the rest of their life. Maybe some people do. It's a great place for entry level. I'm just not sure it's a great place to stay forever.

Although some higher end, better paying jobs exist in TDL, they are heavily outnumbered by the lower-level positions. There are fewer supervisory and management level positions to which entry-level workers might aspire (see Table 2). Taking an entry-level job in TDL presents a dilemma for less-skilled workers. Since formal training is not required for the lower-level jobs, people in those positions usually will not get an opportunity to upgrade their skills in order to advance within a company. Some companies provide internal training for the next tier of positions, but generally TDL firms have very little incentive to provide training to those at the entry-level. Indeed, it seems that many companies do not necessarily view entry-level workers as viable candidates for higher-level positions. Part of the problem has to do with the temporary status of many entry-level TDL workers. Only permanent workers are considered for promotion opportunities and many at the entry-level start with temporary placements with no guarantee of long-term employment.

The lack of training opportunities for entry-level TDL workers clearly inhibits the ability for career advancement, which further limits the capacity of the cluster to improve the long-term economic prospects of inner city workers. This is a function of the job requirements at the entry-level, but also reflects the preferences of workforce development policy. Increasingly, the intent of workforce development

programs has shifted from mere job placement to equipping people to support themselves financially over the long term. This focus on self-sufficiency through living wage employment means that jobs considered to be dead end with little advancement potential are less likely to be eligible for training dollars. The manager of a community development program in Memphis made the following observation with regard to this policy emphasis:

There are a lot of people that will say that any job is better than no job. I agree with that. But, I think in terms of actually investing resources in workforce development that we don't want to put resources into training people for distribution jobs. If we were going to train someone, we would rather train them to work in a field that has opportunities for advancement. Of course all those distribution jobs aren't bad. Those jobs are better than no jobs but . . .

Some CBOs in Memphis indicated that federally funded job training programs are administered in the region such that people taking TDL jobs lose out on opportunities to acquire skills to advance themselves. For example, CBOs that become certified training providers in Memphis/Shelby County often have difficulty qualifying participants to receive training vouchers through the federal Workforce Investment Act. This is partly because job counselors deem that no training is necessary for entry-level positions in TDL. Without access to federal job training funds, entry-level workers must rely on the training opportunities made available through their employers. However, TDL companies might be reluctant to invest in training entry-level workers for fear that they might leave for higher-paying positions elsewhere.

Inner city workers often take TDL jobs by default when no other opportunities are available despite having gone through training to acquire new skills. The training coordinator at a CBO in Memphis noted this tendency to view TDL as an employer of last resort:

Our students graduate from our training with a new skill set. They don't even want to work in the FedEx hub or somewhere like that. They have higher aspirations. And some of them have seen their classmates get jobs. The ones that aren't working yet say, "Well, should I just take whatever is available? I really need money." They've invested the time to get this training, but if they can't get a job soon, where they can use those skills, they're going to take whatever they can get to pay the bills. The available jobs are those low-paying jobs in warehousing and distribution. They know that they can get a job like that today. They can get those jobs without investing in further education or training.

The fact that entry-level TDL jobs require little or no formal training serves almost as a disincentive and deterrent for workers to acquire additional education and training, even though that is precisely what will be needed to advance to a higher-level position.

Roles of workforce intermediaries

Several entities exist in the three study regions that function as workforce/labor market intermediaries, in a general sense, between TDL firms and workers. For example, community colleges such as Ivy Tech in Indianapolis, Jefferson Community and Technical College (JCTC) in Louisville, and Southwest Tennessee Community College engage in "market-molding" activities (Benner et al., 2007, p. 61) by

providing pre-employment and vocational job training to prepare people for TDL jobs. JCTC is one of the founding educational partners in the UPS Metropolitan College Program, which enables employees who work overnight at the UPS package sorting facility in Louisville to attend college with tuition paid while continuing their employment. Ivy Tech offers an Associate of Science degree in TDL and Southwest Tennessee Community College offers an Associate of Applied Science degree in logistics/transportation management. While these specialized degree programs are indicative of how the study regions are responding to the workforce needs of TDL generally, there was no evidence of any special outreach to residents of inner city communities.

It is also unclear which organizations in the study regions are systematically fulfilling the job matching function, which Benner et al. (2007) refer to as “market-meeting”, specifically between TDL firms and inner city workers. Part of this void has to do with the reluctance of inner city CBOs to place their clients in entry-level TDL jobs due to the negative perceptions of job quality and desirability, as previously discussed. With many CBOs unwilling to serve as a match-maker between inner city workers and TDL firms, there is an opportunity for other organizations to step in and perform such a role. For example, in Indianapolis, many of those interviewed suggested that the local workforce development board, known as the Indianapolis Private Industry Council could perhaps take the lead in facilitating stronger connections between regional clusters and the inner city workforce.

Despite their concerns about the nature of entry-level positions and the lack of career advancement opportunities within TDL, inner city CBOs in Louisville have been involved in the recruitment process for the UPS Metropolitan College Program. This has the potential to provide opportunities for disadvantaged residents to enter the TDL industry and receive tuition assistance to attend college while working part-time at UPS. Another TDL-related career program has been created at a local high school located in the inner city west Louisville area. The clothing retailer Guess, Inc. has a major distribution facility in Louisville and is a major sponsor of the program. The program is designed to increase awareness among inner city high school students about career opportunities available in distribution and logistics.

The interviews revealed some significant gaps in the roles of intermediary organizations with regard to providing the critical support services that many inner city workers need in order to take full advantage of the regional employment opportunities in TDL. TDL employers expect entry-level workers to possess so-called “soft skills”. Soft skills are the intangible aspects of being a good and dependable employee that play an important role in workplace success. These include showing up to work as scheduled, having a good work ethic, and working well with co-workers and superiors. The TDL employers who were interviewed indicated that many candidates for entry-level jobs in their firms are apparently lacking in soft skills, which hurts their long-term employment prospects. A vice president at a major TDL company in Indianapolis indicated that lateness and absenteeism are the primary reasons for employee terminations at her facility. The president of a mid-sized distribution company in Louisville described what makes for a successful employee:

In our business the operating equipment is a forklift. You are picking something, or you are unloading something. So I don't know that we are looking for skills so much as what

we do have is trainable. What is most important to us is reliability. Are they going to show up to work? Are they going to show up on time? Are they going to show up sober? Are they conscientious? Do they have a work ethic? Do they work hard?

The soft skills that employers complain about include the most basic, commonsensical ways of conducting oneself that most people would take for granted in a potential employee. Soft skills are not typically a part of the curriculum in public schools and community colleges. CBOs fill this gap to some extent by offering courses on proper workplace etiquette, interviewing, responsibility, team building and adding value to an employer. Such training helps smooth out the rough edges thereby easing the transition into successful employment. Yet, soft skills training is not fully integrated into publicly funded training programs, partly due to assumptions about who should be responsible for equipping people with such skills. As a workforce development official in Louisville commented:

No one is quite clear about whose job it is to teach this kind of stuff. You are teaching them job readiness skills. You are teaching them to wear a suit or to dress nicely. You know, to show up on time, to be 10 minutes early, to make sure you know how to get there, to make sure that just because you have the sniffles doesn't mean you don't go in. It is all of these sort of soft things that most kids get from watching their parents and other influential adults in their life.

Ironically, another critical missing link between inner city workers and TDL employment is transportation itself – being able to get to and from work. Limited transportation access is a barrier for TDL jobs not only because of where the jobs are geographically located in relation to the inner city, but also due to the time of the day when much of the work occurs. Packing and sorting facilities operate overnight requiring many employees to work the night shift. The problem is that public transit in the study regions stops running at a certain point in the evening. Local transit systems are examining ways to address the needs of night shift workers. In Louisville, for example, a “night owl” bus runs during the non-traditional night shift hours serving selected locations. UPS also operates an after hours shuttle bus to transport night shift workers to and from it Louisville hub.

The night shift schedule for TDL jobs creates a transportation issue for inner city workers but accentuates the child-care dilemma they face as well. As the general manager of a TDL facility in Memphis noted:

With warehousing and distribution, a lot of activity happens at night and on weekends. That's just when the work has to be done. Then you encounter the single-parent situations, when a person really needs to work while their kids are at school. So, that disqualifies a lot of people. Of course we're too small to do childcare.

Although many warehousing jobs run through the night shift, child-care services are typically only available during regular business hours. For second or third shift jobs, the challenge of getting to and from work combined with childcare issues poses a major obstacle for inner city workers. As a response, some CBOs in the study regions work with inner city residents to help them develop contingency plans around both transportation and child care. Inner city job applicants are encouraged to build a network of family, friends, or neighbors to help them when such situations arise. In this way, CBOs can help their clients overcome the barriers of transportation and childcare on the path toward economic self-sufficiency. While

some CBOs in the study regions provide assistance with access to transportation and childcare, there was a sense that this intermediary role needed to be strengthened among CBOs and expanded to involve other types of organizations since the need is so great.

Strategy for utilizing TDL to provide jobs for inner city workers

While the TDL cluster is a central component of the regional economic development plans prospects for all three study regions, only Louisville has an explicit strategy for leveraging TDL to directly benefit the inner city and its workers. In addition, the UPS Metropolitan College program in Louisville represents a real opportunity for connecting inner city workers to both higher education and jobs in the TDL cluster. The case study research and interview findings suggest that of the three regions, Louisville is being the most intentional about utilizing the TDL cluster to provide greater inner city employment opportunities.

In early 2000, local officials in Louisville embarked upon the West Louisville Competitive Assessment and Strategy Project. The project was led by the then Mayor David Armstrong in partnership with representatives from community-based groups and the private sector. It was an effort to identify strategies to spur economic development in West Louisville. West Louisville is a part of the city that suffers from all of the problems that plaque disadvantaged inner city areas including high poverty and unemployment. Yet the area also has high concentrations of manufacturing and warehousing firms that pay good wages in addition to a critical mass of transportation and warehousing firms. Louisville brought in the Initiative for a Competitive Inner City (ICIC) to assess the economic competitiveness of this distressed area of the city. ICIC is a non-profit research group founded by Harvard Business School Professor and cluster guru Michael Porter.

The objective of the West Louisville strategy was to determine what assets exist in that economically challenged area of the city and to figure out how to take advantage of them in a way that benefits inner city residents. The analytical study behind the inner city West Louisville strategy revealed a number of interesting findings. According to the President of a CBO involved in the effort:

What we found was that some of the strongest, highest paying companies in the whole region are physically located in West Louisville. So how could you have this potential economic vitality in your back yard and still have continuous poverty around. And when we looked closer, we found that the work force at those companies was not from the "hood", if you will. It was from other places.

The strategy is based on the premise that West Louisville should build on its strengths and become more integrated with the larger regional economy. The inner city strategy for West Louisville explicitly utilizes the region's target industry clusters including TDL (ICIC, 2001). The strategy explores how best to incorporate inner city Louisville into the regional vision for the target clusters.

The West Louisville study identified TDL as one of the focal clusters because it has a significant presence in the inner city area and is a critical element of the broader economic development strategy for the region. The study noted a number of competitive advantages for TDL within inner city west Louisville. These include its strategic location, access to two of the region's four interstates, direct rail access, and proximity to ports.

The study claimed that West Louisville's most significant advantage for TDL is its available workforce. The ICIC researchers supported this assertion by noting the high demand for truck drivers in Louisville. West Louisville is home to a substantial number of TDL companies, but they tend not to hire from the inner city labor pool. The ICIC/West Louisville study sees great opportunity for using TDL to link inner city residents to jobs:

Many entry-level positions, such as freight handling, in the transportation and logistics cluster have minimal educational requirements so a variety of skill levels could be accommodated. Most distribution and logistics jobs pay competitive wages, while technical logistics jobs also provide career track opportunities. With the right training, West Louisville residents without higher educational attainment can access such job opportunities (ICIC, 2001, p. 27).

One of the specific recommendations coming out of the ICIC/West Louisville study is to link the inner city workforce to the strong demand for truck drivers in the region by utilizing existing education and training programs. The Greater Louisville Chamber of Commerce's Transportation/Trucking Network is offered as a possible vehicle for making this linkage happen. An economic development executive in Louisville echoed this sentiment:

I think there's a lack of knowledge about the fact that there's a significant available work force there [in West Louisville]. I think the perception is that the inner city work force isn't getting the work. And that's partly true. So we've got work to do in that area. But it's a potential gold mine. There are people who need to work, employers who need folks. If we figure out how to connect it all up, we will really have something there.

Louisville has completed the initial process for devising a cluster-based strategy for achieving economic development in the inner city. The region has created an advisory group and is moving forward with an action plan to implement some of the recommendations in the ICIC study including those focused on TDL.

Conclusion

The findings from this research suggest that the usefulness of the TDL cluster for linking inner city workers to greater economic opportunity is limited by: (1) the dominance of low-wage, low skill positions at the entry-level within the cluster; (2) negative perceptions of job quality and desirability; (3) unclear career paths in cluster occupations; and (4) lack of a deliberate strategy and explicit focus on the inner city.

The low-wage, low-skill nature of many entry-level TDL jobs poses both an opportunity and a challenge for using the cluster to expand employment opportunities for disadvantaged residents of the inner city. The opportunity lies in the fact that the cluster's entry-level occupations require minimal formal education and only the most basic of skills. Such jobs would ostensibly be a "good fit" for inner city residents who lack higher-level skills and education. Some would argue that entry-level TDL jobs are a means for providing less educated and less skilled inner city residents with access to decent paying employment until they can do better. From this view, if these jobs are available and suitable for less skilled workers then they are preferable to having no job at all. TDL jobs enable less skilled workers and those dislocated from traditional manufacturing work to obtain gainful employment. Such jobs help mitigate the employment uncertainty created by the transition

to the new economy. They can serve as stopgap employment until a worker can retool, obtain higher skills, and find other work.

The viability of using TDL as part of an inner city employment strategy can be improved by figuring out how to enhance job quality and career advancement possibilities from the entry-level to better paying occupations within the cluster. The specification of formal career pathways within the cluster is an important way to achieve this outcome. A career pathway is “a series of connected education and training programs and support services that enable individuals to secure employment within a specific industry or occupational sector, and to advance over time to successively higher levels of education and employment in that sector” (Jenkins, 2006). The interview findings revealed considerable doubt about whether viable career paths exist within TDL. Yet, the US Department of Education’s Office of Vocational and Adult Education has delineated a very detailed series of pathways within TDL as part of its “Career Clusters” initiative (NCTEF, 2008). The study regions could apply this information to their respective TDL clusters to more clearly identify the education and skills needed for inner city workers to advance beyond the entry-level. Since career pathway initiatives target jobs in industries of importance to regional economies they are a natural complement to industry cluster strategies. In addition, most career pathway programs also target low-income workers. For example, the Kentucky Community and Technical College Systems (KCTCS) supports the creation of career pathways by requiring local colleges to build alliances with social service agencies and other organizations to ensure that disadvantaged students have access to critical support services like transportation, child care, career counseling, and job placement.

Increased education and training to prepare inner city workers to take on higher level jobs within the TDL cluster combined with clearly designated career paths will help make connecting to the cluster more beneficial. Still, there is a need for entities with the primary mission, resources and capacity to facilitate the linkages required for inner city workers to gain greater access to regional employment opportunities afforded by the cluster. There are many potential organizations that can and do play a part in this workforce intermediary role including community colleges, local workforce investments boards, and faith-based institutions. But inner city CBOs can serve as intermediaries for not only for job training, counseling, and placement, but also for enhancing access to transportation and child care. Indeed, CBOs might be the entities best suited to help disadvantaged, inner city workers learn the “soft skills” that TDL employers suggest can be lacking among many such job applicants. To take on this expanded intermediary role in any systematic way, however, will require greater resources and capacity than most inner city CBOs currently possess.

The research findings presented in this article are based on one particular type of industry cluster (TDL) in three metropolitan regions, which limits the ability to generalize about other types of clusters located in different regions. Still the findings provide some partial insight into whether cluster-based development can be a useful framework for enhancing the employment prospects for inner city workers. The experiences in the study regions suggest that the TDL cluster can be helpful in this regard, but not without a certain level of intentionality. The findings from Louisville, in particular, highlight the importance of having a deliberate strategy for connecting inner city workers to employment opportunities in the TDL cluster.

The broader implication is that regional industry clusters will benefit disadvantaged residents of the inner city only to the extent that cluster strategies

explicitly incorporate such a focus. It is here that cluster-based development can learn from the sectoral employment model, which does explicitly try to address the policy gaps in order to create mutually beneficial outcomes for disadvantaged workers and employers in target industry sectors. In return, cluster strategies focused on groups of related industries can enhance more narrow sector-based strategies by offering access to job opportunities that allow skills to be transferred laterally across multiple sectors (Woolsey, 2007). While strategies targeting individual sectors emphasize upward job mobility, when tied to a multi-sector cluster strategy, they can facilitate greater lateral job mobility as well. Both types of job mobility are important in a dynamic global economy.

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Community empowerment and public transportation agencies: a case study analysis of transit agencies' community development initiatives

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Access to transportation is determinative of many quality of life indicators like health, employment, and education. Without the ability to travel within cities, individuals are effectively barred from resources necessary for empowerment, societal engagement, and productivity. Mass transit systems in the United States have long been underfunded compared to other industrialized democracies and frequently face severe constraints due to decreasing public investment in inner cities, lack of concern by policymakers about transportation equity, and the uniquely American emphasis on road-building and car ownership.

This research uses qualitative research methods including interviews with transit agency administrators and content analysis of documents publicized by the agencies to form four case studies describing how public transportation agencies can be critical players in urban community development and social engagement efforts.

Keywords: public transportation; urban affairs; community development; community engagement; social equity; social justice

Introduction

Transportation options for individuals in Western countries have changed dramatically over the last century. Moving from a pedestrian- and animal-based system of transportation to one primarily enabled by the internal combustion engine, mobility has simultaneously become easier and more difficult to large segments of the North American population depending on one's access to motorized transport. Public transportation – modes owned by the population as a whole rather than private individuals – is generally understood to be descended from the streetcar system which was ubiquitous in American cities throughout the late 1800s and early 1900s (Jones, 1985). Unlike streetcar systems, however, modern public transportation agencies usually possess a monopoly over a large geographical area, providing mobility services to those too old, too young, too poor, or unwilling to own a car (Jones, 1985, p. 1). While Jones (1985) claims that “transit is not an essential public service in any absolute or intrinsic sense . . . there is no universal need for public transportation” (p. 11, footnote) and Deka (2004) similarly suggests that “society is less clear, however, in determining whether needs for mobility and accessibility are

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basic needs” (p. 353); Bullard, Johnson, and Torres (2000) conversely argue that “transportation is no less [than] a civil rights and quality of life issue” (p. 45). Whether mobility and transportation are considered one of Harold Joseph Laski’s “urgent claims” has not been resolved in American society (Laski, 1967). Sheldon and Brandwein (1973), in implicit support of mobility being a civil right, aptly note the “ability of transit systems to provide to all persons mobility and equality of access to the employment, cultural, health, and educational opportunities of our urban areas” (p. 5).

Across the United States, 80% of all transportation funding is allocated for roads and highways, and the remaining 20% is spent on various forms of active, alternative, and public transportation (Bullard, 2003; Sanchez, Stolz, & Ma, 2003, p. 14). Transportation occupies a significant portion of American households’ budgets, growing from an average of 10% in 1960 to, in the early 2000s, 17.1% in the Northeast and 20.8% in the South, and is regressive, with the poorest strata of American society spending an average of 40% of their net income solely on transportation (Bullard, 2003; Litman, 2007). The 2001 National Household Travel Survey (NHTS) estimates that 7% of Caucasians in the United States do not own a private automobile while 17% of Asians and Latinos and 24% of African-Americans lack access to private vehicles (Sanchez et al., 2003, p. 9; U.S. Department of Transportation, 2004). Twenty-seven percent of all households earning less than \$20,000 annually have no access to a car (U.S. Department of Transportation, 2004), and 21% of the those over the age of 65 do not drive, resulting in 15% fewer trips for healthcare and 65% fewer trips for family and social activities (Bailey, 2004, p. 3). “Thus, lack of car ownership and inadequate public transit service in many central cities and metropolitan regions with high proportions of ‘captive’ transit dependents exacerbate social, economic, and racial isolation, especially for low-income people of color” (Bullard, 2003, para. 6) and, according to the American Public Transportation Association, the elderly (Bailey, 2004, p. 3). African-Americans are nearly six times more likely than Caucasians to use some form of public transportation for mobility (Bullard, 2003; Sanchez et al., 2003, p. 10), and according to some authors this reflects institutional racism (Bullard et al., 2000, p. 47). The United States is also alone among its industrialized, democratized international peers for low transit usage. Two percent of all trips were made by public transportation in the United States in 1995, compared to 10% in Canada, 20% in Switzerland, 14% in the United Kingdom, and 16% in Italy and Germany (U.S. Department of Transportation, 2004).

Among urban public transportation users, transit mode choice also reveals socioeconomic and racial differences, with more affluent and Caucasian riders utilizing light rail lines and poor and racial and ethnic minorities riding transit buses. A study in the early 1990s of transit riders in the Los Angeles area found that “57% of bus transit riders in Los Angeles earn under \$15,000 a year compared to only 20% of all county residents. Of these riders, nearly 83% are nonwhite and most are female” (Garrett & Taylor, 1999, p. 11). The 2001 NHTS reported that 47% of bus riders earn less than \$20,000 in household income as opposed to 6% of commuter rail users who earn less than \$20,000. Indeed, 41% of commuter rail riders earn over \$100,000 annually, as opposed to only 7% of bus riders (U.S. Department of Transportation, 2004).

Subsidies among transit modes again reveal a racial and socioeconomic disparity, with suburban commuter rail lines receiving the highest per-passenger fare subsidy

and buses receiving the lowest per-passenger fare subsidy (Garrett & Taylor, 1999, p. 14). Even more revealing, suburban riders with multiple transportation options frequently pay lower fares than their urban, bus-riding counterparts due to federal subsidies. For example, in the 1990s while the base fare for the Los Angeles, California bus system was \$1.35, suburban bus systems in nearby Santa Monica and Culver City were able to charge \$.50 and \$.60 respectively due to governmental subsidies (Garrett & Taylor, 1999, p. 20). Garrett and Taylor (1999) hypothesize that differing fare bases are necessary to both attract choice riders and allow suburban transit systems to remain politically viable (p. 22), but this is indicative of policy bias toward the middle- and upper-middle class who typically oppose transit expansions in the inner city (Sanchez et al., 2003, p. 14).

Transportation equity

The role of public transportation in the Civil Rights era was significant, from bus boycotts in Southern cities like Montgomery, Alabama and Baton Rouge, Louisiana, to the Freedom Riders, to Rosa Parks' remarkable place in history (Bullard et al., 2000, p. 45; Parks & Haskins, 1992). Bullard, throughout his various writings with coauthors on the civil right of mobility, claims that "today, transportation is no less a civil rights and quality of life issue" since it is "a key component in addressing poverty, unemployment, equal opportunity goals, and ensuring equal access to education, employment, and other public services" (Bullard et al., 2000, p. 46). Vulnerable populations, like the elderly, the young, and women with small children "very often live in an environment that ignores their needs completely and deprives them of many of the cultural, recreational, business, and medical services and opportunities that society should provide" (Sheldon & Brandwein, 1973, p. 5).

Costs and benefits of mobility provision in American society continue to accrue to different populations, with suburban commuters more likely to benefit from road investments and commuter transit subsidies, and inner city populations more likely to suffer from service retrenchment, fare increases, and overall poor funding (Sanchez et al., 2003, p. 14). Many transit agencies in the United States report operating half as many transit routes as they did in 1990. Deka (2004) claims that transportation planners rarely consider the needs of disadvantaged populations, and this is an outcome of the positivistic, technical character of the planning profession which has adopted rationalism to an extreme degree (p. 334). A complete reliance on quantitative data and engineers' preferred variables like crash rates, vehicle speeds, and vehicles per hour (Deka, 2004) tends to ignore the mobility needs of those too poor or unwilling to utilize private transportation. For example, the Metropolitan Area Planning Agency for the Omaha-Council Bluffs, Nebraska-Iowa Metropolitan Statistical Area utilizes transportation planning software which is entirely incapable of distinguishing between modes of transportation (car, transit, bike, or foot), thus the agency assumes – and plans for – all trips to be made by personal automobile, reflecting the auto-centric nature, and lack of awareness of the mobility needs for the poor, of the agency.¹ This has social justice implications because the software is used to justify public tax expenditures to further the mobility of automobile users through highway and arterial expansions rather than expanding public transportation opportunities in the central city. Such highway "improvements" have been widely shown to decrease the usability of roads and adjacent public areas by bike or foot –

travel modes which transit riders utilize when boarding or disembarking from public transportation, and modes which are overwhelmingly utilized by the poor and racial and ethnic minorities.

Inattention to the needs of the poor in urban public transit service delivery is partially due to transportation agencies' focus on attracting automobile drivers – also known as “choice riders” – onto the public transportation system (Garrett & Taylor, 1999, p. 7; Sheldon & Brandwein, 1973, p. 5). Choice riders have more income, more transportation options, and tend to travel farther than “forced riders” – those with no transportation option other than mass transit – thus they tend to present more lucrative ridership for cash-strapped transit agencies (Garrett & Taylor, 1999, p. 7). “However, the increased emphasis on commuter-oriented express bus and rail service is increasingly at odds with the growing inner-city ridership base of transit, who lack adequate access to private transportation due to age, income, or disability,” pitting urbanites against suburbanites, whites against ethnic and racial minorities, and wealthy against poor (Garrett & Taylor, 1999, p. 7). What results, a plethora of authors argue, is a uniquely American transportation system which disadvantages mass transit and encourages transit policymakers to continue to focus on the wealthiest members of their ridership.

Models of equity

While federal policies like Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, SAFETEA-LU, and Executive Order 12898 mandating the inclusion of environmental justice principles in agency decision-making arguably present a framework for determining that equity, particularly racial equity, should be a goal of public agencies, it is largely left up to individual transit agencies to justify their policies and actions and how they pertain to social justice. In other words, deciding how to pursue equity is largely left to the discretion of the agency's administration. In Title VI, perhaps the most sweeping directive to consider social justice questions in transit provision, “equity” applies only to racial and ethnic minorities and those earning less than the Department of Health and Human Service's objective standard of “poverty” (Federal Transit Administration, 2007, p. II-5) rather than treating those too poor, old, young, or unwilling to operate private vehicles as a separate – and arguably – disenfranchised American minority. Therefore, measuring the equity of transportation systems requires an examination of the factors that are meliorating or causing disparities between all populations, protected or unprotected under federal law. Equity, as discussed below, will be chiefly concerned with the distribution of cost and benefits as well as how transportation policies are created and enacted (Litman, 2007, p. 2). Analyzing the equity of transportation systems, provision for the poor, and modes of transit is difficult because of the complexity of the variables involved, extent of hard-to-measure “intangibles,” and general reluctance to undertake such research questions (Litman, 2007, p. 2). Nevertheless, there are several tools for measuring the outcomes of transportation planning and policymaking decisions.

First, Todd Litman (2007) proposes two types of equity: horizontal equity and vertical equity. Horizontal equity “is concerned with the distribution of impacts between individuals and groups considered equal in ability and need” (Litman, 2007, p. 3). Here, groups considered equal should equally share resources, benefits, and costs and be treated uniformly. Policy that favors one type of individual or group over others would be considered horizontally inequitable (Litman, 2007, p. 3).

Vertical equity, conversely, “is concerned with the distribution of impacts between individuals and groups that differ in abilities and needs, in this case by income or social class” (Litman, 2007 p. 3). In vertical equity, Rawlsian students of social justice will be pleased because a transit policy is vertically equitable if it favors disadvantaged groups, thereby “compensating for overall inequities” (Litman, 2007, p. 3). In this case, special subsidies for low-income or disabled transit riders would be deemed appropriate to correct for the particular challenges faced by each group (Figure 1).

Second, Bullard et al. (2000) propose three types of inequities useful for judging disparate transportation policies (p. 46). Procedural inequity questions the process by which policies are created, implemented, and enforced. “The question here is, do the rules apply equally to everyone?” (Bullard et al., 2000, p. 46). Is one group being privileged in the creation, dissemination, or implementation of a particular transportation policy? Next, geographic inequity questions the level of service communities receive relative to other communities, and it is here that questions of environmental justice can be reintroduced (Bullard et al., 2000, p. 46). Geographic inequity considers the level and access of development, infrastructure, and facilities, as well as their relationship to transportation systems. Finally, social inequity considers whether benefits accrue to the elite and costs are borne by the poor and people of color (Bullard et al., 2000, p. 46). This type of inequity also questions intergenerational differences, particularly with regard to the young and elderly, and whether they are disenfranchised by a particular type of transportation policy (Figure 2).

Combining the two models into one, with procedural inequity sharing aspects with both vertical and horizontal equity, presents an adequate theoretical basis upon

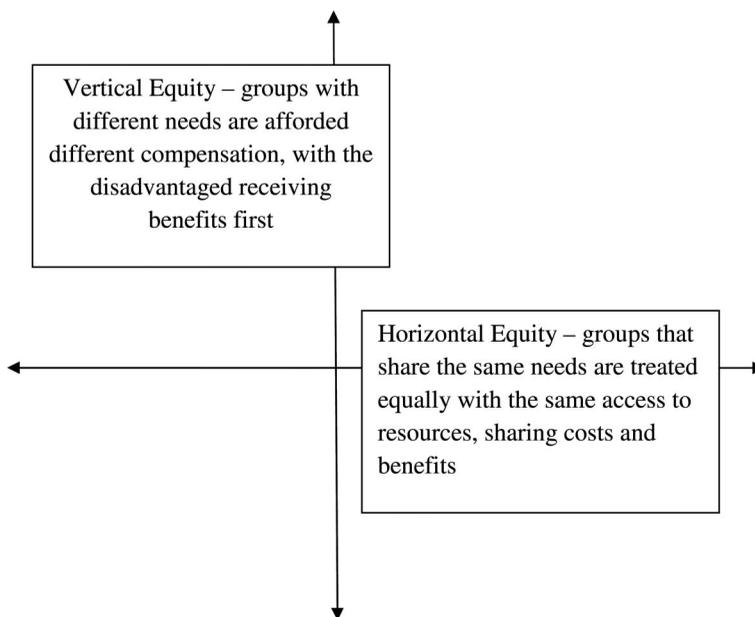


Figure 1. Horizontal and vertical equity (Litman, 2007).

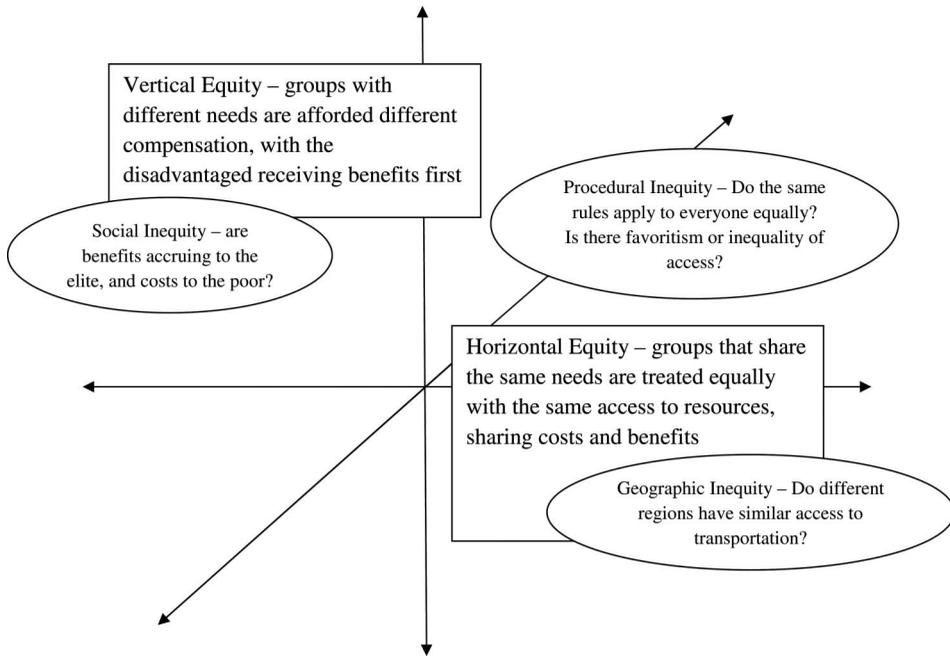


Figure 2. Transportation equity (Bullard et al., 2000; Litman, 2007).

which the decisions and policies of transit agencies involved in this research can be evaluated.

Transportation equities and inequities inform and explain the various activities taken by transit agency administrators to fundamentally address questions of fairness in their service delivery. Agencies striving for horizontal equity perhaps avoid providing specialized treatment to one class of citizens.² Conversely, agencies may be more concerned with providing vertical equity through a Rawlsian attempt to serve the least advantaged group first. Public transportation agencies seeking to avoid procedural inequities frame their discussion of their activities in terms of fairness of transit fare policies, route service, and program expansion or retrenchment. Avoiding geographic inequities, similarly, would require administrators to critically examine whether certain populations or geographical areas are less served by outdated or compromised equipment, infrastructure, or facilities. Finally, awareness of social inequity implies that agency administrators examine the costs and benefits of their services for disparities between populations; is one group disproportionately bearing the costs of transportation policy or services while another group disproportionately enjoys the benefits of that policy or service?

The structure of transportation policy, when viewed as a cohesive unit in the United States, reveals significant class-based differences that affect individual transit agencies as well as providing disproportional benefits to communities wealthy enough to afford private transportation and significant costs to neighborhoods and individuals who either cannot afford to purchase a personal vehicle or who live adjacent to ever-expanding inner-city highways. Disparate effects of transportation policy include the subsidization of commuter public transportation options, ostensibly to reduce vehicular congestion, but with the outcome of providing

cheaper access in wealthier communities. The resulting social inequities of federal and state transportation policy restrict the mobility of vulnerable populations with resounding employment, healthcare, educational, cultural, and social justice implications.

Methodology

This research uses a case study methodology to describe the actions four transit agencies have undertaken to empower, develop, and engage underprivileged communities within their service areas. Because of the wide range of community development endeavors undertaken by transit agencies across the United States, and because of the level of complexity in very large public transportation agencies in the largest cities in the country, transit agencies in metropolitan areas with more than four million residents were automatically excluded from this study. Additionally, those in metropolitan or rural areas with less than 500,000 in population were excluded. Finally, transit agencies in metropolitan areas with between 500,000 and four million in population, yet with annual operating budgets with less than \$10 million were excluded on the premise that their reduced resources inherently preclude significant community development initiatives. Of the 365 public transportation agencies in the United States (Lehman Center for Transportation Research, 2012), 96 meet the criteria discussed above, of which four were selected for discussion below. Case study agencies were selected based on the amount of information available on their various community development programming. Interviews with a high-level administrator at each agency knowledgeable about such programs were conducted as well as internet research about the scope, depth, and goals of their initiatives. In addition to interviews, documents assembled used in the case study analysis include newsletters, blogs, media articles, master plans, and any other published documents useful for this research.

This research does not seek to provide a causal or generalizable description of the intersection of community development initiatives and public transportation; rather, the case studies below illustrate possible policy avenues available for transit administrators concerned about the negative externalities of transportation policy-making in the United States today. Understanding the range of social justice and community development responses to inequitable sharing of the costs and benefits of transportation among segments of American society is the goal of this research. And understanding, according to Maxwell (2002), is vital for qualitative research methods, more so than generalizability or validity. In qualitative research, it is imperative that researchers recognize the myriad ways in which their own interpretation of phenomenon, policy outcomes, and events affects conclusions inferred from data.

Because the questions interviewees were asked contain moral, ethical, and social implications, as well as legal considerations given their agency's potential compliance with Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, interviewees' names, as well as their agency and city names will not be shared below. As part of their informed consent to participate in the interview process, participants were informed that their confidentiality and anonymity would be protected in the interest of soliciting honest responses to interview questions. As Woods and McNamara (1980) found, interviewees' levels of self-disclosure and honesty with interviewers are dependent on the level of confidentiality ensured by researchers (p. 719). Promising

confidentiality, they found, had an impact on interviewees' openness, honesty, and depth of communication with interviewers (Woods & McNamara, 1980, p. 720). In view of this, non-identifying characteristics, such as national region and chosen tool of community development, will be used as identifiers to distinguish responses among participants and between case study agencies.

This research is modeled on three critical research questions: (1) What innovative strategies are transit agencies implementing to assist transit dependents with quality of life concerns? (2) What can other agencies do quickly, simply, and inexpensively to empower and engage their ridership? and (3) What collaborative and networking initiatives will provide the necessary linkages between mass transportation and community development in inner-city neighborhoods?

Four case studies of transit agency community development

While much of the preceding research focused on the inherent disparate treatment of the transportation-disadvantaged, this portion of the research emphasizes the unique programs and actions some transit agencies have implemented to address, stem, and correct transportation accessibility imbalances. Obviously, every transit agency is different, dealing with unique, local problems and constraints, but all have opportunities to pursue community empowerment initiatives and meliorate problems of access and mobility. It should be noted that the vast majority of transit agencies in the United States have no formal, written policies on issues of fairness or how it will be pursued, and public documents which implicitly discuss themes of community development, social justice or fairness were rarely available to this researcher. A minority of agency documents examined in this research, including master plans, newsletters, and media articles display such a concern, although the greatest source of information below came directly from participating interviewees.

Case study #1: Sustainability

Community development surrounding mobility and transportation is not a new concept; in fact, it forms the entire foundation and rationale for public transportation at a very basic level. The 1965 Watts Riot in Los Angeles focused attention on the role of public transportation in minority sections of central cities – in Los Angeles in 1965, a bus ride of two hours was necessary to reach the county hospital and over an hour and a half was needed to reach the Youth Employment Training Center (Sheldon & Brandwein, 1973, p. 7). What receives less focus, however, is the relationship between private automobiles' pollution emissions and the poor who drive them. Lutz and Fernandez (2010) suggest poor Americans, because of the types of vehicles they can afford – frequently older, heavily used models – are both subjected to, and the source of, disproportionately larger amounts of pollution than found in the private vehicles of the middle and upper classes:

The highest levels of pollution were found in the oldest, leakiest, and most poorly maintained trucks, suggesting that inequality makes a difference [in pollution exposure] as well. It is the poor and working people who drive the cars and trucks most likely to emit and admit the highest levels of toxins. (p. 170)

Thus, for scholars and practitioners of sustainable community development, reducing pollution in central cities can be partially achieved by providing mobility

alternatives to the car-owning poor by incentivizing transit usage both through route provision, minimizing headways, and substantial fare discounts.

An urban mass transit agency in a small metropolitan area in the southwest region of the United States developed several initiatives that readily appear to meet local community development needs, exemplifying Litman's (2007) vertical equity and its emphasis on serving the disadvantaged first as well as by incentivizing transit usage among large swaths of the local population most likely to drive polluting vehicles. One of the agency's programs, in collaboration with state agencies and a local university, offers free transit – any transit service, any time – to participants in the state's Welfare to Work program, allowing them to eliminate transportation costs from their personal budgets. The reader will recall that transportation accounts for up to 40% of household costs for the poorest Americans. As the interviewee, an agency human resources executive, said:

We also have . . . welfare to work programs and we give all of those people free ridership as well. . . [The participants] do a lot of job training services and then we also bring those folks into the transit administrative area as well as our fleet maintenance, customer service area for the job training, we also bring them in and we've employed some of those folks as well. . . All of our interns that come through . . . all ride the bus for free as well.

By partnering with the public and nonprofit sectors, the transit agency through this program meliorates several community empowerment goals simultaneously: lowering the cost of transportation for those receiving state assistance; providing reliable, consistent transportation for employees (an inherent benefit for their employers as well); and providing work opportunities to program participants within the agency. Other ways the agency provides reduced fares for disadvantaged citizens includes an unlimited monthly pass for the homeless for \$10, a three-month summer pass for children aged 10 to 18 for \$13, and a 12-month unlimited ride pass for college students or those over the age of 62 for \$90. These fee structures present a significant cost savings for such populations, particularly when compared to the personal and social cost of providing and maintaining a private automobile. Readers familiar with transit fare structures at other agencies will be aware that very few transit agencies in the United States are able to offer such drastic fare discounts to riders.

Another program the agency undertakes is aimed at improving the literacy levels of bus riders. Attempting to meliorate illiteracy among transit dependents is at least partially informed by views of the importance of community development and recognition of their riders' economic struggles. As the interviewee noted,

We have a literacy campaign, Books on the Bus, where we reach out to folks that aren't able to read and we supply books on the bus for them while they're riding the bus they can look at books. They're welcome to take them and can exchange them on other buses

While data on the literacy levels of transit dependents in the United States either does not exist or is inaccessible (literacy levels should be differentiated from educational attainment), anecdotal evidence suggests the ability to proficiently read is an ongoing struggle faced by many individuals dependent on public transportation. Thus, this agency illustrates the unique ability public transportation offers by

filling time spent on mass transit with opportunities for self- and literary improvement.

Case study #2: Human capital

A mass transit agency in a large Midwestern metropolitan area, perhaps motivated by a concern for Bullard et al.'s (2000) social inequity, noticed a need to employ individuals within the agency who frequently face extreme difficulty in obtaining employment: ex-offenders and the homeless. Transit agencies such as this one willing to employ ex-offenders and the homeless exemplify strong human capital and workforce development techniques, and this can have positive impacts throughout the agency's community (Green & Haines, 2012). The interaction between transit agencies and the various theories surrounding human capital and workforce development potentially address problems associated with urban spatial mismatch³ (most transit agencies are located in central cities with a convergence of routes in neighborhoods with historically high concentrations of both homeless individuals and ex-offenders) and Green and Haines' (2012) call for community organizations to promote "green collar jobs" (transit inherently addresses several environmental sustainability concerns including pollution mitigation, sprawl reduction, and lowering fossil fuel usage) (p. 135).

The interviewee noted the difficulty the agency faces in hiring for certain entry-level, lower wage positions, and stated that this problem was at least partially overcome by providing employment to such transitioning populations. As the interviewee, a vice president within the agency, said:

We obviously have an apparent, strict policy of what kind of criminal records one can have But if there's anything that we could do to reach out to any group to get good talent, it's somewhere we need to look, in my opinion. And I think there are whole groups that are untapped: the ex-offenders . . . people who are transitioning We work with them very closely to find access to talent . . . to either provide service or get employees.

When asked about the success rate of this program, the interviewee stated that the agency expects higher amounts of turnover when employing transitioning individuals, but that, thus far, the program's success outweighed its challenges.

Further, and in a marked difference from its peers, the agency also offers free fare on all transit routes for those who are disabled – per definitions in the Americans with Disabilities Act – and also subsidizes taxi rides for them as well whenever fixed route transit is not available within one quarter mile of their origin or destination. While federal law requires such services to be provided at a substantial discount, providing it free of charge for disabled citizens reflects an arguably high commitment to those whose mobility is restricted beyond the lack of a personal vehicle.

Case study #3: Community involvement

Located in a mid-sized metropolitan area in the northwestern United States, this transportation agency displays an active commitment to transit equity if only because it is one of the few agencies in the nation which dedicate an entire division to ensuring such fairness. The mission of the agency's transit equity department is to ensure that the benefits and burdens of transportation, including that provided by

the agency itself, are shared by everyone. By promoting such an awareness, the agency implicitly invites the city's neighborhoods and communities to play a role in the agency's policymaking process, which as will be discussed below, means adjusting hiring practices.

The interviewee, a member of the transit equity division, recounted how during a modal expansion in the 1990s, the General Manager of the agency:

recognized that [the] project was going through one of the most ethnically diverse areas in the city [in which] seven different languages were spoken along the alignment. And he recognized the fact that a number of minority groups were not happy with the results of past public works projects. So he set out to really make the community a partner [this expansion], and *the first thing he did was he hired individuals from the community, who had community ties and relationships*. He didn't just sort of take the standard route, which is you have your regular people and you say, okay, this is what we're going to do next. He took a different route. (emphasis added)

Vividly exemplifying a concern for Litman's (2007) horizontal equity, the agency's approach to community involvement in which members of targeted communities are hired to create a dialogue between the agency and affected neighborhoods was groundbreaking in the public transportation community, and subsequent projects in other parts of the country have modeled this agency's efforts.⁴ This approach takes community engagement and development one step farther by giving neighborhood stakeholders a voice within the agency and soon carried over into expanded summer youth internships for teenagers within the agency's service area. Partnering with the community partially means the agency assists them in employing their teenagers during the summer months. The interviewee stated:

My office runs a summertime youth employment program that has really made a difference for anywhere between 20 to 40 youth per summer. The work product doesn't sound like it's very attractive, which is picking up trash. But . . . it has a number of effects. One, it beautifies our system. It keeps the trash level down. Two, it provides summer employment, too. The way the program's run, it teaches kids responsibility. It teaches them discipline. It teaches them communication skills. It teaches them business skills, a combination of things. So those kinds of things are the ones that really keep us connected to the community. People know us not just as a transit agency, but as a community partner.

Being known as a "community partner," the interviewee later stated, means that "when you have a connection to the community and you show that the whole community is a vital part of your network, it definitely translates to fairness" in the way the system is run and ensuring that the services are provided equally.

Further, the interviewee went on to say:

[The transit equity department] participates on the Asian American, the Hispanic American, the African American [and] Native American Chambers. We participate in a number of those organizations and other ethnically based organizations' efforts. We try to support those whenever possible. We will . . . help them support a fundraiser or something along those lines by providing advertising space on a bus So a number of different things we do that keeps us involved as what we lovingly call the mix, making sure that [the agency] is represented in a positive way. And we know what's going on. We know what's happening out there. We know what people's concerns are and some of the issues affecting people.

Case study #4: Social service coordination

The final case study, taken from a struggling public transportation agency in a small metropolitan area in the Deep South, reflects a creative, unique approach to quality of life improvements for transit dependents and illustrates the promise of collaborating and networking with area nonprofits. The interviewee, the Executive Director of the agency, stated, “We are in a low-income community where a hand up is really important.” The proportion of the agency’s ridership which are low-income transit dependents is exceptionally high because of the low levels of service provided due to budgetary constraints. Those who have other transportation options utilize them, leaving a smaller, and needier, public transportation population than most of the agency’s peers.

The agency, beginning in 2009, implemented a program in conjunction with local healthcare nonprofits that provides health consulting and screening in the centralized bus terminal where every bus rider transferring to a different route waits for their connecting bus. Wait times, as notoriously published by the local newspaper, can at times exceed two hours, exacerbating already-long travel times and reducing riders’ ability to seek preventative healthcare from other community resources. At the agency’s terminal, and at no cost to the individual, they can be tested for AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases and prostate cancer as well as discuss personal nutrition with a Registered Dietitian.

As the interviewee stated, the agency “brought in a lot of those social factors, those things that will help and improve the lives” of transit dependents:

If you take the guy who is our everyday rider – the guy that mops the floor at the hospital – dignity is important for him But between the time for him to work and his travel time, he never gets an opportunity to have healthcare himself, and most likely the hospital doesn’t even provide healthcare for him. There’s a need for us to be able to find ways while he’s got a 50 minute for a bus, why not go ahead and [treat] him? Why not find out about the need for dental care? Why not find out about nutrition? I think a large part of what we were trying to do was leverage the fact that based on the structure of our system, it requires people to have some period of wait time. Let’s make that wait time productive for them. Let’s make that wait time that could improve the quality of their life.

By combining mobility and transportation with preventative healthcare, this agency both assists local healthcare nonprofits with their own networking efforts (providing space for them to serve targeted members of their clientele) and helps their transit dependents connect to other quality-of-life services completely unrelated to transit.

Discussion

Transportation access is a crucial determinant of quality of life factors for most Americans: things like access to healthcare, education, employment, and cultural amenities are harder to reach without private transportation. When public transportation is reduced or removed, individuals and entire communities and neighborhoods often lack resources necessary for engagement, personal achievement, and productivity. While transportation policy in the United States has often – and historically, intentionally – excluded lower income and racial minorities from full representation and protection from disproportionate negative externalities, there are avenues for improvement, community engagement, and melioration. Public

transportation can be a vehicle for broader community development goals beyond physical mobility. Transit agencies, themselves disadvantaged and buffeted by policy externalities, often find ways to protect, empower, and support their ridership, and these case studies have briefly discussed creative, collaborative, and engaging approaches to be a community development partner. For agencies interested in practical, simple methods to engage in community development, there are two primary approaches exemplified above, employing and networking, and each will be discussed individually.

First, one clear path for community engagement is to hire agency employees from specific, targeted neighborhoods. If done correctly, not only does this ensure a modicum of procedural equity – that the rules equally apply to everyone and favoritism or inequality of access is forbidden (Bullard et al., 2000) – but it also makes the agency more inviting to community feedback when issues arise. Employing individuals from specific communities has the power to positively impact such communities, create buy-in for transit initiatives, and ensure that the agency is correctly identifying and responding to issues of concern. Further, hiring youth for summer positions from specific neighborhoods has the potential to benefit not only the agency, the individuals, and their communities, but reverberating benefits as other summer youth programs are able to expend their resources elsewhere. As evidenced in the second case example, two groups employers frequently seek to avoid hiring from include ex-offenders and the homeless. Displaying a true sense of social equity and responsibility to these populations, transit agencies can engage and play a role in helping them become economically productive citizens which also has the potential to free up local community resources for other purposes.

Second, networking and collaborative approaches undertaken by public transportation organizations can help focus external community resources on needy populations with reduced access to their services. As seen in the final case example, by inviting healthcare-based nonprofits to the agency's transit center, the agency merely facilitated bringing service providers to their target clientele, and at no additional cost to the agency. The agency did not administer the health exams, nor did they hire the dieticians; rather, they simply provided a space in which these organizations could administer their community resources during time otherwise useless for the transit rider. The agency discussed in the first example similarly collaborated with state agencies to provide transportation to Welfare to Work clients. Anecdotally, undependable transportation is a source of frustration for many low-income workers; thus, by providing safe, reliable, and free transportation with the assistance of state agencies and universities to such individuals, their economic contributions can increase. Finally, the agency's creative Books on the Bus program inexpensively provides literary resources for those who need them, connecting their dependent ridership with resources necessary for self-improvement.

Transportation is one of the most basic elements of American society and its economy. Having access to transportation is elemental yet crucial, particularly as sprawl increases the distances between homes and workplaces, which only increases the need for quality community development (Blair & Wellman, 2011). Agencies which provide transportation to individuals who have no other mobility options are uniquely positioned to ameliorate other life challenges for their ridership. These case study examples are only a few of the programs transit agencies across the nation are engaging in, and illustrate the positive community benefits and critical nature of an engaged urban public transportation organization. What do transit agencies need to

successfully engage in urban community development and social engagement? This research suggests creativity to correctly identify challenging issues, collaboration with agencies and nonprofits already active in their community, and a sense of concern for those who depend on them will provide gateways to resources for local problems. After all, transit agencies are primed to become urban areas' most active community developers since there are few societal needs as basic as mobility – needs which transit providers are already concerned about and actively seeking to assist.

Notes

1. From a presentation by a City Planner employed by the City of Omaha, Nebraska on 18 January 2011.
2. Litman does not address whether equity is applicable only to the citizens actually served by transportation policies, those who *could* be served, or the general population as a whole.
3. For more on urban spatial mismatch and its causes and effects, see Macionis & Parrillo (2010).
4. The process undertaken by this agency was subsequently referenced by other interviewees at different agencies in this research, and has become a model for transit agencies' community outreach efforts.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Making democracy matter: identity and activism in Los Angeles, by Karen Brodtkin, New Brunswick, New Jersey, Rutgers University Press, 2007, 219 pp., US\$23.95 (paperback), ISBN 13; 978-0-8135-3979-9

Attempting to understand what gives social movements their “palpable energy, excitement, and sense of possibility,” (p. 170) UCLA (The University of California, Los Angeles) anthropologist Karen Brodtkin finds the answer in the birth of individual and collective identity among a cohort of young community activists who came of age during the 1990s in Los Angeles. These youth, most Latino or Asian immigrants or the sons or daughters of immigrants, underwent personal transformations that led them to understand their social and political identities in ways that fell outside the boundaries of mainstream ideology. While engaged in mutually supportive activist networks linking new-generation unions and immigrant rights organizations, they forged a collective narrative in which particular racial, ethnic, or class grievances became the basis for working-class solidarity and shared opposition to global capitalism. The resulting mindset, Brodtkin believes, is leading these youth to articulate new democratic ideals, both in public disputes and in the demands they make on their own organizations.

Brodtkin, recognized as one of the founders of feminist anthropology, draws her data from life history narratives constructed from interviews with 16 young adults, many of whom she knew as students at UCLA or through

her own activist work in the Los Angeles area. Written on the eve of her retirement, her book celebrates the struggles of these youth to find a social and political home, to discover kindred spirits, to develop an oppositional political consciousness, and to become effective political agents. The world she describes has little to do with the rock star politics that drew many youth to the Obama campaign; it more closely resembles the activist youth culture chronicled by Richard Flacks in *Youth and Social Change* and Kenneth Keniston in *Young Radicals* during the Vietnam War opposition and civil rights movement era in the United States.

The book is most persuasive when it stays close to the stories told by the young activists. One of the most insightful sections describes how the young activists’ histories challenge three prevailing narratives of the immigrant experience (see especially pp. 56–60). Countering the stereotype of a gap between parents who won’t assimilate and youth who do, the stories reveal youth and parents who share activist leanings rooted in complementary struggles to find a social and political identity in their new home. Countering the view that immigrant cultures subordinate women, these youth find much to value and emulate in the male and female role models in their lives. Finally, countering the Horatio Alger myth, the stories reveal youth raised in a social world where “reciprocity and responsibility to others was paramount” (p. 59).

Brodtkin is sometimes too eager to draw broad conclusions from her limited

sample, and builds her case with little pause to consider counterarguments or dissonances within the data. By putting youth at center stage, she risks slighting the roles played by older activists. As a contribution to our understanding of social movements, the book's strength is its emphasis on ideological factors and motivations, but it is less helpful at analyzing how these relate to other factors, such as the nature of movement organizations and the political strategies and tactics they employ.

If global capitalism is the common enemy, we will wait a long time for the radical social change which Brodtkin champions. It is fine to celebrate the "explosive energy" (p. 181) brought by young adult activists, but the real challenge is to find forms of movement organization that can be sustained over the long haul. Brodtkin touches on this concern in noting how these activists push for changes within their organizations that might protect them from burnout. But in general, this part of the analysis is content with a rather vague hope that the vision animating today's short-lived movement will carry forward into future struggles and movements. I do not doubt that this articulation makes sense as Brodtkin examines her own life experience, which bridges 1960s activism and more recent struggles, but it seems too thin a hope on which to build an effective and sustained oppositional politics.

Readers of this journal will find Brodtkin's work particularly useful in two respects. First, her use of life history narratives is a methodology with great promise within the field of community development, particularly when a cohort of interesting subjects is identifiable and available. Second, the stories of these immigrant youth are instructive quite apart from the particular political slant with which Brodtkin frames them. Particularly as presented in chapter 3, "Political Identity Starts at Home: Border-

Crossing Families and the Making of Political Selves," the accounts reveal a great deal about changing patterns of racial and ethnic identification and their consequences for understanding the political aspirations of today's youth. One eagerly awaits a version of this story that draws on the voices of immigrant youth in settings other than the special case of Los Angeles, but written with the same sense of passion and commitment evidenced by Brodtkin and her young narrators.

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The networked nonprofit: connecting with social media to drive change, by Beth Kanter and Allison H. Fine, San Francisco, CA, Jossey-Bass Publishing, 2010, 201 pp., US\$34.95 (paperback), ISBN 978-0-470-54797-7.

This book introduces readers to the networked nonprofit, then goes into detail on tangible actions for becoming more networked. The book includes topics, such as how to understand social networks; how to create a social culture; listening, engaging, and building relationships; building trust through transparency; working with crowds; understanding learning loops; and governing through networks. It also builds on one of the six practices of high-impact nonprofits noted by Crutchfield and McLeod Grant (2008) of "nurturing nonprofit networks." The book ends with a glossary of terms as well as a fairly thorough resource list of literature cited for each chapter.

I recently met with an experienced Executive Director, and learned the power of a networked nonprofit. We had both attended a keynote talk by

Allison Fine, co-author with Beth Kanter of *The Networked Nonprofit: Connecting with Social Media to Drive Change*, so we were familiar with the concept of a networked nonprofit as “an organization that is simple and transparent and easy for outsiders to get in and insiders to get out” (p. 3). The Executive Director described her current frustration with a volunteer who runs with any idea that sounds good. The Director lamented, “Some of these are great ideas and others aren’t, and I could help more if we communicated better.” Some might argue that this is a generational issue, but after reading *The Networked Nonprofit*, it seems to be an issue of becoming comfortable with a loss of control and learning to effectively manage “free agents.” “Free agents are individuals working outside of organizations to organize, mobilize, raise funds, and communicate with constituents” (p. 15). These people are passionate about a cause, NOT an organization; in this example, they care more about helping children, not building an organization. The book suggests that the Director should find the free agents, get to know them, and ask for their opinions and help.

“Networked nonprofits engage people in shaping and sharing their work in order to raise awareness of social issues, organize communities to provide services, or advocate for legislation” (p. 3). The authors liken networked nonprofits to a sea sponge which is open to all opportunities, but keeps only the good ones; this is different from a fortress that keeps people and ideas out and allows ideas out only when the drawbridge is down.

“Networked nonprofits don’t work harder or longer than other organizations, they work differently. They engage in conversations with people beyond their walls—lots of conversations—to build relationships that spread their work through the network. Incorporating relationship building as a core responsibility

of all staffers fundamentally changes their to-do lists” (p. 3). As we know, social change happens through conversations. As the authors shared, we need to find people who care about what we do and build relationships with them through real, authentic conversations over time. They also remind us that forcing a message is not a relationship (Chapter 5).

“All networked nonprofits are comfortable using the new social media tool set to encourage two-way conversations between people, and between people and organizations, to enlarge their efforts quickly, easily, and inexpensively” (p. 3). In community development work, we use social media to facilitate healthy dialogue and discussion. Lessons I found most helpful include:

- (1) Find something small to experiment with and see how it works (Chapter 8).
- (2) Ensure a reflective process to determine what is working. Ask for feedback and ensure people are engaging in a conversation (Chapter 9)
- (3) Use fear or loss of control as a conversation starter, not stopper (Chapter 4).
- (4) Organizational leadership must participate in the efforts (Chapter 11).
- (5) Have fun and be patient for results. You cannot control or predict the opportunities that come from opening the network! (Conclusion).

One of the strengths of this publication is that it is written by two talented, respected bloggers in the social change sector, Beth Kanter and Allison Fine. They know social media and how to leverage it. Even though the book was published in June 2010, the thoughts and concepts are updated at least weekly by the authors from their unique

perspectives, and by the fans of the book on the book's wiki. Beth is a master of the tactical "how to's" of social media; Allison at the philosophy an organization or community needs to embrace to make the implementation of social media a success. The combination of the two is powerful. This book will help an organization or community group grapple with what it will take to be successful as a networked nonprofit but is not the "how to" for setting up a Facebook page or blog. For more information, I suggest the following sites:

Website for the Book: <http://www.networkednonprofit.org/>

Wiki for Ongoing Discussion: <http://networkednonprofit.wikispaces.com/>

Allison Fine's Blog: <http://afine2.wordpress.com/>

Beth Kanter's Blog: <http://www.bethkanter.org/>

The authors' parting advice, "Do what you do best, and network the rest!"

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Grounded globalism: how the US South embraces the world, by James L. Peacock, Athens, GA, University of Georgia Press, 2007, 311 pp., US\$26.95 (hardback), ISBN 978-0-8203-2868-3

In this addition to the New Southern Series, Peacock explores how global

connections are influencing regional identity among Southerners in the US, both individually and collectively. He refutes the suggestion of many scholars that globalization weakens place-based identities, arguing instead that it serves to reorient them by enlarging the geographic frame of reference. In the case of the US South, he argues that globalization could empower the region to move beyond an identity of "opposition" to the rest of the nation – an identity rooted in its historical experience and revealed today in stereotypes about "backward" Southerners and in other forms. Globalization could in some ways encourage a stronger sense of national identity, he suggests, and in other ways internationalize beliefs and practices that have contributed to the South's "oppositional" identity.

Peacock proposes a framework to describe the process of identity shift in "marginalized" regions and then applies it to the Southern experience. The first five steps describe the development of an oppositional identity. He briefly recounts historical events that shaped regional identity in the South, with an emphasis on slavery and civil war. The sixth step is the re-shaping of this identity through global connectedness. The bulk of the book explores evidence that this is occurring both at the individual level and in spheres that are significant to Southern identity, including race relations, religion, and politics. He draws from a variety of sources, including personal experiences, literature, events, cultural symbols, and secondary data, incorporating insights from a number of scholarly works on the region. The seventh and final step is the emergence of a global yet place-grounded identity, the implications of which he addresses in the final chapters.

The book differs from much of the globalization literature by its focus on impacts to the psychological sense of identity and its cultural expressions, and

the corresponding variety of evidence explored. Readers desiring a treatment of globalization beyond population and economic impacts may find the book engaging. It is not intended for readers seeking a “confirmatory analysis” of globalization’s impact on the South and resultant policy recommendations – a point about which Peacock is clear and which is particularly relevant to those community and economic development professionals seeking concrete advice for their work.

To assess its contribution to our knowledge and broader implications for community development, it is necessary to ask whether the evidence presented suggests that the South is beginning to experience an identity shift. At the individual level, the anecdotal evidence is unconvincing. Although the personal narratives lend a richness of insight, it is simply impossible to assess how widely shared are the feelings of oppositional identity among Southerners, yet alone estimate a sense of adjustment due to increasing global connections. Presenting results of an opinion poll that asked respondents to make a false choice between feeling “different (as a Southerner) from other Americans” and feeling “connected to others around the world” does not bolster his argument.

At the collective level, the variety of evidence presented suggests that his identity shift argument is worthy of further investigation. For example, he demonstrates that while the South has been stereotyped as the “Bible Belt” of fundamentalism, it is experiencing growing diversity of religious expression through international immigration (reducing regional opposition to the nation) and its evangelical denominations have gained a global following (internationalizing a component of oppositional identity). Southern “conservatism” and military tradition have become more nationally prominent, partly in response

to terrorist threats (reducing regional opposition to the nation), while politicians and organizations of a more “liberal” tradition use the lessons of the civil rights movement to instill a sense of obligation to address human rights worldwide (internationalizing a component of oppositional identity).

A second question in evaluating the contribution of his work relates to the implications of an identity shift. Even if the South moves beyond an oppositional identity as described, is that necessarily empowering? Identity is formed through the interplay of how the region sees and presents itself, and how others see and act toward the region. The book could use elaboration of the latter and how it may vary depending on the nature of the global connection. If, for example, regional perspectives seen as oppositional to the nation gain an international voice, would that necessarily encourage the rest of the nation to view the South differently? That seems more plausible in the “civil rights to human rights” example than in cases involving the spread of “Southern” beliefs and practices.

In discussing how the region may present itself to the world, Peacock focuses on embracing a globalism that is “grounded” in awareness of regional context and needs. He points to an example of relevance to community and economic development, calling for investments in people and places as opposed to the “ungrounded” pursuit of industry through tax incentives and similar measures. This is by no means a new idea in the field, but it does affirm the importance of place. While it was not Peacock’s intent to offer specific recommendations to those interested in knowing how identity transformation could lead to improvements in the well-being of people and communities, the conclusion that “place matters” recognizes possibilities for shaping growth

and change as opposed merely to reacting to it.

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New Orleans on parade: tourism and the transformation of the Crescent City, by J. M. Souther, Baton Rouge, LA, Louisiana State University Press, 2006, 303 pp., US \$34.95 (hardback) ISBN 978-0-8071-3193-0

As J. Mark Souther's *New Orleans on Parade* went to press, Hurricane Katrina bore down on the Crescent City. Some would label Souther's work obsolete before it even made press, but in fact, *New Orleans on Parade* is invaluable, bubbling over with historical accounts of how architecture, music, food and alcohol, folklore and spiritualism, Mardi Gras, the French Quarter and its residents have made the Big Easy what it is today—a city richly steeped in the essential economic activity of tourism, through times of struggle (e.g. recessions/depressions, major disasters, the civil rights movements) and times of triumph. For this reason, Souther's work is timeless, capturing a time-tested New Orleans.

Souther's contributions to the literature of community development in general, and New Orleans specifically, are numerous. First of all, the reader is able to see just how social relations among whites and blacks have been strained in the city. Through the use of archived histories and shared stories, the author shows the reader how blacks have been used and exploited by whites as actors in the authentic staging of cultural tourism, while the powerful elites have sought to maintain the traditional racial

inequality of the region. Oftentimes, such racial relations are passed over as people consider the Crescent City for its festivals in the French Quarter and its Cajun Creole dishes. Souther highlights how New Orleans developed tourism through wealthy outsiders or "neo-natives" but adds that, "this transformation was not simply a devil's bargain [as Hal Rothman has indicated]" (p. 13). "Many of those who advanced the tourist trade embraced the city's culture and made New Orleans their adopted home" (p. 14). For this reason, such "neo-natives" helped to preserve the Old South and its culture rooted in jazz, folklore, antebellum architecture, and festivals.

One of the best qualities of the book is Souther's writing style. The reader cannot help but be captivated by the stories describing key moments in the transformation of the city, as if they are part of the history that unfolds before them. Of course the first-hand accounts and communicated histories show how the advent of tourism and its transformation of New Orleans are like threads woven tightly together to form the finished product. It is apparent the author spent countless hours lining up sources to compile this work. In all of my time reading and researching tourism in New Orleans, I had heard only a handful of the stories shared in the text. The book opens up a whole new world of first-hand accounts and histories.

Souther's work has implications for academics and practitioners alike. *New Orleans on Parade* chronicles how two main schools of thought (i.e. one focused on sustainable cultural preservation and the other on tourism development with few limitations) fought over how tourism should be developed in the city. Ultimately a compromise between the groups resulted in tourism being considered a legitimate form of economic development. New

Orleans currently has a tourism management plan as part of its economic development initiative.

This work would be ideally presented as a case study in courses pertaining to urban planning or tourism planning. Focusing on stakeholders involved in tourism development in New Orleans would help students understand the role each party can play, as well as determine what strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats (i.e. a SWOT analysis) may exist in economic development in general and tourism development specifically.

If this book had been released six months after Katrina made landfall, Souther could have extended the text to capture how the storm affected the tourism economy of New Orleans—from the decrease in revenue, given people were not visiting the French Quarter, to the Grayline's thanatours of the Lower 9th Ward. But that is neither here nor there. Souther provides an excellent account of how the Crescent City has endured many setbacks, which speak to the character of the city and has made it what it is today—a city like no other—a city on parade.

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Droppers: America's first hippie commune, drop city, by Mark Matthews, Norman, Oklahoma, University of Oklahoma Press, 2010, 217 pp., \$15.60 (paperback), ISBN 0806140585

In *Droppers: America's First Hippie Commune, Drop City*, author Mark Matthews chronicles the founding and

disintegration of a commune amidst the social turbulence and transformation in the decades following the Second World War in the US. In a refreshingly candid voice, Matthews confesses that he has veered from his original project: a biography of Eugene Victor Debs Bernofsky, an unsung social activist, documentarian, postal worker, and founder of Drop City. Bernofsky's testimony offers no shortage of eccentric charades and entertaining half-truths. At one point, having saved up enough cash from selling marijuana to New York City beat poets (including Allen Ginsberg himself), Bernofsky and his wife venture to Africa, where they attempt but fail to start their first commune. Discouraged, they return to the US, and work with several friends to found Drop City on a five-acre plot in southern Colorado.

Eventually, Matthews abandons the Bernofsky biography and focuses on Drop City. Through interviews with community founders, and persistent fact-checking against their FBI files, Matthews tells the stories of several young artists who attempt to subsist on food stamps, alimony checks, and the meager profits of their art work. The book serves as both a tale of creative dissidence and as a warning to aspiring communitarians: know your history or you're bound to repeat it!

Matthews offers as much critique as he does approval of the community, admiring the founders' imagination at the same time admonishing their irrational faith in "cosmic forces." Contrary to the imagery that the community's name might invoke (e.g. *dropping acid* or Timothy Leary's infamous "*drop-ins*") the name "Drop City" honors the practice of spontaneously leaving art pieces, or "droppings," here and there. Bernofsky and his co-founders see their community as a work of art in and of itself. Together, they purchase cheap, isolated land where they construct

geodesic “zomes” from the roofs of discarded automobiles, and adorn their new homes with murals and “the detritus of society.”

All seems well in Drop City until one new member with selfish motives takes advantage of the rule-free atmosphere by wildly evangelizing the community to the popular media and offering lofty, unrealistic promises to newcomers. Drop City is suddenly inundated with tourists, drifters and drug addicts, and within two years, the community disbands, the land is evacuated, and the founders go their separate ways.

Throughout the book, Matthews reminds the reader of the historical context from which Drop City is inextricable. Each chapter concludes with a list of national newspaper headlines from the middle 1960s, evoking memories of bombings in Vietnam, the military draft, morphing gender roles, the disgrace of the Johnson US Presidential administration, popular uprisings in Latin America, growing income inequality, and race-based violence, amongst other disquieting episodes. In these vignettes, Matthews illustrates the confusion and mixed societal signals that surely inspired the Droppers to form their own alternative society. This calling is particularly germane amidst calls for a “new society” from the current Occupy Wall Street movement.

The book offers brief chapters that describe coinciding events in the Haight–Ashbury neighborhood of San Francisco, the evolution of hallucinogenic drugs, the life of Buckminster Fuller (father of the geodesic dome), and a long historical sketch of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century communes. Indeed, *Droppers*

serves as much to survey an episode of American history as it does to highlight the rise and fall of a single community.

As a hybrid biography-historical sketch-social critique, *Droppers’* provenance in any single stream of academic literature is difficult to discern. Unfortunately absent is any discussion of intentional communities of the present day (e.g. eco-villages, cohousing communities, income-sharing communities), which are growing in number worldwide. The work surveys multiple intersecting historical episodes, and thus serves better to connect several streams of research than to elaborate upon any single conversation. I recommend the text as a supplement to Rosabeth Moss-Kanter’s *Commitment and Community* (1972) and Diana-Leafe Christian’s *Creating a Life Together* (2003), especially to anyone interested in founding an intentional community, and to instructors who cover utopian or intentional community development. I would also recommend *Droppers* to scholars of the Beat Era and Hippie movement, as the Droppers’ story intersects with them on several occasions. The book may also prove useful to art and architectural historians, especially if their interests revolve around art in social movements.

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