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MASTER'S THESIS

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with a major in Applied Anthropology has been approved by the Examining Committee on March 24, 1994 as satisfactory for the Thesis requirement for the Master of Arts degree.

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APPLIED ANTHROPOLOGY, PARTICIPATORY PLANNING AND THE USF AREA NEIGHBORHOOD PLANNING STUDY

by

Steven E. Gouldman

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Master of Arts
in the
Department of Anthropology
in the
University of South Florida

May 1994

Major Professor: Gilbert Kushner, Ph.D.

In loving memory of my dad,
Billie Earl Gouldman

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Heartfelt words of thanks are due several individuals for their contributions to this thesis, the study on which it is based and the journey that led to both. Each person has positively influenced my development as well as made my world a little less difficult and much more enjoyable.

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An Abstract

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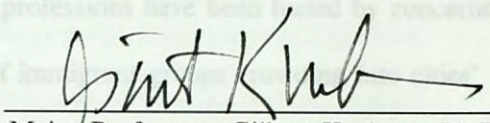
In January 1992 the Hillsborough County Board of County Commissioners directed its Planning and Development Management Department to conduct a planning study of the area surrounding the University of South Florida (USF). The purpose of the study was to produce plans addressing future development, zoning and current social problems.

This thesis contains the results of research aimed at facilitating the achievement of the products and focuses on citizen participation in planning. According to the enabling staff report, the study was to be fully participatory, involving a wide range of community interests. This participatory process was not realized. The thesis thus seeks to determine why the Department failed to secure extensive community involvement.

As a vehicle for organization, interpretation and for identification of recommendations, Spicer's (1976:341) "emic-holistic-historical-comparative approach" is employed. Utilizing Spicer's prescription, a description of the County's first participatory neighborhood planning effort is provided. Included is an examination of the project's history, past and present participatory planning approaches elsewhere, and an account of citizen participation in the USF study. It is argued that the study was prompted by the concerns of two independent sources, each of which helped to define area problems and contribute to the strategy for addressing the problems. It is shown that participation in the project was limited to a small group of community leaders who were formally co-opted, absorbed into the Department's administrative structure to satisfy the Commissioners' mandate. Finally, it is suggested that the failure to extensively involve citizens was influenced by the County bureaucracy's orientation, characterized by a tendency to stress obedience and authority rather than substantive participation.

The concluding chapter provides recommendations for participatory planning and a discussion of the relevance of applied anthropology to participatory planning. The recommendations are founded on the idea "that people must be enabled to do something other than respond to outside initiatives, and do so in effective and satisfying ways" (Kushner 1973:xvi). "Only thus," as Kushner (1973:xvi) says, "can the members of a community develop the sense of self-reliance and capacity to cope directly with their world as they define it."

Abstract Approved: 

Major Professor: Gilbert Kushner, Ph.D.
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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Beginning in 1909, when the first National Conference on City Planning convened to consider the problems created by the rapid and unregulated growth of American cities, the urban planning and other professions have been fueled by concerns for the conditions of urban life. "The plight of immigrant groups crowding into cities' tenements," writes Webber (1968:9), "provoked a wave of social reform in search of effective means for attacking poverty," disease, crime and vice, and for accelerating social mobility. A sense of crisis and mission characterized these early years of urban planning, housing, social welfare, public health and related professions (Abrams 1978:24-25; Banerjee and Baer 1984:20-21; Baum 1988:279-280; Morison and Commager 1962:441-450; Webber 1968:9). Presently, despite the persistence of poverty and despair, the sense of crisis has calmed considerably. The almost natural course of professional socialization "has taken its toll, turning many would-be missionaries into security-conscious bureaucrats" (Webber 1968:9), "subordinate to the ways in which ... planning organizations convert, sustain and develop them" (Mandelbaum 1993:141). But, potentially more important, the resulting professionalism and planners' failure to solve many urban problems have also established the channels through which the findings and skills of social scientists are increasingly being fed into practice settings (Webber 1968:9; Wulff 1976:35).

For generations a widely-held belief of urban planners was that the physical environment served as a major determinant of social behavior and a direct contributor to

individuals' welfare (Banerjee and Baer 1984:22-24; Gans 1991:125-126). The urban planner, accepting professional responsibility for the physical environment, was thus granted a key role as an agent of human welfare: improvement of the physical setting was the clearly prescribed therapy for the various social pathologies. If only well-designed housing, recreation areas and community facilities could replace the dilapidated housing and congested neighborhoods of the city's slums, then the incidence of crime, delinquency, drug addiction, alcoholism, broken homes and mental illness would disappear (Webber 1968:9-10). "The country isn't safe," Harvard's A. Lawrence Lowell announced, "until all groups of foreigners have become so merged in the American people that they cannot be distinguished as a class, by opinion or sentiment on any subject, from the mass of the population" (quoted in Abrams 1978:25). Assimilation of immigrant ethnic groups into American middle-class urban ways of life awaited only their introduction to the American middle-class environment (Webber 1968:10).

But, as the findings of systematic research into the relations between social and physical aspects of environments and social behavior have accumulated, "what were once stable pillars of understanding have been reduced to folklore" (Webber 1968:10) and, more commonly, partial truths embedded within complex networks of causes. The uncomplicated one-to-one cause and effect relationships that formerly tied housing and neighborhoods to behavior and welfare are now seen more correctly as strands in complex webs woven by the elaborate and subtle relations that characterize social, psychological, economic and political systems. The simple clarity of the urban planning profession's role has thus been obscured by the clouds of complexity, diversity and the resulting uncertainty that seem to be the unavoidable "consequences of scientific inquiry and of the deeper understanding that inquiry brings" (Webber 1968:10).

Furthermore, as a result of the accumulation of knowledge, the planning profession's demonstrated failures to effect meaningful improvements through traditional approaches along with citizens' increasing demands for control of their environment, the concept of comprehensive planning is changing. The traditional concept of comprehensive planning--embraced by urban planners since the turn of the century--holds that a city or an urban region has to be disciplined by a blueprint representing a single and consistent set of values as well as a unified public interest. The idea is evolving to incorporate emphases on interdisciplinary approaches and strategic participatory planning at the neighborhood level (Catanese 1979:26-29; Forester 1982:68). Included in the interdisciplinary approach are social, economic and administrative concerns. Participatory neighborhood planning is a process aimed at solving immediate and near-future problems as well as long-range concerns. It includes identifying priorities of action feasible within limitations of existing and potentially available resources. According to Jones (1990:3), one product of the neighborhood planning process is a plan containing sets of recommendations aimed at improving a specific urban area. The plan is based on an analysis of a large amount of data collected about the area and generally represents the consensus among the local citizens. Neighborhood planning therefore represents a manageable and collaborative public/private endeavor aimed at developing and/or improving subareas of the urban complex.

Despite the fact that participatory planning is a relatively recent addition to the urban planning profession, the ideas of neighborhood planning and public participation are not new. Variously known as community development, neighborhood conservation, neighborhood revitalization and neighborhood preservation, contemporary neighborhood

planning programs are the descendants of a variety of neighborhood-oriented programs (Banerjee and Baer 1984:17-23; Rohe and Gates 1985:13-50). They are the result of almost 50 years of experimentation with programs for improving the quality of life in urban neighborhoods "and their development has been influenced by the successes and failures of these earlier programs" (Rohe and Gates 1985:13). Formalized citizen participation in government programs has a rich history as well. Beginning with the U.S. Department of Agriculture's cooperative extension efforts initiated in the first decade of the 20th century and continuing through to the present Community Development Block Grant program and numerous locally sponsored initiatives, various approaches have been attempted, each building on the successes and failures of previous strategies (Graves 1964:499-500; Rich 1986:41-43; Selznick 1966). A variety of disciplines such as urban planning, psychology, geography, sociology, political science, social work and anthropology have contributed theories and models to the study and practice of neighborhood planning and citizen participation (Anderson, von der Mehden and Young 1967:3; Florin and Wandersman 1990:43; Wulff 1976:37-38;). Neighborhood planning and citizen participation are established areas of process practice employing a variety of techniques and strategies to meet collective goals (Kweit and Kweit 1979:647-648; Langton 1987:12; Rosener 1981:584-585).

The urban neighborhood planning arena is a context in which applied anthropologists may be particularly equipped and well-suited to contribute their expertise. Urban neighborhoods are complex open systems, inhabited by varieties of individuals who rely on services and infrastructures provided by sources outside the immediate area. Internal and external politics, social structure, personal networks and organized groups and affiliations are all factors that shape citizens' views of what their immediate worlds

should look like and what they should provide. Ideally, neighborhood planning identifies the products of the various factors and translates the products into a coherent design that satisfies residents' needs and fits neatly the visions held by those concerned. Applied anthropological concepts and a skillful blend of research techniques, including direct observation and participation, can function so as to encourage public participation, usefully articulate the various factors and, as a result, improve the quality of planning efforts. Neighborhood planning mandates a holistic approach that applied anthropologists, by virtue of their concepts and methodologies, and " their history of involvement with community development ... and their knowledge and expertise concerning human behavior" (Pardee 1980:3) can provide.

The purpose of this thesis is not to specifically argue that applied anthropologists are the best qualified to formulate and implement urban planning policy. Rather, it examines past neighborhood planning and citizen participation approaches and provides a description of a county government's first neighborhood planning project. Included is a presentation of the results of my activities as an applied anthropology intern, an evaluation of the project's achievements and failures and an identification of the extent to which my training as an applied anthropologist contributed to the experience. Recommendations for future neighborhood planning efforts are included as well.

As a vehicle for interpreting the project's trajectory--its development and implementation--and proposing recommendations, "the essentials of anthropological method" that Spicer (1976:341) identifies as "the emic-holistic-historical-comparative approach" will be employed. According to Spicer, it is through this approach that the anthropologist can understand the forces that shape public policy, program formulation, program selection and program evaluation. The emic approach, Spicer argues, should be

used when it is apparent that existing etic data are inadequate. Etic data describe a culture's "norms in terms of categories extrinsic to the culture being described" (Goodenough 1976:17). By contrast, an emic description seeks to delineate the "inexplicit categorizations of phenomena by which people perceive and order their world ... and state[s] the culture's norms for behavior in terms of them" (Goodenough 1976:17). Thus, as Pike states,

> [t]hrough the etic "lens" the analyst views the data in tacit reference to a perspective oriented to all comparable events ... of all peoples, of all parts of the earth; through the other lens, the emic one, [the analyst] views the same events, at the same time, in the same context, in reference to a perspective oriented to the particular function of those particular events in that particular culture, as it and it alone is structured (1967:41).

Spicer's emic approach includes "the gathering of data on attitudes and value orientations and social relations directly from the people engaged in the making of a given policy and those on whom the policy impinges" (Spicer 1976:341). The holistic approach "include[s] placement of the policy decision in the context of the competing or cooperating interests, with their value orientations, out of which the policy formulation emerged ..." (Spicer 1976:341). The historical approach requires "some diachronic acquaintance with the policy and the processes giving rise to it" (Spicer 1976:341). The comparative approach "include[s] consideration of conceivable alternatives and of how other varieties of this class of policy have been applied with what results" (Spicer 1976:341). This prescription, Spicer (1976:341) admits, "will probably never be fully realized." Nevertheless, it is an approach that can provide "knowledge of the kind of phenomena which all concerned with applying social science should know most about" (Spicer 1976:341).

Funding Source and Internship Agency

This thesis is based on an internship performed in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the Master of Arts degree in Applied Anthropology at the University of South Florida (USF). Funding for the internship, which began in July 1992 and concluded in May 1993, was provided by the University of South Florida through its Center for Applied Anthropology.

The internship was one that consisted primarily of research activities associated with the USF Area Neighborhood Planning Study. The study was directed by Hillsborough County's Planning and Development Management Department. According to a brochure published by the County (1991), the Planning and Development Management Department is responsible for reviewing land development applications, implementing policies of the Comprehensive Plan through neighborhood and environmental planning programs, and long-range infrastructure planning in support of the County's Capital Improvement Program for water, wastewater and reclaimed utilities, stormwater, solid waste and transportation.

Administered by a director, the Department consists of four sections: 1) Development Management, 2) Engineering Review/Inspections, 3) Infrastructure Planning and 4) Plans and Policies. My internship was performed under the direction of the Plans and Policies section, a unit formally charged with duties such as the review, management and implementation of programs related to Developments of Regional Impact, the County's Comprehensive Plan, community design, neighborhood planning, land use and environmental policies of the Comprehensive Plan and transportation planning. The Plans and Policies section also conducts land alteration, transportation,

and landscaping reviews, and provides staff support to the Hillsborough County Land Alteration and Landscaping Variance Review Board and the Code Enforcement Board. Although neighborhood planning is mentioned as one of the section's responsibilities, no neighborhood planning projects had been attempted prior to my internship. More importantly, as I would later learn from management and staff, the Department was not adequately staffed for or especially devoted to participatory neighborhood planning. Perhaps equally important was the fact that my position as an intern had no precedent in the Department. Formally, I had no authority in the County bureaucracy.

Thesis Organization

This introductory chapter has thus far mentioned neighborhood planning, citizen participation and the possible contributions of applied anthropologists to urban planning. Also described was the agency in which the internship was performed and the framework for presentation. In the chapters that follow, the history of neighborhood planning and citizen participation are presented, and Hillsborough County's first neighborhood planning project is described and examined. In the latter half of the thesis my roles in and contributions to the project will be discussed.

Chapter Two contains a description of the genesis of the University of South Florida (USF) area planning project in which I participated. The discussion reveals that two independent sources contributed to the project's beginnings and argues that these two sources helped to determine the Planning and Development Management Department's approach.

Chapter Three provides a review of the history of participatory planning in the

United States. Included in the review are Urban Renewal, the Ford Foundation's Gray Areas Project, the President's Committee on Delinquency and Youth Crime, the Community Action Program and Model Cities. Finally, the chapter includes a discussion of contemporary participatory neighborhood planning in the United States. A participatory model is presented as are examples of its application.

Chapter Four contains the findings of the research conducted in the planning study. The descriptions and graphic presentations are drawn from the USF Area Neighborhood Planning Study Interim Report (Hillsborough County Planning and Development Management Department, University of South Florida and University of South Florida Center for Applied Anthropology 1993), which I authored and presented to the Hillsborough County Board of County Commissioners. Minor modifications have been made for presentation in this thesis.

Chapter Five is an examination of citizen participation in the USF Area Neighborhood Planning Study. The chapter includes a restatement of the process as presented in the Planning and Development Management Department's proposal and a history of the process as it actually occurred. Following this presentation, an explanation for the chosen approach is offered. Also provided is a review of various studies that address the issue of formalized citizen participation and its effects on governmental bodies and voluntary associations. The chapter concludes with a suggestion of certain conditions necessary for the development and achievement of effective participatory planning.

Chapter Six concludes the thesis and begins with a summary of the USF Area Neighborhood Planning Study and of the development of this thesis. Following the summary, a brief review of the Hillsborough County Administrator's Office involvement

in the project is presented. A number of program recommendations are provided, and the chapter concludes with a discussion of my contributions as an applied anthropologist to the study. Included in the final section is a discussion of the relevance of applied anthropology to participatory planning. The recommendations provided are primarily drawn from my observations, the work of others involved in participatory projects and, to a lesser extent, from literature on the history of neighborhood planning and citizen participation.

Following Chapter Six are Appendices. Appendix A contains the citizen survey I developed as part of the planning project. The second Appendix is a citizen participation bibliography. It includes works cited in the text of this thesis as well as many that were not.

CHAPTER TWO: PROJECT ORIGINS

This chapter examines the origins of the USF Area Neighborhood Planning Study. Jones (1976:228) observes that any practical project in which a social scientist participates has a prior history, a sociopolitical context and future implications. And Spicer(1976:341), as mentioned earlier, argues that the social scientist must have some knowledge of the history of the policy that initiated the project. As will be demonstrated, the USF project's beginnings can be traced to two independent sources. Each source served to help determine the nature of the problems and the strategy for addressing the problems.

Project Background

The first source giving rise to the USF Area Neighborhood Planning Study was the Hillsborough County Planning and Development Management Department. As stated in Chapter One, the Department is responsible for reviewing land use policies of the County's Comprehensive Plan. In the course of reviewing the land use policies, Department staff identified a number of zoning irregularities and problems in the area immediately surrounding the University of South Florida. According to a preliminary report produced by the Planning and Development Management Department in January 1991, concerns had been voiced by several public and private landowners in the University Community (UC) zoning district regarding conflicting regulations, restricted

development rights and the creation of large numbers of nonconforming commercial uses as well as developments that exceed maximum height and density regulations as a result of changes in the County's Land Development Code. Given these concerns, the Department determined that a comprehensive review of the UC area and its underlying zoning regulations was appropriate and recommended to the Board of County Commissioners various changes to the zoning regulations that would accommodate both existing and new uses. The report also suggested that the Board "consider, in a comprehensive manner, the future function of the UC area" (Hillsborough County Planning and Development Management Department 1991:8).

In a related effort, Planning and Development Management Department staff approached the Graduate Architecture Program at the University of South Florida. According to a report produced by the Program (1991:1-9), Planning and Development Management Department staff were most concerned with the issue of the USF area's "character." Specifically, Department staff asked the Architecture Program to study three districts surrounding the University, and to design masterplans and a range of urban design guidelines for each district. The Architecture Program's completed report "contains a range of general 'guidelines' and specific 'applications'" (1991:19). When enforced, the report argues, the "plans and guidelines should help create the desired--and desirable--sense of 'place' and unique character" (University of South Florida Graduate School of Architecture 1991:9).

The second source that prompted the USF Area Neighborhood Planning Study was the University of South Florida. On March 7, 1991, USF President Dr. Francis T. Borkowski wrote the Chairperson of the Hillsborough County Board of County Commissioners and asked that the County engage in a detailed land use study of the USF

area. According to Dr. Borkowski, the USF Planning Commission--a group composed of University administrators, faculty and staff in the preliminary stages of preparing a master plan for the campus--had considered the issue of urban growth around the University and identified a series of concerns, including the area's development pattern, roadway edge conditions, pedestrian ways, traffic flow, roadway conditions and mass transit issues. A detailed study, Dr. Borkowski stated, would identify and clarify the problems and opportunities in the area and would serve as a catalyst for a comprehensive community interest in meeting those challenges. He also noted that the University administration, faculty and staff desired to contribute positively to the quality of the built environment around the USF campus and to participate with other involved community groups and government agencies to address issues confronting the area. The University, Dr. Borkowski stated, was aware of its responsibilities to the larger community and of the need to participate more actively in the development of surrounding areas. "We want to help improve ... the area so that all who live and work there can enjoy a safe, healthy and drug-free environment" (Borkowski 1991:1).

In response to Dr. Borkowski's letter, County Administrator Frederick B. Karl, on March 26, 1991, advised the President that County staff had identified a need for a detailed study of the USF area. Mr. Karl also stated that County staff would present the University's concerns and a work program proposal to the Board of County Commissioners in the immediate future.

The Board of County Commissioners discussed Dr. Borkowski's request for a detailed land use study of the USF area on May 1, 1991 (Hillsborough County Planning and Development Management Department 1992a:1). As a result of the discussion, Hillsborough County's Planning and Development Management Department staff were

instructed to examine the need for a USF area study and to return recommendations to the Board.

On July 16, 1991, a joint USF area planning group composed of Planning and Development Management Department staff, University administrators and USF Graduate Architecture School representatives met to discuss existing problems in the area (Hillsborough County Planning and Development Management Department 1991). Based on their observations, the group claimed that: the area was a high crime area; the area housed many students; students faced a critical housing shortage; existing strip centers were "a poor substitute for real university-oriented shopping" (Hillsborough County Planning and Development Management Department 1991b:1); the pattern of land uses was not healthy; the area's inventory of sidewalks was inadequate; the area needed a focused community center and special zoning; the University's internal process regarding politics and planning contributes to the problems; and the concentration of Section 8 low-income housing was the locus of the problems. In conclusion, the joint planning group stated that "the long-range issue was how to get the University to take an aggressive role to change the maladaptive land use pattern" (Hillsborough County Planning and Development Management Department 1991b:2). In the short-term, it was suggested that zoning regulations, code enforcement and various capital improvements could alter the area's environment. The group agreed that it was important to give students an active role in determining the area's future. Students "could be involved in doing surveys of existing conditions ... and in answering surveys about where they live, how they get to campus [and] what their daily wants and needs are" (Hillsborough County Planning and Development Management Department 1991b:2).

The USF project proposal, summarized below, represents the marriage of the

concerns identified by the Planning and Development Department, the broader issues articulated by Dr. Borkowski and the problems identified by the joint planning group. In addition, the anticipated products of the project illustrate that, as Cartwright (1973:181) argues, "the way in which a problem is perceived determines the range of possible solutions ... [and] the kind of strategy that is appropriate for its solution."

The USF Area Neighborhood Planning Study

On January 14, 1992, the Planning and Development Management Department presented a staff report to the Commissioners. The report included the recommendation for a USF area neighborhood planning study and a two-phase work program proposal. According to the report, the purpose of the study was to "develop a specific plan and zoning proposal based on the adopted Comprehensive Plan Land Use Map" (Hillsborough County Planning and Development Management Department 1992a:2) for the unincorporated area immediately surrounding the University. More specifically, the proposal anticipated that the study would produce several long-range plans intended to guide future growth. These included:

> (1) a community urban design/land use plan, which will define existing and recommended future land uses, as well as public areas and open spaces within the overall community; (2) detailed neighborhood design/ streetscape/open space plans, which will focus on special neighborhood areas and local street systems; and (3) an amended Special Public Interest (SPI) zoning district plan, which may provide both planned and conventional districts. The intent of the SPI district will be to resolve land use and zoning inconsistencies, provide flexible design controls, establish incentives for desirable new development, and offer innovative solutions in site planning and design (Hillsborough County Planning and Development Management Department 1992a:2).

In addition to the long-range goals and objectives, the study would seek to identify and resolve or reduce immediate problems such as the area's high incidence of crime and

improper solid waste disposal through, for example, enhanced Sheriff's patrols, trash cleanup activities and code enforcement actions (Hillsborough County Planning and Development Management Department 1992a:2).

The proposal included an addendum responding to Dr. Borkowski's suggestion that a detailed study would be a catalyst for community involvement. The addendum states that

> [s]taff envisions the overall USF area planning effort to be a fully participatory process, involving not only County, City of Tampa, and Planning Commission staff, but also with the ... participation of area residents, property owners, neighborhood and civic associations, USF students, USF faculty/administration, and area businesses. Phase I activities and findings will be regularly presented to an existing task force comprised of County, City of Tampa, and Planning Commission staff members, and the USF Planning Commission. The detailed neighborhood plans that are envisioned ... will hopefully be developed in conjunction with area neighborhood/civic associations, and/or ad hoc task forces comprised largely of area residents (Hillsborough County Planning and Development Management Department 1992a:4).

As mentioned above, the Planning and Development Management Department's staff report included a two-phase work program proposal. Data collection is the primary focus of the first stage. County staff indicated that Phase I would be concluded in approximately nine months.

According to the staff report, the second stage of the planning study would be completed in nine months as well. Proposed Phase II tasks include: assembling the various types of information collected in Phase I and assessing the data at a more detailed level, tailored to each resident-defined neighborhood; selecting representative task forces to oversee planning efforts in individual neighborhoods; developing specific problem/issue statements; establishing goals and objectives to address neighborhood problems; and developing alternative plans/means to address neighborhood problems (Hillsborough County Planning and Development Management Department 1992a:2,5-6).

The Board of County Commissioners approved the proposal on January 14, 1992,

and directed Planning and Development Management Department staff to conduct a comprehensive planning study of the unincorporated area adjacent to the University of South Florida. Geographically, the USF Area Neighborhood Planning Study encompasses a ten square mile area in unincorporated Hillsborough County that is adjacent to the city limits of Tampa and Temple Terrace. As shown in Figure 1, the study area's boundaries are Fowler Avenue on the south, Interstate 275 on the west, Skipper Road and Bearss Avenue on the north and the City of Temple Terrace and the Hillsborough River on the east.

Planning and Development Management Department personnel began the USF Area Neighborhood Planning Study in late spring of 1992. The USF central administration committed the University to being involved in the study and notified County staff that the University could provide graduate student assistance with the project through its Center for Applied Anthropology. During the summer of 1992, I was one of two USF master's-level graduate students from the Applied Anthropology program who provided Planning and Development Management Department staff with data collection support. As noted in Chapter One, the internship on which this thesis is based began in July 1992 and concluded in May 1993. All internship activities were conducted under the guidelines of the Society for Applied Anthropology in its "Statement on Professional and Ethical Responsibilities" (Committee on Ethics, Society for Applied Anthropology 1983).

My introduction and commitment to the planning project came at a meeting with Planning and Development Management Department staff in the latter part of June 1992. Attending the meeting were the Section manager and the planner charged with conducting the project. In the course of the meeting I received a copy of the

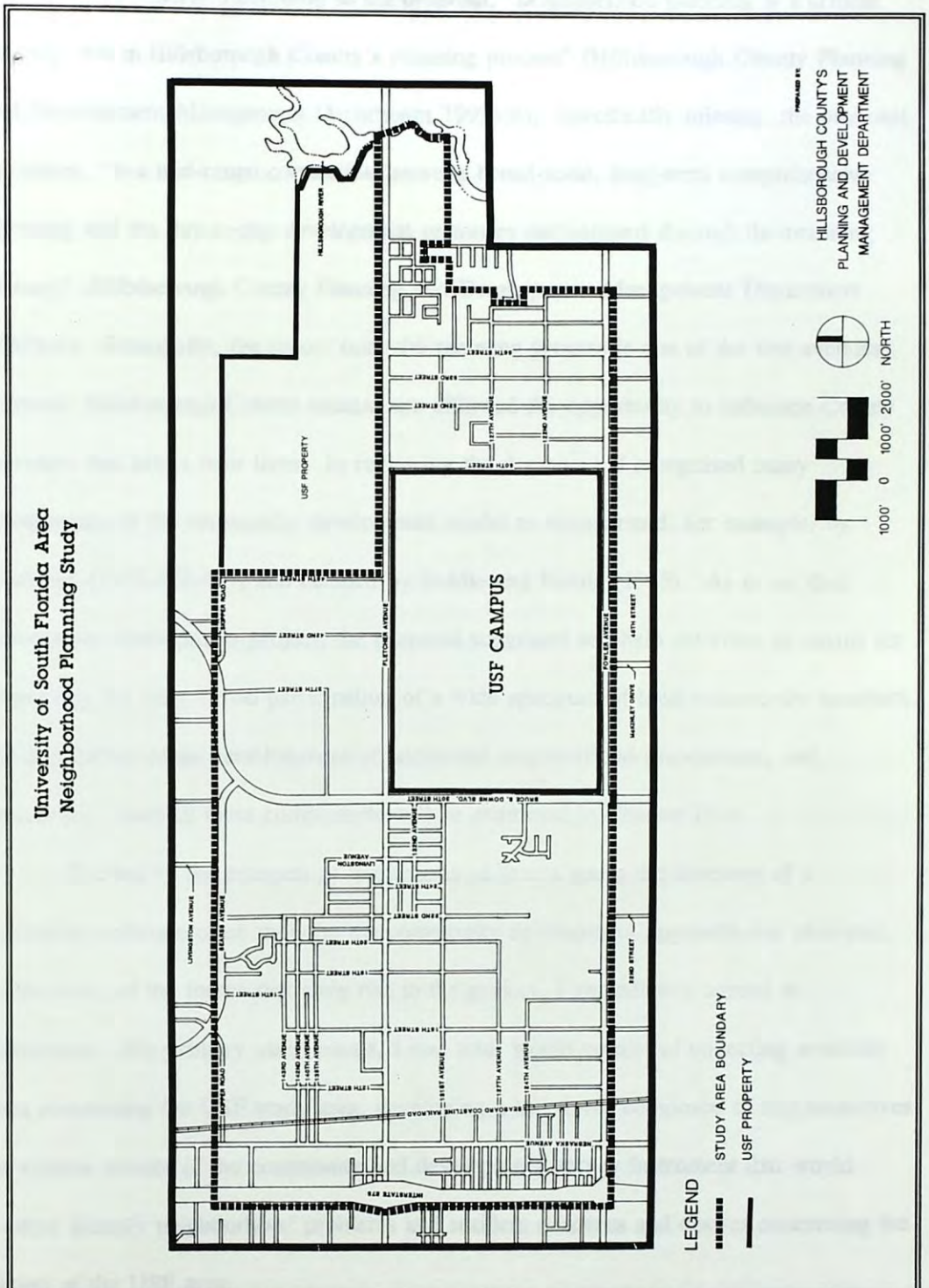


Figure 1. USF Study Area Boundaries.

enabling staff report. According to the proposal, "neighborhood planning is a critical missing link in Hillsborough County's planning process" (Hillsborough County Planning and Development Management Department 1992a:6). Specifically missing, the proposal continues, "is a mid-range connection between broad-scale, long-term comprehensive planning and the day-to-day development pressures orchestrated through the rezoning process" (Hillsborough County Planning and Development Management Department 1992a:6). Essentially, the report said, the rezoning process is one of the few avenues whereby Hillsborough County citizens are afforded the opportunity to influence County activities that affect their lives. In reviewing the document, I recognized many components of the community development model as summarized, for example, by Rothman (1972:472-491) and detailed by Biddle and Biddle (1965). As in an ideal community development project, the proposal suggested self-help activities as means for improving the area, broad participation of a wide spectrum of local community members, the facilitation of the establishment of additional neighborhood associations, and consensus. Each of these components will be examined in Chapter Five.

Excited by the prospect of working as an intern under the direction of a practicing anthropologist applying the community development approach and oblivious, at the time, of the forces that gave rise to the project, I immediately agreed to participate. My primary assignments, I was told, would consist of collecting available data concerning the USF study area, developing a task force composed of representatives of various sectors of the community and developing a survey instrument that would further identify neighborhood problems and resident concerns and desires concerning the future of the USF area.

This chapter has presented a review of the development of the USF Area

Neighborhood Planning Study. It has shown that the study was the result of concerns identified by two independent sources. Each of these sources helped to define the problems of the area and contributed to the formulation of the strategy for addressing the problems. The Planning and Development Management Department's preliminary report, which was not presented to the Board of County Commissioners, addresses zoning issues and contains several recommendations aimed at correcting problems identified by Department staff. The USF Graduate Architecture School's report contains more detailed specifications that, when coupled with the Planning and Development Management Department document, would produce products almost identical to those spelled out in the USF study proposal. The Department had, in other words, substantially completed the groundwork for what they stated would be accomplished in the USF study. President Borkowski's letter to the Board, however, necessitated the inclusion of a public involvement component. The result was a proposal to the Board of County Commissioners for the Planning and Development Management Department to undertake a comprehensive study of the USF area, focusing on social as well as physical problems. The proposal included the determination that citizens should be afforded the opportunity to participate in the study and thereby help solve local problems. Despite this determination, the citizen participation component, as will be shown in Chapter Five, differed significantly from the specifications described in the study proposal.

The USF area neighborhood planning project was Hillsborough County's first participatory neighborhood planning effort. The idea of participatory planning in the United States, however, is not new. It has a rich history that provides examples from which the USF project could benefit. That history is reviewed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER THREE: PAST AND PRESENT PARTICIPATORY PLANNING

Citizen participation and neighborhood planning, as I indicated in Chapter One, are established areas of practice employing a variety of techniques and strategies to meet collective goals. Contemporary neighborhood planning practice is the result of years of experimentation, and its development has built upon the successes and failures of these previous efforts. The purpose of this chapter, however, is not to offer a detailed account of the intellectual foundations of neighborhood planning (see, for example, Rohe and Gates 1985; Silver 1985). Rather, this chapter examines past attempts designed to involve citizens in the planning process and seeks to highlight a thematic history. It begins with a review of the roots of citizen participation and proceeds to focus on participatory planning since World War II. The programs examined include Urban Renewal, the Gray Areas Project, the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime, the Community Action Program and Model Cities. Also, a discussion of contemporary neighborhood planning is presented at the conclusion of the chapter. The review is by no means a comprehensive history of individual local governments' efforts. It is presented herein because, as Goldschmidt puts it, "to know the past is to know how things came to be ..." (1977:297). Moreover, as Spicer indicates in his discussion of the training of applied anthropologists, if practitioners are to propose recommendations for program or project design and improvement, it is essential that they acquire knowledge "of how other varieties of" a specified "class of policy have been applied [and] with what results ..." (1976:341).

Emergence of Citizen Participation

Since the founding of the United States, citizen participation in government has been synonymous with voting and holding office. But, with respect to the federal government, the first three decades of the 20th century witnessed the growth of other types of direct relationships of government with individuals which were also forms of participation. These included, for example, the role of tribal organizations in dealing with the agency that administered them, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the responsibilities of citizen members of Selective Service Boards, and the relationships between the Department of Agriculture and farmer committees (Graves 1964:477-499; Selznick 1966:222-223; Stenberg 1972:191). One of the most significant early attempts by the federal government to induce greater citizen participation occurred in the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) in the 1930s (Aleshire 1972:429). The TVA was to jointly administer its programs with local governments and citizen groups (Selznick 1966:4-16). According to Selznick (1966:11), "the TVA ... represent[ed] an experiment, an adventure in executing broad social responsibilities for the development of a unified area." Participation in the TVA, however, was one of co-optation. "Co-optation," says Selznick (1966:259), is "the process of absorbing new elements into the leadership or policy-determining structure of an organization as a means of averting threats to its stability or existence." This concept will be discussed further in Chapter Five.

Another significant development regarding public involvement in planning took place from 1933 to 1943 under the auspices of President Roosevelt's National Resources Planning Board (NRPB). Staffed with city planners from across the nation, the NRPB undertook several pathfinding programs to advance planning in the United States

(Funigiello 1983:152-169). One of the most important was a series of experiments in planning processes and methods applied to a sample of cities. The emphasis was not on physical design but rather on a systematic and linked process of study, analysis and local participation in policy formation. According to Funigiello (1983:153), the NRPB "hoped to attain a new level of sophistication in urban planning by treating the city not simply as an artifact but by integrating social, economic, and cultural factors into the planning process." This approach, advocated by the Roosevelt administration, was predicated on the idea that a comprehensive plan would set the context for economic investment and resource utilization and thus resolve urban problems (Catanese 1979:22-23). The comprehensive model developed by the NRPB has dominated the urban planning profession since (Catanese 1979:23; Gans 1991:135; Krueckeberg 1983:7).

The most successful attempt occurred in Corpus Christi, Texas where, Funigiello (1983:157) claims, "the demonstration or experiment embodied the principles of coordinated, continuous and, in the eyes of the Board [NRPB], democratic planning." All municipal departments contributed data; the school board, housing authority and real estate boards collaborated in developing various programs; the Chamber of Commerce led the effort to plan for economic and industrial development; and local service and citizens groups joined in analyzing needs and proposing programs (Funigiello 1983:158). NRPB staff afterwards claimed the experiment introduced the democratic concept of community participation in the planning process. This claim, Funigiello (1983:165) points out, is accurate if one equates the "community" with the local "civic-business-realty" leaders. The needs of other segments

> of the community (i.e., Chicanos, Blacks, the unorganized and inarticulate) seem to have been ignored with relative impunity. The largely WASP elite, for example, slighted the "Mexican" chamber of commerce and Black civic groups. Insensitive to their wishes, the power structure transmitted its decisions through ... the Commissioner of Water and

Gas and ... [the] principal of the all-Black high school (Funigiello 1983:165). Funigiello (1983:165) concludes that the result in Corpus Christi "was to institute the now familiar practice of demolishing inner city ghettos, uprooting ethnic minorities, and replacing them with high-rent commercial and residential dwellings occupied by well-to-do Whites."

Although these early federally sponsored activities may have been important insofar as they established the idea that citizens have a legitimate role to play in public policy decisions (Stenberg 1972:191), the contemporary citizen participation movement, as Zimmerman (1972:4) notes, began in the years immediately following World War II. Starting in the late 1940s and continuing to the early 1970s, the federal government increasingly assumed the leadership role in the area of public involvement. The first post-World War II federal program to contain a citizen participation component was Urban Renewal.

Urban Renewal

In the three decades that followed the economic collapse of 1929, the planning profession was for the most part preoccupied with the notions of comprehensive and regional planning. The idea that a wide and comprehensive approach would ultimately solve urban problems remained (Catanese 1979:22-24; Gans 1991:132-134). Perhaps the rapid growth in metropolitan areas after World War II reinforced this belief, as new residential construction increasingly expanded beyond municipal boundaries. Planning for and the process of suburbanization, however, did little for cities' declining physical conditions or long-standing social problems, such as poverty, unemployment and crime.

In fact, suburbanization seems to have exacerbated the problems by enticing the White middle class to flee the inner-city, resulting in a concentration of the poor and decreased municipal revenues (Jackson 1985:231-245; Mitchell 1985:10-11; Rosenthal 1984:279-280).

The federal government's answer to cities' problems was embodied in the Housing Act of 1949. Urban Redevelopment, as the program was first titled, was the result of years of experience with housing and urban problems. As Levin (1987:63) points out, "it was not a new departure except in scale and in furnishing real estate developers tools that they had been asking for since the 1920s." The program had as its goals the elimination of substandard housing, the construction and provision of new housing, the revitalization of city economies, and the reduction of de facto segregation (Levy 1988:170). The method used was land acquisition through eminent domain, clearance and rebuilding directed by local agencies and supported by large federal subsidies. Very early, however, urban redevelopment drew criticism for destroying the dwellings of lower-income groups, often minorities, to make way for other kinds of projects that yielded them few or no benefits (Levy 1988:174).

The Housing Act of 1949, in its original version, limited citizen participation to public hearings (Hallman 1972:421). In 1954, responding to public opposition to the program and guided by the findings of a massive study of cities (Catanese 1979:23; Coleman Woodbury et al. 1953), Congress amended the original legislation to permit the alternative approach of rehabilitation (Columbia Law Review 1966:487) and changed the name of the program to Urban Renewal. Rehabilitation seeks to preserve and revitalize existing neighborhoods and the process clearly assumes considerable cooperation and resident involvement. The 1954 amendment therefore included provisions for increased

citizen involvement.

Initially, the Housing and Home Finance Agency (HHFA)--which was not under the general control of the Urban Renewal Administration but was charged with administering the only federal requirement that citizens be involved in federally-funded renewal projects--was prepared to concentrate upon participation at both neighborhood and city-levels. Under pressure from Congress, however, the HHFA retreated from this position, recasting the participation component in terms of a rigid format of city-wide participation alone (Columbia Law Review 1966:523). In many cities agencies were established as semi-autonomous bodies and, typically, the mayor or city manager had the authority to appoint the agency director or some of its members. The renewal agency in some cities was established as a department of the local government directly controlled by the mayor or manager (Dahl 1961:117; LeGates 1973:260).

Urban Renewal produced little meaningful participation during its almost two decades of operation. Local renewal agencies usually met the technical letter of the law by creating committees which had only minor roles in renewal programs. The committees varied widely in composition but were most often "blue-ribbon" panels composed of prominent local citizens whose interests meshed with the local bureaucracy and the program objectives. These committee members tended to be representatives of business and real estate interests. Their primary function, it appears, was to provide the stamp of legitimacy for plans already formulated. A few cities, such as Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Baltimore, Maryland, and Detroit, Michigan, encouraged neighborhood participation, but they were the exceptions. Generally, the absence of neighborhood citizens' groups eliminated the possibility of any broad participation in the urban renewal process (Aleshire 1972:429-430; Baum 1988:280; Clarke 1984:494; Dahl 1961:117-122;

Hallman 1972:422).

Although Urban Renewal had no stated conceptual foundation, possible explanations for the paucity or absence of public involvement in the program have been suggested. Levin (1987:64) offers that legislators "assumed without discussion that slum residents were passive subjects of concern, not active participants ... [and] were viewed as ignorant riffraff, not worthy of being consulted about their ... needs." Moreover, as Weiss (1985:257) correctly observes, Urban Renewal was one of many "government-to-business giveaways in a long line of grant-in-aid subsidies that included canals and harbor projects, railroad construction, and irrigation projects" (Levin 1987:75). The public sector, he observes (Weiss 1985:257), was thus "called upon to protect and enhance the value of the current and future investments of the large-scale rebuilders and their downtown allies."

The Gray Areas Project and Juvenile Delinquency

The next round of activities concerned with citizen participation included the Ford Foundation's Gray Areas Project and the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime. Throughout the latter part of the 1950s, the Ford Foundation, viewing the relative absence of social reform during the administration of President Eisenhower, decided to embark upon a new approach to the problems of American cities (Carlson 1964:86). The Foundation designed the Gray Areas Project to provide broad, coherent approaches to the overall physical and human problems of decaying neighborhoods (Rohe and Gates 1985:34-35). In 1961 the Foundation awarded six grants to the cities of Oakland, New Haven, Philadelphia and Boston, and the states

of North Carolina and Washington (Rubin 1967:8). According to Marris and Rein (1973:27), the projects were aimed at challenging the conservatism of the public school system, providing career opportunities to youth disillusioned by neglect, returning agencies to a relevant and coherent purpose and encouraging "a respect for the rights and dignity of the poor."

The Ford Foundation's philosophy had two articles of faith. Effective community action needed participation of the groups involved, and indigenous leadership was necessary to provide communication between planners and the community. Both were considered essential to ensure that projects met the felt needs of the community, and to facilitate the continuity of any programs attempted (Silberman 1964:321-322). The manner in which affected groups would participate, however, was never clarified; each locality developed its own definitions. New Haven's definition was "a board broadly representative of everyone but the residents of the target areas" (Rubin 1967:8). Philadelphia established a Council for Community Advancement, composed of business and civic leaders. Almost immediately the Council encountered protest from Black militants demanding recognition. As a result, the City's planners had to quickly "learn that [they] must plan <u>with</u> the community and not <u>for</u> the community" (Rubin 1967:8, emphasis in original). The notion, according to Silberman (1964:353), "that the citizens conceivably might want to speak for themselves obviously never occurred to the academicians, government officials, and civic leaders" who formed the Council.

The President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime was established in 1961, shortly after initiation of the Gray Areas Projects. The new agency's purposes were to promote coordination between federal agencies with delinquency prevention programs, stimulate experimentation and innovation, and

encourage cooperation between federal, state and private organizations (Grossman 1968:434; Rohe and Gates 1985:35-36). The agency broadly defined its task to encompass the relationships between the underlying social problems that it believed were the causes of juvenile delinquency. According to Millett (1977:11), both the President's Committee and proponents of the Gray Areas Project were convinced that the problems of poverty and juvenile delinquency were strictly related. Both believed that to deal effectively with the problems of poverty, changes should be effected on the system rather than on the symptoms of its dysfunction. Both also emphasized community development through self-help, not only by gaining the support of local leadership but by the active participation of area residents (Voth 1979:160).

With a relatively small initial budget, the juvenile delinquency program encouraged applicants to utilize other available federal funds to help finance their operations. In many instances, the agency worked with the same organizations as the Ford Foundation (Aleshire 1972:429). This early effort, like that of the Ford Foundation, made no dramatic breakthrough in enlarging the participation of residents targeted. In fact, very few projects were actually initiated (Moynihan 1969:69).

The Gray Areas Project and the juvenile delinquency program sought to construct comprehensive programs that could surmount the inadequacy of existing social institutions serving low-income populations (Grossman 1968:435-436; Rohe and Gates 1985:36). A comprehensive approach, rather than concentration on a single element, was considered "essential because of the need to change the entire environment that denied opportunity, fostered delinquency, and maintained poverty" (Grossman 1968:435). The comprehensive program was envisioned as involving changes in elementary and secondary education, vocational training, health services, and in such

areas as housing and the provision of legal services.

The Ford Foundation's activities and the juvenile delinquency initiatives are important in the evolution of nationally-initiated community action in that they emphasized comprehensive and coordinated demonstrations and innovations to address urban problems. Through collaboration between public and private agencies, they sought to address a broad range of interrelated problems. Furthermore, the programs encouraged applicants to involve local citizens in the demonstration projects. The diffusion of these ideas, Millett (1977:12) points out, "pressed on and found a new audience in the interstices of the federal government." The legislation for the Community Action Program was a transformation of "social science ideas originally sponsored and operationalized by a private foundation into a sanctioned and legitimized governmental policy" (Millett 1977:12).

The Community Action Program

The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 established the Community Action Program (CAP) and the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) (Grossman 1968:432-433; Rohe and Gates 1985:36-372). The purpose of the Community Action Program was to help urban and rural communities to mobilize their resources to combat poverty. This was to be accomplished through local and community-wide Community Action Agencies (CAA). The federally-funded CAAs were charged with coordinating local antipoverty program operations, setting goals, developing strategies and defining policies for reaching the legislative objectives. A broad range of activities in the fields of health care, education, job training, employment counseling, housing and other social services

were eligible for federal funds. Local Community Action Agencies were thus enticed to design comprehensive approaches to attack the problems of the poor (Aleshire 1972:428-429; Peterson 1970:492).

The Community Action Program incorporated many of the objectives and strategies of earlier programs but differed from these in that the program emphasized the "maximum feasible participation" of neighborhood residents in program activities (Grossman 1968:437-438). However, according to Boone (1972:445-446), the framers of the legislation gave little thought at the time of design or in the legislative hearings to the precise meaning or possible implications of the clause "maximum feasible participation." He notes that "President Johnson only later became all too painfully aware of the existence of the clause" (Boone 1972:446). Moynihan claims the "maximum feasible participation" phrase "was intended to do no more than ensure that persons excluded from the political process ... would nonetheless participate in the benefits of the community action programs of the new legislation" (1969:87, emphasis in original). Federal officials took "as a matter beneath notice that such programs would be dominated by the local political structure" (Moynihan 1969:87).

In any event, the Office of Economic Opportunity provided content to the phrase "maximum feasible participation." The OEO's Community Action Guide defined participation as "the involvement of the poor themselves ... in planning, policy making and the operation of the program" and suggested that local Community Action Agencies (CAA) include "the population to be served ... [on the] policy making or governing body of the Community Action Agency" (U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity 1965:1). The CAP guide also contained language acknowledging the permissibility of protest activities by "residents, either as individuals, or in groups" (U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity

1965:1) Representatives of areas targeted were to be selected by neighborhood residents and would comprise at least one-third of each CAP agency's governing board. Rohe and Gates (1985:37) correctly note that allowing residents to determine partial board membership was a significant "change from earlier programs in which representatives of the client group were selected by public officials." But, as Austin (1972:418) points out, the requirement that one-third of the board be neighborhood residents meant "the poor would, even with the intervention of the government, continue to be ruled by the nonpoor."

The significant change from earlier programs met with mixed results. In 1966, for example, the use of "traditional democratic approaches" for electing neighborhood representatives as suggested by the CAP guide attracted 2.7 percent of the voters in Philadelphia, 0.7 percent in Los Angeles, 2.4 percent in Boston, and 4.2 percent in Cleveland (Rubin 1967:12). The OEO responded "by discontinuing the financing of elections, thereby avoiding the necessity to assess critically the problems they raised" (Rubin 1967:12).

In addition to the low rates of participation, there were problems of representation. Since the neighborhood representative had to work with government officials and middle-class groups, the CAAs tended to seek out the elite among the poor (Peterson 1970:505-506). The program did not develop standards or detailed guidelines for the mode of selecting representatives of the poor. Inevitably, the selection process concentrated on those who would, as Alinsky (1965:42) says, adopt a "positive" approach; that is, those who would stay in line and be "reasonable." Rubin (1967:10), in her analysis, refers to the process as "creaming," and concludes that "we observe here one of the universal attributes of the welfare bureaucracy--the tendency to concentrate

efforts on those who are most likely to assure the institution a favorable image and an impressive record."

The CAP guide's approval of protest activities, CAA workers' organizing activities and a growing Black consciousness contributed to the formation of an array of organizations striving to create an independent base of power for the poor (Miller and Rein 1969:21-22; Moynihan 1969:158-161). As a result, within months of the program's inception mayors from many cities began to voice strong opposition. Many of the mayors "charged that the OEO was financing, legitimizing, and training militant activists" (Millett 1977:15). The culmination of their protest was the 1967 Green Amendment to the Economic Opportunity Act, which gave local governments the option of seizing control of Community Action Agencies. The amendment also specified that one-third of the seats on CAA governing boards should be occupied by public officials and allowed up to one-third to be occupied by representatives of business, industry, labor and other major groups in the community (Clarke 1984:494; Dommel et al. 1982:16). As Millett (1977:16) correctly observes, the Green Amendment's intent "was to assure that City Hall would have both hands on the steering wheel of the program's course, thus maintaining the program outside the influence of 'militants.'"

Model Cities

Another major federal initiative to address urban problems was the Model Cities Program. Created by the Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act of 1966, Model Cities was a five-year demonstration project designed to broaden the scope of earlier urban renewal efforts (Rosenthal 1984:280). The approach was to include a

concentration of resources, "coordination of all available talent," mobilization of local public and private leadership, and "locally initiated programs with some federal oversight and experimentation in devising fresh solutions and applying new technologies" (Levin 1988:88). It was neither a vehicle for implementing various social programs administered by CAP agencies nor an attack on the physically deteriorated slums as in urban renewal programs. Instead, the Model Cities Program sought to combine physical and social planning and development in selected low-income areas to demonstrate how neighborhoods could be revitalized (Dommel et al. 1982:23-25; Frieden and Kaplan 1975:23).

Model Cities differed from the Community Action Program and its predecessors in several respects (Dommel et al. 1982:18-19,23-25; Rohe and Gates 1985:38-39). First, the Model Cities Program was specifically targeted to individual neighborhoods. A concentration of program activities was intended to produce immediate observable changes. In addition, the program was concerned with physical as well as social rehabilitation. The CAP and earlier programs were primarily concerned with coordinating programs addressing social and institutional problems. Also, though no organizational blueprint for public involvement was provided, Model Cities legislation called for "widespread citizen participation" rather than "maximum feasible participation" (Hallman 1972:423). Finally, Model Cities was designed to avoid local political conflict and resistance by placing control of the program in the hands of local government. But, according to Levin (1988:99), local government control meant that "citizen proposals had to be signed off by mayors." As Arnstein (1969:220) observes, the enabling legislation clearly intended "to return the genie of citizen power to the bottle from which it had escaped as a result of the provision stipulating 'maximum feasible

participation' in poverty programs."

Despite the legislative standards, it is clear that the legacy of the Community Action Program died hard. Mogulof (1969:225-232) points out that in nearly every city participating in the program, a battle quickly erupted over control of the newly-created City Demonstration Agency. Gradually, through a series of confrontations over prerogatives and procedures, neighborhood residents acquired a degree of political control. In his analysis of Model Cities in the western United States, Mogulof (1969:230) shows that, less than one year after many of the CDAs had been funded, all citizen groups which had been assigned purely advisory roles had won de facto veto power. In every case where the model neighborhood was Black, neighborhood residents achieved a numerical dominance in the governing coalition. Through confrontation and bargaining, neighborhood residents generated political resources which they used to force a role for themselves which the enabling legislation sought to deny (Mogulof 1969:230-231).

The Community Action Program and Model Cities can be credited with a number of accomplishments. Both programs had significant effects on the political dynamics of local communities, as they contributed to the creation of strong neighborhood organizations (Rohe and Gates 1985:46). The neighborhood organizations, in turn, provided an opportunity for the development of indigenous leaders. Both programs initiated institutional change as well. The Community Action Program focused welfare agencies on job training, job opportunities, education programs and the provision of legal services. The CAP experience and Model Cities created nonprofit neighborhood organizations, multiservice neighborhood centers, increased employment of minorities in local government and increased involvement of elected officials in the problems of the

poor (Clarke 1984:494; Levin 1988:103).

The Community Action Program and Model Cities were also limited by a number of problems, the most fundamental of which was the disparity between program goals and the resources committed. Both programs established the ambitious aims of eradicating poverty and slum conditions, but the funds allocated were insufficient to approach achieving those aims (Levin 1988:91-93; Marris and Rein 1973:269). In reality, Marris and Rein (1973:265) maintain, there was little to plan except the plan itself and marginal increments to existing services. Unclear guidelines concerning the nature and extent of citizen participation led to conflict between neighborhood groups and local government, which often resulted in the delay of program implementation and inflated project costs (Dommel et al. 1982:20). Whatever the intent, the experience as a whole vividly illustrates the limitations of federal sponsorship of participation in specific programs. In the end, the federal government renounced its commitment to enlarging participation.

Contemporary Neighborhood Planning

The Housing and Community Development Act of 1974 essentially replaced Urban Renewal and the Model Cities Program with the establishment of the Community Development Block Grant Program (CDBG). The CDBG Program actually combined several programs, including Model Cities and Urban Renewal, into one large block grant, the funds for which are now provided directly to local governments (Mitchell 1985:16). Block grants are funds given in a general functional area, such as education or manpower training, leaving the choice of specific activities and projects to state or

local officials. CDBG funds can be used for a broad variety of capital improvements and human services. Activities eligible for funding include housing programs, neighborhood development programs, housing rehabilitation, code enforcement and a host of supportive services (Levy 1988:178-179). A strength of this form of planning is that funds for the planning and implementing of improvements are provided by the federal government. However, the program is limited to low- and moderate-income neighborhoods, and, given recent funding levels, it involves only a small percentage of eligible areas. Moreover, the range of eligible activities is constrained by program guidelines, and local control over the nature of neighborhood improvements is often weak (Rohe and Gates 1985:4). The CDBG legislation requires only that a public hearing be held prior to local submission of an application and does not establish any additional structural or procedural requirements. It also specifies that an opportunity to participate in the development of the application must be provided (Dommel et al. 1982:32). Hillsborough County's Department of Housing and Community Development has been practicing a variation of this form of neighborhood planning for several years. Their activities in regard to the USF project will be discussed in Chapter Four and Chapter Six.

Though the CDBG Program replaced Urban Renewal and the Model Cities initiative, many Model Cities agencies and programs continued their activities, and other local governments have established neighborhood planning programs that provide assistance to organized neighborhood groups seeking to preserve, stabilize or revitalize their immediate environment (Dommel et al. 1982:45). Rohe and Gates (1985) have, based on a nation-wide study of neighborhood planning programs, constructed a generalized participatory neighborhood planning model. This model is a locally-initiated form of neighborhood planning which includes considerable citizen involvement, through

community groups and councils, in public planning and local government affairs. In this model of neighborhood planning, local neighborhood groups and/or councils play a continuous role in the planning process. More specifically, organizations are involved in many activities. For instance, groups may be involved in the review of plans, proposals and budgets developed by government agencies that impact the groups' neighborhoods. This review typically occurs prior to presentation of the proposals to the city council, mayor or county commission, and neighborhood groups either negotiate changes directly with the sponsoring agency, or attach their comments to the plan or proposal before it goes forward for consideration. Also, neighborhood organizations can be given the responsibility for developing neighborhood plans. Typically, local government planning staff provide neighborhood groups with technical assistance in developing plans, but the plans are based on the desires of the residents, not the ideas of the professional planners. Plans may address the physical development, redevelopment or preservation of a neighborhood and may also address social issues such as crime, unemployment and health. Neighborhood groups are encouraged to become involved in a broad range of self-help activities such as community crime watch and neighborhood beautification programs. Technical assistance and/or partial funding is often provided to groups who want to sponsor neighborhood improvement activities. Neighborhood planners are often involved in helping groups organize activities and writing grant proposals to public and private funding agencies (Rohe and Gates 1985:4-7). Many elements of this form of neighborhood planning were presented in the Hillsborough County Planning and Development Management's proposal to the Board of County Commissioners.

The City of Atlanta, Georgia provides an example of the use of this model. Following the 1973 election of Atlanta's first Black mayor, the City's charter was

revised to mandate a citywide network for neighborhood planning and citizen participation. The City was divided into 24 neighborhood planning units (NPUs), and a staff planner was assigned to each (Silver 1985:172). NPUs are responsible for recommending actions, policies, specific projects, and for developing neighborhood plans which are formally adopted by the City after review and negotiation. Their plans are also used to inform the City's comprehensive development plan, which is the basis for planning decisions and capital budgeting. NPUs adopt their own organizational structure and, as a result, a diversity in the methods of representation exists. Representatives from each NPU also serve on a city-wide organization, which primarily serves to improve communication between government officials and neighborhood councils (Rohe and Gates 1985:97-99; Silver 1985:172).

The Rohe and Gates (1985:8) study--the only systematic and comparative study of neighborhood planning programs of which I am aware--identified 71 local governments employing this participatory model in the early 1980s. According to Silver (1985:172), however, there appears to be a movement away from the participatory model. He notes that the commitment by cities in the 1970s to the participatory neighborhood planning process "rested on tenuous economic and political underpinnings" (Silver 1985:172). Silver (1985:172) maintains that a shift in local priorities in Atlanta led to a reduction in neighborhood planning staff to six. He also points out that in Seattle, Washington, where the neighborhood planning staff numbered 17 in 1977, "only one half-time position remained in 1983 to provide assistance to low-income neighborhoods" (Silver 1985:172).

Almost certainly, the Reagan (and, subsequently, Bush) administration's neighborhood policy, oriented to supply-side economics, has contributed to the

movement. Essentially, the supply-side approach--to increase funds private investors have to spend in neighborhoods and to decrease the funds spent by government--is based on the assumption that public intervention disrupts and distorts the workings of market processes. Supply-side views of neighborhood problems see public interventions as only exacerbating neighborhood problems by undermining incentives for new investment and entrepreneurship. Thus, supply-side analyses of the causes of neighborhood problems and potential remedies emphasize the economic dimension and slight other considerations (Clarke 1984:494-495). According to Wagner and Vitullo-Martin (1993:268), the Reagan and Bush administrations therefore "replaced financial support with the rhetoric of self-help and the free enterprise system." Both administrations "cited President John Kennedy's maxim that a rising tide lifts all boats. Some critics asked what would happen to the many ... who had no boats" (Wagner and Vitullo-Martin 1993:268). As a result, after less than a decade of experimentation, a neighborhood planning process that bolstered broad-based citizen participation may be reverting to the more traditional approach of preparing site-specific development plans (Werth 1983:5-6).

The new Clinton administration is currently speaking in general terms about urban problems, but "the words city and urban have been largely missing from the Clinton presidency as they were from the Clinton candidacy" (Wagner and Vitullo-Martin 1993:267, emphasis in original). Nevertheless, in some states and cities there is evidence that neighborhood participation is highly valued or is growing in importance. Texas, for example, requires that all localities preparing comprehensive plans divide their jurisdictions into neighborhood sections and to consult with neighborhood associations (Hunter, personal communication). It also appears that in Texas neighborhoods where no associations exist, local government staff are engaging in some

organizing activities.

The City of Savannah, Georgia provides another example of the application of the participatory neighborhood planning model (City of Savannah Bureau of Public Development 1992). The Showcase Savannah Program, established in 1987, is a comprehensive approach to neighborhood revitalization which involves all City departments. The major tenet of the program is the idea that citizen participation is the key to neighborhood revitalization. City officials believe that "only through extensive efforts by City government to involve residents of a neighborhood in the destiny of that neighborhood can any positive changes be made" (City of Savannah Bureau of Public Development 1992:i).

The program is conceptualized as a four-phase process that includes, in the first phase, neighborhood organizing activities, staff attending neighborhood meetings during which planners and residents determine neighborhood needs, and training residents to conduct field surveys. Based on the needs identified and the survey information, a work program is developed and formalized as a symbolic "contract." The contract specifies the City's responsibilities and those of the residents. In the second phase, the City targets services to the neighborhoods, several departments place personnel in each to coordinate activities, and infrastructure improvements are made. "The result of these efforts is that the residents begin to take responsibility for their neighborhood and the third phase ... begins" (City of Savannah Bureau of Public Development 1992:ii). This phase witnesses citizens beginning to pick up litter, encouraging neighbors to maintain property and residents reporting problem conditions to appropriate City representatives. At this point, as a result of the combination of improvements and a growing sense of community pride, private sector investment begins to return to the neighborhoods,

signalling the onset of the fourth phase. The fourth phase is characterized by the City beginning to decrease its funding to maintenance levels (City of Savannah Bureau of Public Development 1992:ii).

According to Savannah's Public Development Coordinator, all of the City's nine neighborhoods have achieved various measures of success (Beatty, personal communication). As a result, "community pride has increased, blighting conditions have been reduced, and neighborhood livability has been enhanced" (City of Savannah Bureau of Public Development 1992:ii). City of Savannah officials believe their program is evidence that "with effective leadership, sustained effort, commitment, and citizen participation, the quality of life in our cities' neighborhoods can be improved" (Bureau of Public Development 1992:ii).

This historical review shows that, until 1974, the federal government occupied a leadership role in the field of citizen participation. It was pointed out that federal requirements for participation essentially left the decision of how citizens would participate in the hands of local officials. By and large, local discretion typically resulted in participation being restricted to prominent citizens serving in advisory committees. Moreover, even where neighborhood residents were allowed to participate, the experience reveals that involvement was often in the form of Selznick's (1966:13-15) co-optation. As Warren points out,

> where such participation ... avoided 'cooptation' ... or administrative involvement as opposed to substantive participation, they ... had to utilize a contest strategy and ... [were] typically fought viciously ... by the existing power configuration of social service agencies and community decision organizations (1978:387).

The result, as Biddle and Biddle (1965:184) observe, was that most of these programs did things <u>to</u> or <u>for</u> people, rather than <u>with</u> people. Biddle and Biddle identify the central problem in his description of the missing elements in many of the urban

programs: "All these aims are good, but they lack the essential personal development experience. Community development processes are addressed to this essential need. These processes provide, not the answers, but the means by which citizens shall seek the answers" (Biddle and Biddle 1965:184). "Continuous community development" says Doddy (quoted in Biddle and Biddle 1965:185), "requires the resources and involvement of all types of groups working on many facets of community problems."

A conclusion to be drawn from the various programs undertaken since the 1930s is that if participation is not genuinely valued as a means of improving the quality of urban life, it will be tolerated only as a device for placating citizens and legitimizing government efforts. Program development in government stresses efficiency, program results, minimization of manpower and resource expenditures, and rapid decision making. But any genuine participation process is, at least for the short-run, inefficient, costly, time-consuming, and uncertain. Effective participation calls for a commitment of sufficient depth to override these other values. The City of Savannah appears to exemplify such a commitment.

The participatory planning model presented in this chapter does not preclude the possibility that co-optation will occur. Nevertheless, it is a model that lends itself to the possibility that democratic planning will be achieved. I suggested in this chapter that the USF proposal contained elements of the participatory planning model and stated in Chapter Two that the proposal contained elements of an ideal community development model. According to Brokensha and Hodge (1969:132), research is the first of four "basic elements which should be included in any approach to community development in an urban situation." Research, they correctly suggest, is the foundation for a problem-solving approach, "and a commendable vehicle of research is the self-survey which

provides opportunities for the people ... to study and analyze their own needs" (Brokensha and Hodge 1969:132-133). As the following chapter will reveal, the Planning and Development Management Department's first element departs radically from that advocated by Brokensha and Hodge.

CHAPTER FOUR: THE PLANNING STUDY REPORT

In Chapter Two it was pointed out that the USF study was conceptualized as a two-phase project, the first of which consisted primarily of data collection, while the second phase was to concentrate on developing plans based on the information gathered in Phase I. According to the project proposal, Phase I tasks included:

> identification of existing human resources, such as area civic and neighborhood associations and other interested citizens; [facilitation of] the establishment of additional neighborhood associations; identification and evaluation of broad scale development trends in the area; analysis of existing area zoning, land use, and the future land use plan; preliminary assessment of development potential, based primarily on a generalized vacant land survey; [compilation of] a demographic profile; [assessment of] major transportation systems relative to traffic counts, levels of service, bus routes, and bus ridership; [examination of] area crime statistics; [development of] neighborhood questionnaire surveys for use in Phase II; [development of] generalized problem/issue statements for the overall USF area; ... preliminary designation of perceived neighborhood boundaries; [and determination of] priority areas for Phase II activities (Hillsborough County Planning and Development Management Department 1992a:5).

This chapter contains the findings of the USF project data collection activities conducted in the internship period. The chapter is for the most part identical to the USF Area Neighborhood Planning Study Interim Report (Hillsborough County Planning and Development Management Department, University of South Florida and University of South Florida Center for Applied Anthropology 1993), which I authored and presented to the Hillsborough County Board of County Commissioners in March 1993 as part of my internship activities. Key informant interviews with County and other public institutions' staff, various documents, census reports and windshield surveys--"riding around in a vehicle to determine whatever could be learned from the side of the road" (van Willigen

and Dewalt 1985:27)--served as the sources of information. Area residents contributed through comments regarding the findings as Department staff presented them at voluntary association meetings.

The purposes of this chapter are to illustrate the scope of my research activities and to provide a baseline of information for researchers to use in subsequent investigations of the development and redevelopment of the USF area. Indications are that there will be a continuing focus by Hillsborough County government on the area for many years. As this chapter will reveal, the USF area and the County's involvement offer fertile ground for applied anthropologists. The major purpose of the USF area neighborhood report was and is to provide information that will help lead to short, medium and long-range recommendations designed to improve current conditions and guide future development and redevelopment in the unincorporated area surrounding the University of South Florida.

The USF Area Neighborhood Planning Study covers approximately 10 square miles, located in north central Hillsborough County immediately adjacent to the Tampa and Temple Terrace City limits. As stated in Chapter Two, boundaries for the study area are Fowler Avenue on the south, Interstate 275 on the west, Skipper Road and Bearss Avenue on the north, and the City of Temple Terrace and the Hillsborough River on the east. For discussion purposes, four sections have been arbitrarily designated within this area. As Figure 2 shows, the sections are separated by major physical features and the University's boundaries. Fletcher Avenue bisects the study area west of USF and allows for the designation of two separate sections. A north section is bounded by Bruce B. Downs Boulevard (30th Street) on the west, Skipper Road on the north, 46th Street on the east, and Fletcher Avenue on the south. Boundaries for a designated

east section are Fowler Avenue on the south, USF on the west, Fletcher Avenue on the north, and Temple Terrace on the east. The subdivision of the study area into sections provides categories for detailed description and analysis.

In the following narrative and accompanying graphic presentations, selected past as well as present characteristics and conditions of the USF study area are described. The discussion is arranged to include the University of South Florida, study area history and population characteristics, zoning and land use, housing, public facilities and services, transportation facilities and services and USF area voluntary associations.

The University of South Florida

The University of South Florida is the first major state university in the United States planned and constructed entirely in the twentieth century (Borkowski 1989:xiv; Mormino 1983:147). Located in the northeastern corner of Tampa, the main campus occupies approximately 1,103 acres. The University owns an additional 735 acres comprised of a golf course and undeveloped environmental research land immediately north of Fletcher Avenue (USF Office of Resource Analysis and Planning 1992:197). USF consists of 10 schools and colleges and "offers a wide variety of degree programs ... including 77 baccalaureate, 87 master's, and 22 doctoral degrees, as well as the M.D. ... Nine [of the] schools and colleges are located on" the central campus in Tampa (University of South Florida 1993:7). In 1992, approximately 27,300 full- and part-time students were enrolled at the Tampa campus and the University had almost 7,000 faculty and staff employees. On-campus housing facilities presently accommodate 3,114 students (University of South Florida Office of Resource Analysis and Planning 1992:7, 213).

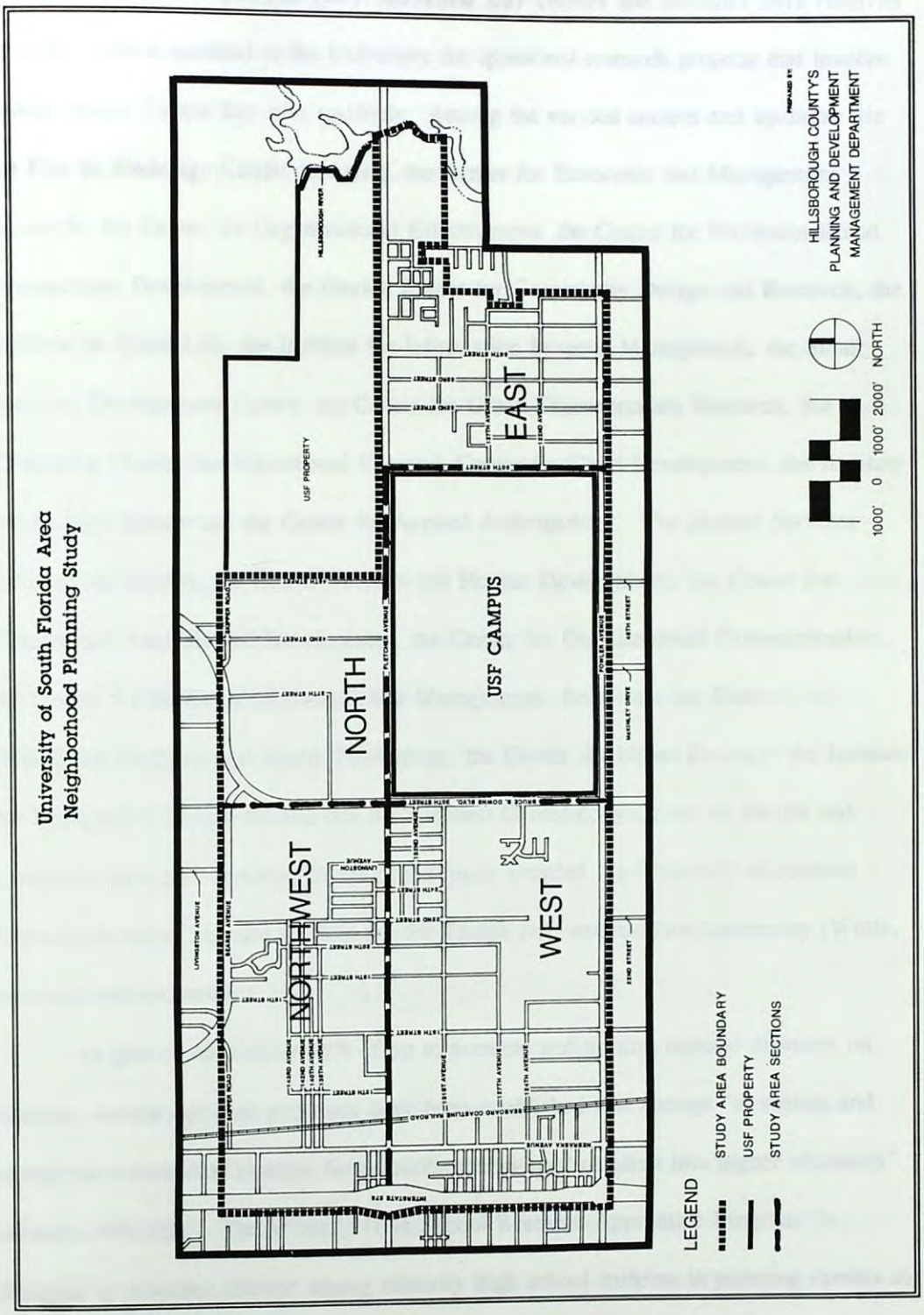


Figure 2. USF Study Area Sections.

In each of the last four years, numerous USF centers and institutes have received over $50 million awarded to the University for sponsored research projects that involve and/or impact Tampa Bay area residents. Among the various centers and institutes are the Florida Exchange Center on Aging, the Center for Economic and Management Research, the Center for Organizational Effectiveness, the Center for Professional and Management Development, the Florida Center for Community Design and Research, the Institute on Black Life, the Institute for Information Systems Management, the Small Business Development Center, the Center for Urban Transportation Research, the Children's Center, the Educational Research Center for Child Development, the Institute for At-Risk Infants and the Center for Applied Anthropology. The Human Services Information System, the Center for Arts and Human Development, the Center for Community Analysis and Development, the Center for Organizational Communication, the Center for Public Affairs and Policy Management, the Center for Research in Behavioral Medicine and Health Psychology, the Center for Urban Ecology, the Institute for Interpretive Human Studies and the Suncoast Gerontology Center on Health and Longevity have also received shares of the funds awarded the University to conduct research in and/or provide services for the Tampa Bay metropolitan community (Wolfe, personal communication).

As part of the University's effort to promote and nurture cultural diversity on campus, several outreach programs have been established that attempt "to sustain and extend the educational pipeline for minority school-aged children into higher education" (Stamps 1992:160). The Minority High School Research Apprentice Program "is designed to stimulate interest among minority high school students in pursuing careers in biomedical research and the health professions" (Stamps 1992:162). Upward Bound is a

program for students from low-income families that attempts to help students develop goals and academic skills and provide the motivation necessary to obtain entrance and achieve success in college (Stamps 1992:163). The College Reach-Out Program is for low-income minority pre-college students identified as having the potential for academic success in higher education (Stamps 1992:163-166). Campus Compact is a mentoring program that matches USF student volunteers with at-risk elementary school children from Tampa's inner-city area. The program's primary objective is to help school-age children develop strong self-images through friendship and support. Mentoring sessions are held at branch libraries in West Tampa, Ybor City and College Hill (Stamps 1992:176-177).

The University's medical and mental health communities are actively involved in many public/private partnerships as well. The USF College of Medicine is affiliated with ten on-campus and nearby hospitals including the Shriner's Hospital for crippled children and the University Psychiatry Center, which are both privately built institutions staffed by USF doctors. Construction of the non-profit H. Lee Moffitt Cancer Center and Research Institute was publicly funded and is privately operated and staffed by USF physicians. The University also has Florida's only College of Public Health and is the site of the Florida Mental Health Institute (FMHI) (Borkowski 1989:xv).

The Florida Mental Health Institute focuses on mental health research and delivery of mental health care and related services to Florida residents. Residential services are provided for individuals of all ages who have severe mental or behavioral problems. FMHI also hosts a center, operated in cooperation with the Hillsborough County Public Schools, for severely emotionally disturbed children (Borkowski 1989:xv). FMHI recently contracted with Hillsborough County to participate in the Head Start

program and now offers service to 20 USF area pre-school children. Head Start is a concentrated education-oriented program designed to enrich the academic skills of children from low-income households. USF students participate in FMHI activities as graduate assistants, part-time employees and as volunteers (Doyle, personal communication).

According to the USF Office of Resource Analysis and Planning (1992:1), total student enrollment at the main campus is expected to increase to approximately 35,000 in the next 20 years. To accommodate the projected enrollment and to guide the University's growth, USF is presently preparing a new master plan that will specify the quantity of building space the University will add in the next ten years. The State University System of Florida (SUS), directed by the Florida Board of Regents, requires all universities in the university system to develop a master plan to guide future growth and development (State University System of Florida 1991:1-1). The State University System's Guideline for the Comprehensive Campus Master Plan System (1991:1-1) states that "the intent of the planning process defined by the guideline ... is to encourage a cooperative approach to addressing the future requirements of the university and the future needs of the host community within which the university exists."

USF Area History and Population Characteristics

The area of unincorporated Hillsborough County immediately surrounding the University of South Florida has experienced phenomenal growth in the last 30 years and, more recently in the sections to the west, noticeable decline of the section's housing stock. The most influential factors accounting for the area's growth include the large

quantity of available undeveloped land, the area's proximity to a growing urban center and the founding of the University and its subsequent expansion. Economic factors related to the area's rapid development and other market forces or conditions have contributed to the decline. This section details USF area growth and includes a discussion of the economic forces that have shaped the present environment.

USF Area Socioeconomic Characteristics

The University of South Florida opened its doors in 1960 to a freshman class of almost 2,000 and has grown to become in 1992 the second largest university in the State of Florida (Borkowski 1989:xiv; Mormino 1983:147; USF Office of Resource Analysis and Planning 1992:1). As one result of the University's growth, the surrounding area has witnessed substantial physical development and a tremendous population increase. Multi-family developments, commercial businesses and medical facilities are among the more visible signs of growth in the USF area. Area-wide as well as section-specific demographic and socioeconomic data reflect the University's influence on the community's growth. The statistical profiles also reveal that, since 1980, a significant population transition has occurred.

Though today located at Tampa's urban fringe, the study area at the end of the 1950s remained rural with a highly dispersed population of approximately 1,700 persons housed in an estimated 530 units (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1960). Given the large quantity of undeveloped land and the proximity to a major urban center as well as a developing State university, it is not surprising that from 1960 to 1980 the Bureau of the Census estimated that the study area's population increased by more than 16,000 people:

a growth rate of over 900 percent. The population of unincorporated Hillsborough County increased 183 percent during this period. From 1980 to 1990, the USF area grew at a somewhat slower rate, posting a 45.2 population percent increase, while the overall unincorporated County showed a 48.3 rate of increase. Table 1 provides Bureau of the Census estimates for the 1960-1990 period.

Housing construction trends, median income and student population in the USF area reflect investors' efforts to capitalize on the rental market. Developers focused on the housing and commercial-related needs of the university's growing force of faculty, staff and students. They also recognized the increasing numbers of people employed in the nearby medical complexes and in the many commercial establishments appearing throughout the local community.

Table 1. 1960-1990 Unincorporated County and USF Area Populations and Income.

Area	1960	1970	1980	1990
Unincorporated County Population	122,818	212,498 (73.0)[a]	347,201 (63.4)	514,841 (48.3)
USF Area Population	1,743	7,879 (352.0)	21,774 (176.4)	31,611 (45.2)
Unincorporated County Median Income	4,212	8,162	14,868	28,477
USF Area Median Income	4,598	7,446	11,307	20,587

[a] Numbers in parentheses indicate the percentage change in population for the 10 year intervals.

Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census 1960, 1970, 1980, 1990.

As noted above, it was estimated that approximately 530 housing units existed in the study area in 1960. In the three decades that followed the rate of construction was substantial: 2,755 units were erected in the 1960s, 8,240 in the 1970s, and approximately

6,100 by the end of the 1980s. Table 2 provides detailed housing figures for the 1970-1990 period. According to the 1960 Census approximately 90 percent of the housing units were owner occupied single family dwellings. Area residents' median income was 9.2 percent higher than that estimated for all of Hillsborough County (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1960).

By 1970, those ratios had shifted dramatically: 24 percent of the housing was owner occupied, 38 percent of the total units were single family dwellings, and median income was 8.8 percent less than the County median. College students accounted for 32.5 percent of a total population that was 98.7 percent White and 0.8 percent Black. At the close of the decade, median income had fallen to 34 percent less than the overall County, single family dwellings comprised only 16.7 percent of the housing units, and renters occupied over 81 percent of the area's inhabited housing stock. The number of college students residing in the area fell slightly to 27.1 percent, while the Black population rose to comprise over 8 percent. The Asian community accounted for 0.9 percent and American Indians represented almost 0.3 percent of the area's residents. Nearly 1.3 percent of USF area residents were categorized as Other. Approximately 5.7 percent of the residents claimed to be of Hispanic origin (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1970, 1980).

As of 1990, 74.4 percent of the housing units were in multi-family structures and an estimated 86 percent of the occupied units were inhabited by renters. According to the 1990 Census, the median income in the USF study area was $20,587, 38 percent less than the County median of $28,477. The student population declined to 18.3 percent, while the Black population increased to represent 19.1 percent of the area's total number of residents. The American Indian population rose to 0.4 percent, while the Asian

community more than tripled to represent 2.4 percent of the total population. Slightly less than 2.1 percent of the study area's residents were categorized as Other. Persons claiming to be of Hispanic origin rose to 10.7 percent.

Table 2. 1970-1990 USF Area Housing Characteristics.

Housing	1970	1980	1990
Single Family Units[a]	1,247	2,513 (101.5)[b]	2,942 (17.1)
Duplex Units	565	1,399 (147.6)	1,552 (10.9)
Multi-family Units	1,442	7,582 (425.8)	13,087 (72.6)
Total Units	3,254	11,494 (253.2)	17,581 (53.0)

[a] The Single Family category includes single family attached, single family detached and mobile home units.
[b] Numbers in parentheses indicate the percentage change for the 10 year intervals.
Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census 1970, 1980, 1990.

Comparisons of the 1980 and 1990 demographic and socioeconomic data reveal that the most significant change has occurred in the West and Northwest sections of the study area. Tables 3 and 4 provide 1980 and 1990 sub-area population characteristics. According to Bureau of the Census estimates, the Northwest section has experienced the greatest change. Tables 3 and 4 show that from 1980 to 1990, the population increased by 3,210, a growth rate of more than 45 percent. During the same period, the ratio of college students residing in the section fell from 20.1 percent to 9.0, the Black population rose from 11.1 percent to 26.6 and persons declaring Hispanic origin climbed from 6.0 percent to 13.7 percent. The Asian population grew from 0.7 percent in 1980 to 1.5 percent in 1990. The American Indian population rose from 0.3 percent to 0.5 and persons categorized as Other increased from 1.3 to 3.3 percent. Only 74.7 percent of the housing units were occupied as of 1990, compared to 86.6 percent in 1980. And,

though the section's median income was estimated at $16,566, approximately 43 percent of the households had incomes of less than $15,000.

Between 1980 and 1990 the West sub-area saw its population increase by almost 21 percent. The number of students residing in the section declined from 29.2 percent in 1980 to 18.7 percent in 1990. The Black population rose from 8.3 percent of the total to 24.9 percent, while the section's number of persons claiming Hispanic origin grew from 5.3 percent in 1980 to 10.9 percent in 1990. The section's Asian population increased from the 1980 estimate of 0.9 percent to 2.6 percent in 1990. The section's American Indian population remained 0.3 percent of the total, while persons categorized as Other increased from 0.7 percent to 2.3. According to Bureau of the Census estimates, only 69.9 percent of the section's housing units were occupied and an estimated 48 percent of the households received annual incomes of less than $15,000. For Hillsborough County as a whole, approximately 24 percent of the households were reported to have annual incomes of less than $15,000.

In the 30 year period since the University of South Florida began operations, the unincorporated area surrounding the university has witnessed tremendous change. From 1960 to 1990, 17,095 housing units were constructed. Area housing figures suggest that developers concentrated on providing dwellings for low- and moderate-income households, college students and others whose stay in the USF Area might be transitory. As the data show, from 1960 to 1980 the area contained a sizeable population of students. By 1990, however, Bureau of the Census data indicate that a significant number of college students had elected to live outside the study area. The 1960-1990 figures also reveal a steady decline in area residents' median income and increased representation of the Black and Hispanic communities. The most dramatic change in

Table 3. 1980 USF Area Population Characteristics.

Section	Population	% White	% Black	% Asian	% American Indian	% Other	% Hispanic Origin[a]	% College Students	Median Income
West	7,213	89.8	8.3	0.9	0.3	0.7	5.3	29.2	9,476
Northwest	7,059	86.6	11.1	0.7	0.3	1.3	6.0	20.1	8,996
North	3,922	92.4	5.0	1.1	0.2	1.3	4.9	45.3	10,876
East	3,580	92.3	5.7	0.9	0.2	1.0	7.2	16.6	15,879
Total	21,774	89.5	8.1	0.9	0.3	1.3	5.7	27.1	11,307

[a] Persons of Hispanic origin may be of any race.
Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census 1980.

Table 4. 1990 USF Area Population Characteristics.

Section	Population	% White	% Black	% Asian	% American Indian	% Other	% Hispanic Origin[a]	% College Students	Median Income
West	8,722	69.9	24.9	2.6	0.3	2.3	10.9	18.7	15,748
Northwest	10,269	68.1	26.6	1.5	0.5	3.3	13.7	9.0	16,566
North	4,785	84.9	9.9	3.8	0.3	1.0	8.1	33.9	21,762
East	7,835	88.0	8.4	2.3	0.3	0.9	8.0	20.7	28,271
Total	31,611	76.1	19.1	2.4	0.4	2.1	10.7	18.3	20,587

[a] Persons of Hispanic origin may be of any race.
Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census 1990.

median income occurred between 1970 and 1980. The substantial decline in student representation and the rise in the minority population occurred between 1980 and 1990.

A variety of factors appear to have contributed to the area's population change and decreased median income. Staff from numerous County departments maintain that housing deterioration, the demand for affordable housing in Hillsborough County and increased crime primarily account for the area's shift in population characteristics. A recent Bureau of the Census publication provides one possible explanation for the area's decreased median income (Berg 1993:1, 6; Tampa Tribune 1992:1-2). According to the Census report, Blacks in Florida live in poverty at three times the rate of Whites, while Hispanics are twice as likely as Whites to be poor. In Hillsborough County, 33.2 percent of Black households and 20.2 percent of Hispanic households had annual incomes below the federal poverty line in 1990. The report stated that 9.8 percent of the White households in the County had incomes below the poverty line (Berg 1993:1). The federal poverty line is defined as an annual income of $6,932 for an individual and $13,924 for a family of four (Tampa Tribune 1992:1-2). In the area west of the University, an estimated 45 percent of the households earned less than $15,000 in 1990. Available 1980 Census estimates show that 3.1 percent of the households in the area west of the University received annual incomes below the federal poverty line.

Zoning and Land Use

Zoning Districts

Properties in the USF study area are designated a variety of zoning districts.

Each district is regulated by the Hillsborough County Land Development Code and is specifically designated to reflect its existing use and consistency with the County's Comprehensive Plan. As Figure 3 shows, the Special Public Interest-University Community District (SPI-UC) is the largest zoning district in the USF area. SPI Districts represent "in general, areas officially designated as having special and substantial public interest in protection of existing or proposed character ..." (Hillsborough County 1992a:2-12). The SPI-UC District "is designed to foster the University of South Florida's continued development amid an appropriate setting, while providing for ... controls for the development of compatible private development activities supportive of the University functions" (Hillsborough County 1992a:2-14).

The University Community (UC) District is divided into three subareas: UC-1, UC-2 and UC-3. Properties zoned as UC-1 are permitted a variety of office, institutional and high density residential land uses. Those zoned as UC-2 are permitted uses that relate to the health care industry and support the area's major medical facilities. UC-3 zoned properties are primarily high density residential, allowing a maximum of 20 units per acre. UC-1 and UC-2 regulations allow projects a maximum Floor Area Ratio (FAR) of 0.75, while projects in UC-3 zoned areas are limited to a 0.25 FAR. Floor Area Ratio is the ratio of the sum of all enclosed areas of a building to the area of a lot.

Several residential districts exist outside the University Community District. Properties designated as residential districts are of various densities, housing types, and are allowed various residential support uses and Limited Uses and Special Uses. The residential districts in the study area are Residential Single-Family Conventional (RSC-6), Residential Duplex Conventional (RDC-12) and Residential Multi-Family Conventional (RMC-12, RMC-16 and RMC-20).

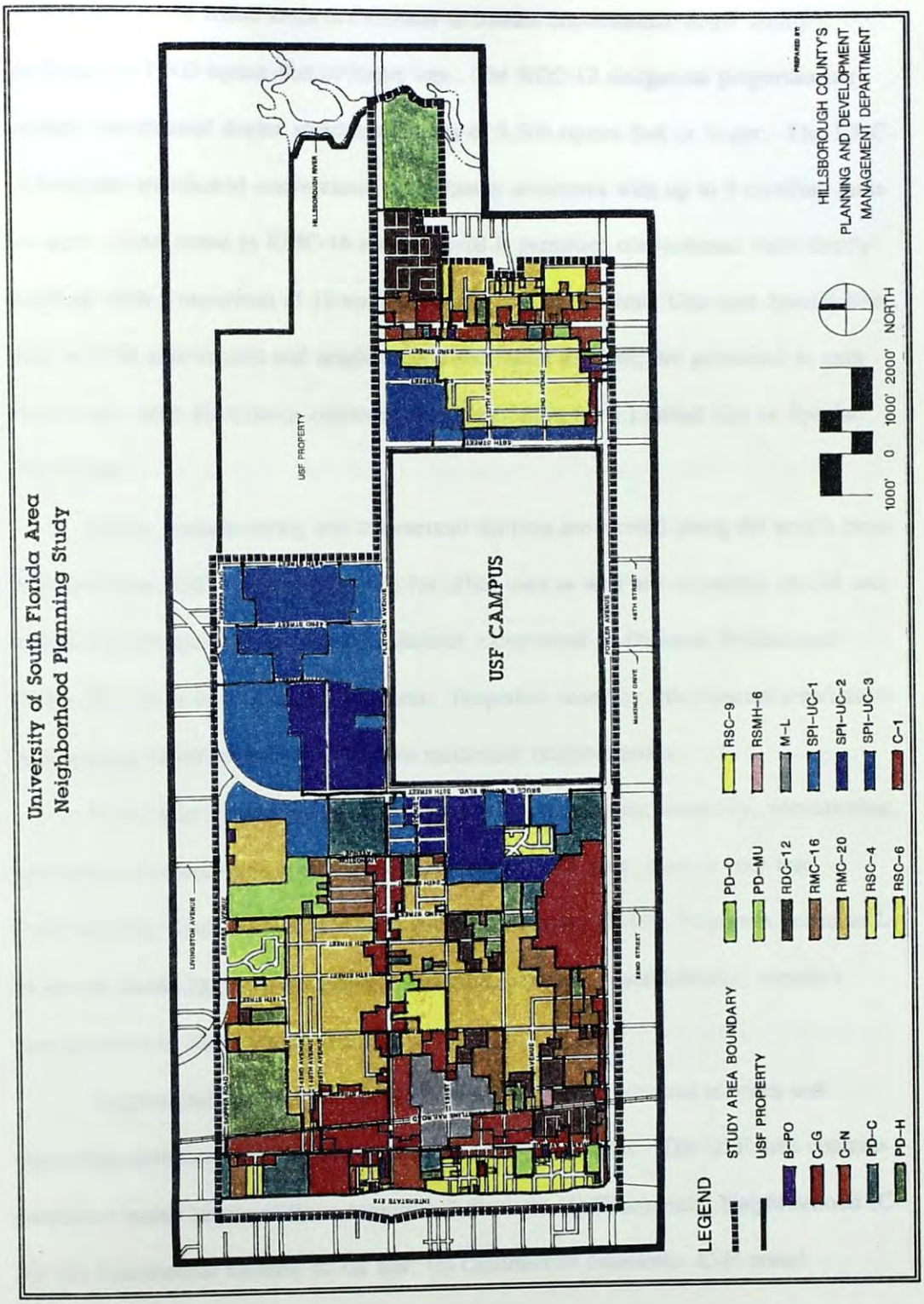


Figure 3. Existing Zoning.

The RSC-6 zoned lands are allowed to contain conventional single family dwellings on 7,000 square feet or larger lots. The RDC-12 designated properties may contain conventional duplex structures on lots of 3,500 square feet or larger. The RMC-12 Districts are allowed conventional multi-family structures with up to 9 dwelling units per acre. Land zoned as RMC-16 and RMC-20 is permitted conventional multi-family buildings with a maximum of 12 units per acre. Various Limited Uses and Special Uses, such as child care centers and neighborhood recreation services, are permitted in each district only after the County approves of an application for a Limited Use or Special Use Permit.

Office, manufacturing and commercial districts are located along the area's major thoroughfares. Office districts provide for office uses as well as compatible special and related support uses. Only one office district, categorized as Business Professional Office (BP-O), is located in the USF area. Properties zoned as BP-O permit small scale development of offices intended to serve residential neighborhoods.

Manufacturing districts allow manufacturing, processing, assembly, warehousing, intensive commercial and other related uses. In the USF area, there is only one manufacturing district categorized as Light Manufacturing (L-M). Properties zoned as L-M are permitted light manufacturing, processing, assembly, warehousing, intensive commercial and other related uses.

Commercial districts provide for office, retail sales, personal services and supporting accessory uses as well as Limited and Special Uses. The USF area contains properties zoned as one of three commercial districts: (1) Commercial Neighborhood (C-N); (2) Commercial General (C-G) and; (3) Commercial Intensive. C-N zoned properties are allowed limited retail sales and personal services uses intended to serve

residential neighborhoods. Land designated as C-G also permit retail sales and personal services uses. Uses allowed in C-G Districts are intended to serve the larger community as well as individual neighborhoods. Department stores, for example, are permitted in C-G Districts but not in areas zoned as C-N. Commercial Intensive districts allow intense commercial uses, minor industry uses and service uses. Projects in B-PO and C-N zoned areas are permitted up to a 0.20 FAR, while projects in C-G areas are limited to a 0.27 FAR and C-I zoned properties are allowed a 0.30 FAR.

The USF area also contains properties zoned as planned development (PD) districts. This category includes Planned Development-Housing (PD-H), Planned Development-Commercial (PD-C) and Planned Development-Mixed Use (PD-MU) districts. PD-H districts provide for the presence or development of residential developments, while PD-C districts provide for the development of commercial projects. Planned Development-Mixed Use districts permit "the establishment of complementary groupings of residential, commercial, office, industrial or other uses" (Hillsborough County 1992a:2-20).

Planned development districts represent zoning categories and a development process. The planned development process allows a more flexible placement of structures on sites than conventional lot-by-lot zoning. The total parcel rather than a single lot is the unit of regulation and controls apply to entire developments. Increased densities up to the maximum permitted per land use category may be calculated on a project basis to allow the clustering of buildings so that useful open spaces are created and natural site features are preserved. Increased flexibility allows project elements such as housing, transportation systems, open spaces and non-residential uses to be interrelated with one another. A site plan review process, "guided by a combination of

specific design standards and performance criteria, replaces the self-executing ordinance" (Moore and Siskin 1985:6).

Existing Land Use

Field surveys which were conducted in the study identified a variety of land uses in the USF area. The land uses identified include retail/commercial, office, utilities, public/quasi public, single family, multi-family, vacant and light industrial/warehouse. Table 5 details the quantity and percent each land use category represents in the USF area. Tables 6, 7, 8 and 9 provide section-by-section land use data. Figure 4 is a map illustrating the study area land uses.

As Table 5 shows, multi-family uses are the largest land use in the USF Area, constituting more than 37 percent of the area's total acreage. Multi-family uses are the dominant use in the Northwest, North and West sections. In the Northwest and North sections, more than 50 percent of the land area is used for multi-family purposes. For the purpose of this study, multi-family uses include multi-unit projects such as apartment complexes, duplexes and attached single family dwellings as well as mobile home parks and group homes. Figure 5 details the area's residential land use distribution.

Approximately 585 acres, or 22.51 percent, of the property in the study area is vacant, representing the second largest land use. Though the East section contains the highest percentage of undeveloped lands in relation to other uses, the section west of the University and south of Fletcher Avenue has the largest amount of vacant acreage. As Figure 6 illustrates, all sections have considerable quantities of large and small vacant parcels variously located within the boundaries. The considerable amount of vacant

property presents great potential for future ordered development in the USF area.

Table 5. USF Area Land Use.

Land Use Category	Square Feet	Acreage	% of Area Land
Retail/Commercial	15,753,250	361.64	13.90
Office	1,990,625	45.70	1.76
Utilities	1,493,750	34.29	1.32
Public/Quasi Public	5,720,625	131.32	5.05
Single Family	16,313,950	374.52	14.40
Multi-Family	42,640,375	978.88	37.64
Vacant	25,505,200	585.52	22.51
Light Ind/Warehouse	3,876,250	88.99	3.42
USF Area Total	113,294,025	2,600.87	100

Single family uses and retail/commercial uses represent the third and fourth the existing land uses. In the East section, single family developments are the largest land use types in the study area. Area-wide, single family uses comprise 14.4 percent of the area's total acreage, while retail/commercial uses occupy 13.9 percent of land use in that area, constituting 32.5 percent of the section's total land. Retail/commercial uses in the West section are similar to the section's total amount of vacant property, comprising 21.6 percent of the acreage. Vacant land comprises 22.6 percent of the West section's total acreage. Figure 7 illustrates the retail/commercial land uses as well as the public/quasi public uses, office uses, utilities uses and light industrial/warehouse uses in the study area. Tables 6, 7, 8 and 9 reveal that the large concentration of single family uses in the East section and the presence of University Square Mall in the West distort the area-wide land use ratios.

Table 6. USF Area West Section Land Use.

Land Use Category	Square Feet	Acreage	% of Section Land
Retail/Commercial	8,880,250	203.86	21.62
Office	545,000	12.51	1.33
Utilities	1,133,750	26.03	2.76
Public/Quasi Public	1,636,875	37.58	3.99
Single Family	5,120,325	117.55	12.47
Multi-Family	11,561,625	265.42	28.16
Vacant	9,259,225	212.55	22.55
Light Ind/Warehouse	2,926,250	67.18	7.12
Section Total	41,063,300	942.68	100

Table 7. USF Area Northwest Section Land Use.

Land Use Category	Square Feet	Acreage	% of Section Land
Retail/Commercial	5,384,875	123.62	17.15
Office	113,750	2.61	0.36
Utilities	0	0	0
Public/Quasi Public	966,875	22.20	3.08
Single Family	3,161,750	72.58	10.07
Multi-Family	16,026,250	367.91	51.03
Vacant	4,818,875	110.63	15.34
Light Ind/Warehouse	933,125	21.42	2.97
Section Total	31,405,500	720.97	100

Table 8. USF Area North Section Land Use.

Land Use Category	Square Feet	Acreage	% of Section Land
Retail/Commercial	115,625	2.65	0.61
Office	1,018,750	23.39	5.40
Utilities	0	0	0
Public/Quasi Public	2,487,500	57.12	13.19
Single Family	894,125	20.53	4.74
Multi-Family	9,596,250	220.31	50.89
Vacant	4,745,500	108.95	25.17
Light Ind/Warehouse	0	0	0
Section Total	18,857,750	432.93	100

Table 9. USF Area East Section Land Use.

Land Use Category	Square Feet	Acreage	% of Section Land
Retail/Commercial	1,372,500	31.51	6.25
Office	313,125	7.19	1.43
Utilities	360,000	8.26	1.64
Public/Quasi Public	629,375	14.45	2.86
Single Family	7,137,750	163.86	32.49
Multi-Family	5,456,250	125.26	24.84
Vacant	6,681,600	153.39	30.42
Light Ind/Warehouse	16,875	0.39	0.07
Section Total	21,967,475	504.31	100

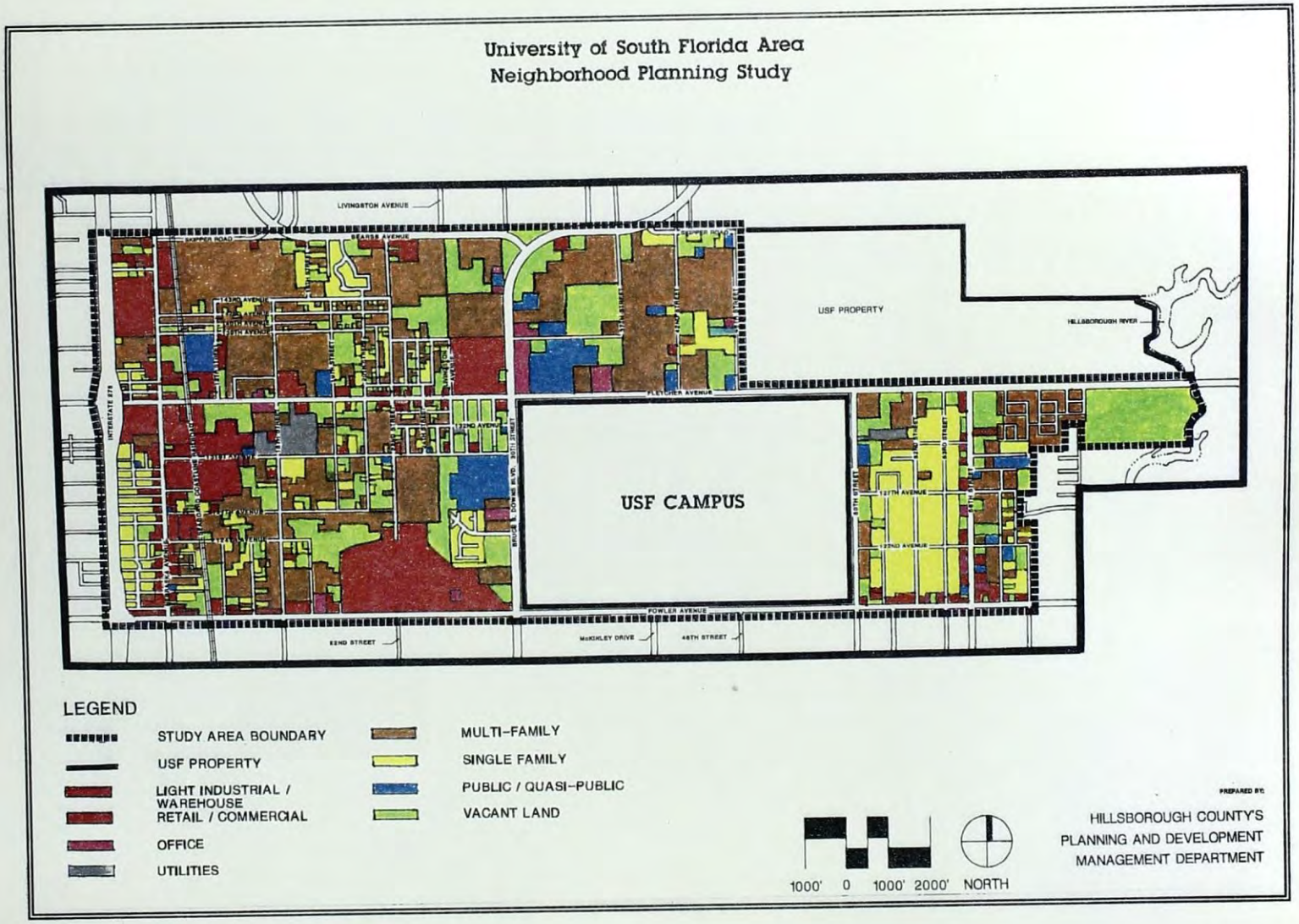


Figure 4. Existing Land Use.

Figure 5. Residential Land Use.

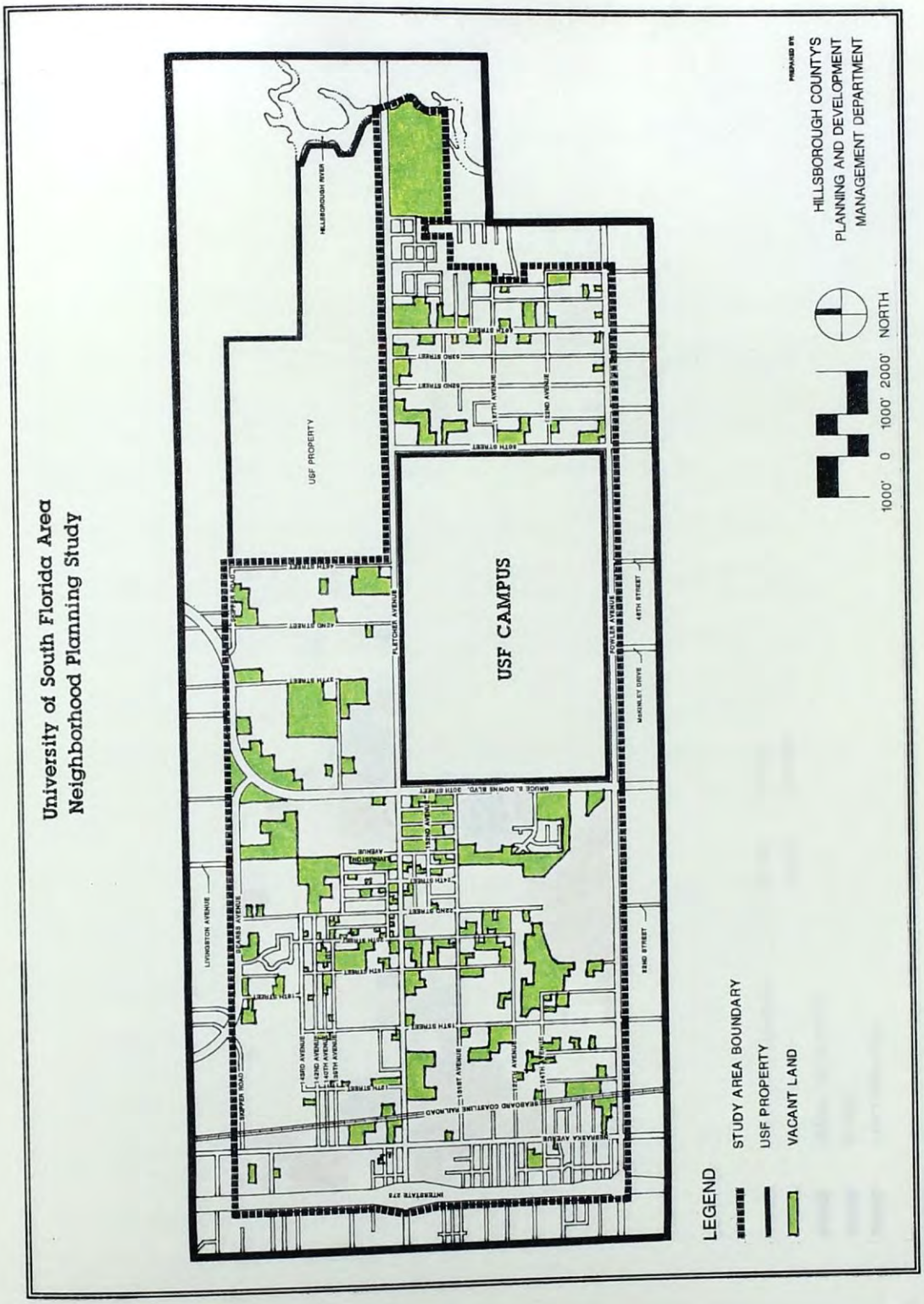


Figure 6. Vacant Land.

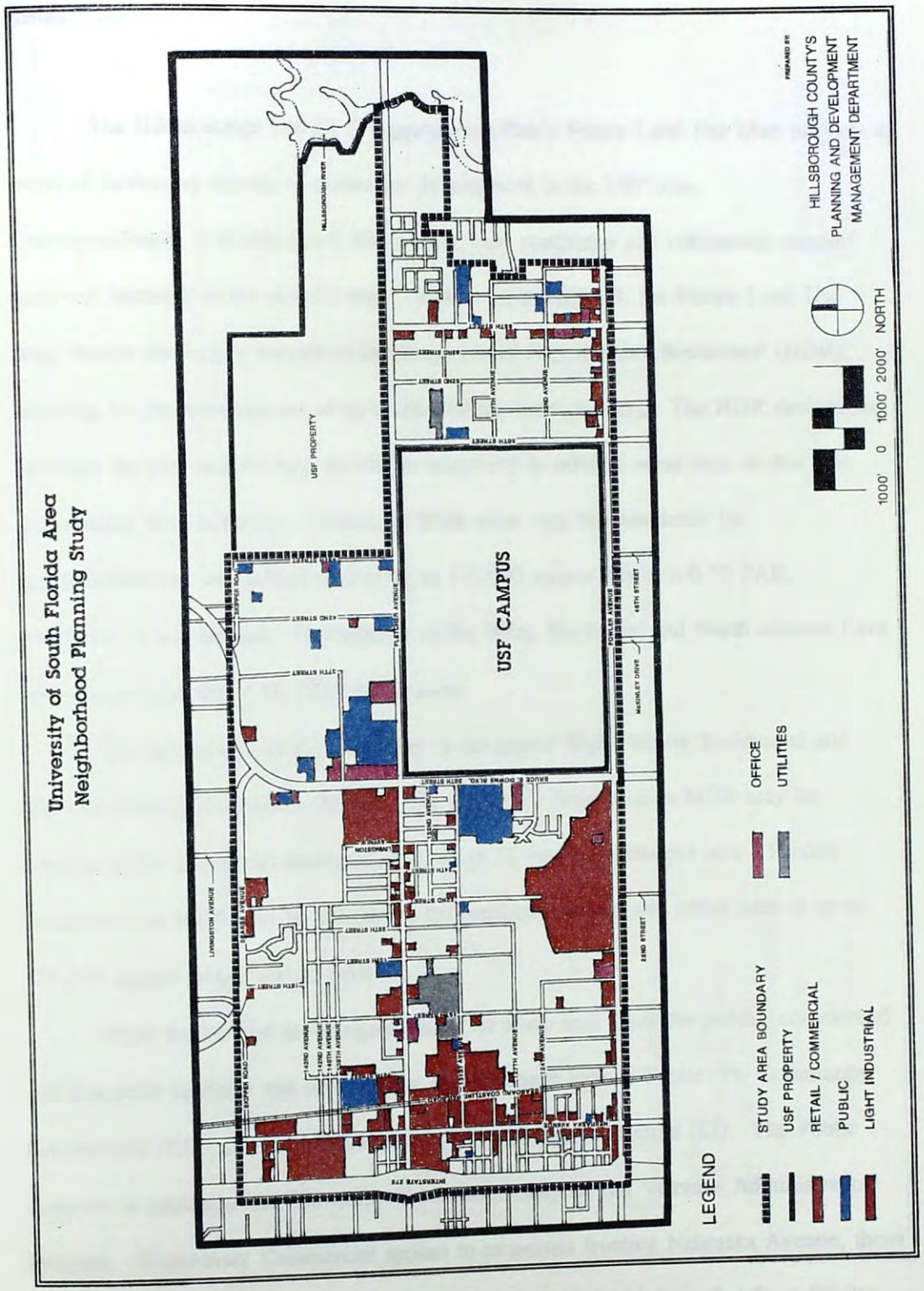


Figure 7. Retail/Commercial, Public, Light Industrial, Office and Utilities.

Future Land Use

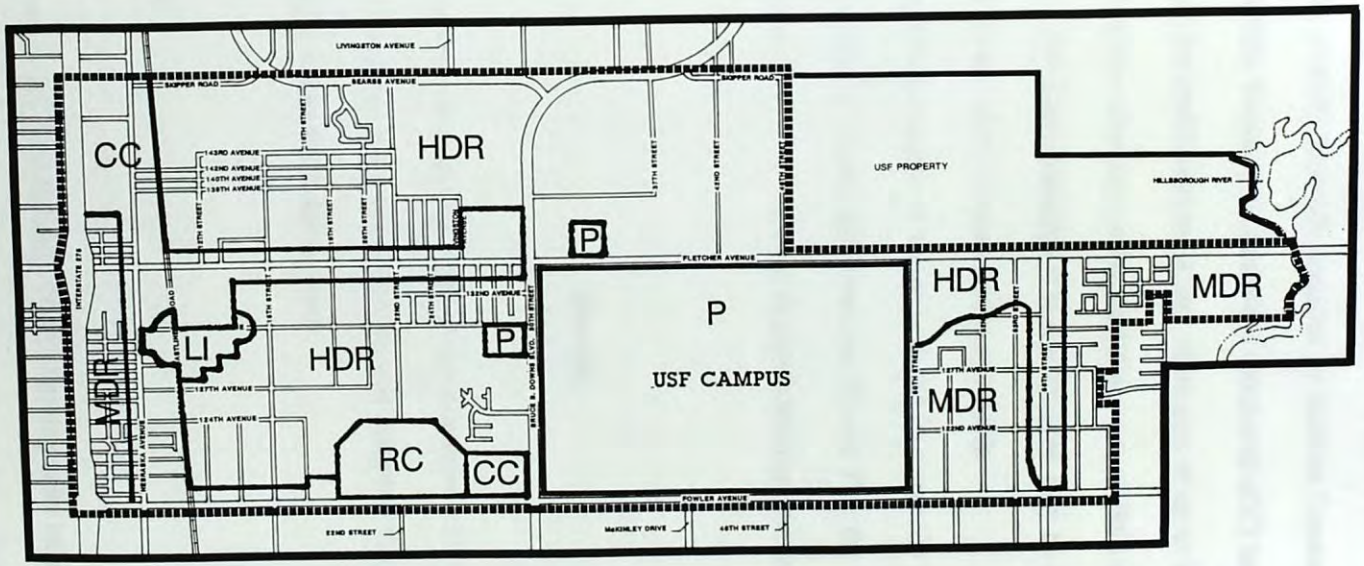
The Hillsborough County Comprehensive Plan's Future Land Use Map projects a trend of increasing density of residential development in the USF area. Correspondingly, it is anticipated that diverse local residential and community support uses will intensify in the next 20 years. Presented in Figure 8, the Future Land Use Map depicts the largest portion of the study area as High Density Residential (HDR), allowing for the development of up to 20 dwelling units per acre. The HDR designation provides the potential for high density development in selected areas such as that surrounding the University. Projects in HDR areas may be considered for retail/commercial and offices uses of up to 175,000 square feet or a 0.75 FAR, whichever is less intense. The majority of the West, Northwest and North sections have been categorized under the HDR designation.

The section east of the University is designated High Density Residential and Medium Density Residential (MDR). The properties designated as MDR may be considered for residential development of up to 12 dwelling units per acre. Parcels categorized as MDR may be considered for retail/commercial and office uses of up to 175,000 square feet or a 0.25 FAR.

Other future land use designations in the study area allow for public, commercial and industrial facilities and uses. These classifications include Public (P), Community Commercial (CC), Regional Commercial (RC) and Light Industrial (LI). The Public category is applied to the University Community Hospital and Veterans Administration Hospital. Community Commercial applies to properties fronting Nebraska Avenue, those along Fletcher Avenue west of Bruce B. Downs Boulevard and those that front Fowler

Figure 8. Future Land Use.

University of South Florida Area
Neighborhood Planning Study



LEGEND

▪▪▪▪▪▪▪	STUDY AREA BOUNDARY	P	PUBLIC / QUASI-PUBLIC
▬▬▬	USF PROPERTY	RC	REGIONAL COMMERCIAL (20 DU/AC)
CC	COMMUNITY COMMERCIAL (20 DU/AC)		
HDR	HIGH DENSITY RESIDENTIAL (20 DU/AC)		
LI	LIGHT INDUSTRIAL		
MDR	MEDIUM DENSITY RESIDENTIAL (12 DU/AC)		

1000' 0 1000' 2000' NORTH

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HILLSBOROUGH COUNTY'S
PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT
MANAGEMENT DEPARTMENT

Avenue. Exceptions to this locational situation are the Regional Commercial classification associated with the University Square Mall and the Light Industrial associated with the property currently occupied by Robbins Lumber and Manufacturing Company on Nebraska Avenue. Community Commercial (CC) land use designations may be considered for retail/commercial and office uses of up to 300,000 square feet or a 0.35 FAR. Properties classified as Regional Commercial (RC) may be considered for up to a 1.0 FAR. The Light Industrial (LI) classification may be considered for up to a 0.5 FAR. FARs do not apply to areas designated Public.

Given the area's quantity of vacant land and its proximity to the University of South Florida, the City of Tampa and Interstates 75 and 275, the USF area has great potential in the next 20 years to increase in population size and intensity/density of land use.

Housing

The USF area contains a diverse range of housing types and housing conditions. This section addresses housing types and conditions and describes County-administered programs designed to address housing issues.

Housing Types

According to the 1990 Census, 17,581 housing units exist in the USF area. As indicated earlier and shown in Table 10, 74.4 percent of the total housing stock is multi-family, representing the largest percentage of dwelling units in the study area. The

largest number of multi-family units are situated in the West and Northwest sections, while the North section has the highest proportion of multi-family units compared to other types. Duplex units comprise the second largest category of dwelling types, representing almost nine percent of the housing total. The highest concentration of duplex units is in the Northwest section. Detached single family dwelling units rank third in representation with a 7.5 percent share, followed by mobile homes (6.9 percent) and attached single family dwellings (2.4 percent).

Table 10. 1990 USF Area Housing Types.

Section	Total Units	SFD[a] Units	SFA[b] Units	Duplex Units	MF[c] Units	MH[d] Units
West	5,491 (31.2)[e]	392 (7.1)	77 (1.4)	389 (7.1)	4,363 (79.5)	270 (4.9)
Northwest	6,136 (34.9)	280 (4.6)	82 (1.3)	742 (12.1)	4,138 (67.4)	894 (14.6)
North	3,283 (18.7)	116 (3.5)	66 (2.0)	12 (0.4)	3,070 (93.5)	19 (0.6)
East	2,671 (15.2)	522 (19.5)	195 (7.3)	409 (15.3)	1,516 (56.8)	29 (1.1)
Area Total	17,581 (100)	1,310 (7.5)	420 (2.4)	1,552 (8.8)	13,087 (74.4)	1,212 (6.9)

[a] SFD=Single Family Detached
[b] SFA=Single Family Attached
[c] MF=Multi-Family
[d] MH=Mobile Home
[e] Numbers in parentheses indicate the percentage each category represents in relation to the total.
Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census 1990.

Housing Conditions

Housing codes apply to existing housing and provide standards to ensure that dwelling units are safe and healthy places in which to live. Substandard housing refers to deficient conditions of a dwelling unit that is in violation of the local housing code. Although substandard housing within the entire unincorporated area of Hillsborough County is not generally perceived to be a major issue (Hillsborough County Affordable Housing Steering Committee 1989:2), it has been recognized as a major problem in the study area's Northwest and West sections.

In October 1990, the Florida Center for Urban Design and Research completed a field survey of the exterior conditions of unincorporated Hillsborough County's housing stock (Hillsborough County Housing and Community Development Department 1991). Overall, the survey reveals that approximately 9.8 percent of USF area housing units were considered substandard in 1990. Almost 21 percent of the total number of housing units in the Northwest section of the study area were determined to be substandard. Substandard units in the West section comprised approximately 7.8 percent of the section's housing stock. Less than one percent of the dwelling units in the North and East sections were identified as substandard.

Since 1991, Housing and Community Development staff have inspected 1,300 apartment units and issued numerous citations. Within the past two years, the County has handled 210 cases regarding code violations. The code violations which have been prosecuted include cases dealing with substandard structures, property condemnation, demolition and overgrown vacant lots.

Hillsborough County Housing and Community Development Department staff

interviewed have stated that the current problems of substandard housing and community maintenance are the result of federal tax laws that discouraged maintenance and small-scale development investors' attempts to maximize short-term profits. The housing statistics presented above, and field surveys conducted by Planning and Development Management staff, confirm that in the Northwest and to a lesser degree the West sections, the number of duplex, quadruplex and relatively small multi-family structures developed is significant. Construction of these dwelling types did not necessarily require the pooled resources of large corporations but could instead have been developed by individuals or groups with access to moderate levels of funding.

County staff claim that small-scale investors, under the federal tax provisions and guidelines that existed prior to the 1986 Tax Reform Act, were not encouraged to fully maintain rental properties. The tax laws that existed prior to the 1986 Act stipulated that many repairs had to be capitalized rather than deducted as ordinary expenses (Bruce 1992:11; Colman 1985:31-35). As a result, many owners with relatively little capital invested who sought maximum short-term returns leased units for the highest possible rate, collected rent and failed to perform adequate maintenance. Several years of neglect culminated in housing conditions that required substantial rehabilitation investments. Many owners, rather than investing additional capital for rehabilitation, chose to sell the deteriorating properties once they were fully depreciated.

Housing and Community Development staff state that withdrawal of the small-scale investors further contributed to the process of decline in the USF area. Due to the deteriorating housing and neighborhood conditions and a depressed real estate market, investors were reluctant or declined to purchase property in the Northwest and West sections. As a result, some small-scale development owners who could not find buyers

for their land terminated payments on real estate loans and allowed financial institutions to foreclose. Lending institutions, because they were secured creditors, took over other properties held by investors who opted for bankruptcy. County staff find that recipient institutions have either allowed structures to remain unoccupied or they have contracted management firms to control operations. Many of these professional management groups provide little or no maintenance and thus further contribute to the sections' deterioration.

Many concerned USF area property owners today face a troubled and complex situation that will require a multi-faceted and committed problem solving approach. Homeowners and investors who prefer to exit the area have found few willing to purchase their properties. Also, the deteriorating housing and neighborhood conditions have led many property owners to believe that costly repairs will raise values only slightly. Additional investment for major housing repairs would require owners of rental property to charge rates comparable with other rental developments in more attractive areas of Hillsborough County. Given these circumstances, a USF area property owner appears to have little incentive to make repairs.

According to Housing and Community Development Department personnel, correcting or alleviating substandard housing conditions requires intense enforcement activities and continuous monitoring. The Department has created the Neighborhood Involvement Program (NIP) in an effort to involve neighborhood and civic associations in assisting with the department's enforcement activities. The objective of the program is provide neighborhood volunteers, acting as members of a neighborhood association, "an opportunity to correct code violations through 'neighbor to neighbor contact' before turning complaints over to the County for enforcement" (Hillsborough County Housing and Community Development Department 1991:1). No USF area civic association,

however, has agreed to participate in the Neighborhood Involvement Program.

Housing and Community Development staff claim the Neighborhood Improvement Program can be used to achieve positive results. However, given the existing public as well as private sector financial environment and the physical conditions in the West and Northwest sections, it is doubtful that the current level of available code enforcement resources will eliminate most of the area's substandard housing units. Code enforcement and the Neighborhood Involvement Program are considered by County staff to be important tools available to promote better housing. These tools, County staff state, should be augmented with highly publicized rehabilitation programs and other initiatives in order to noticeably improve area conditions. A variety of County-administered housing programs do exist and are described below.

Affordable Housing

Affordable housing is generally defined as owner or renter housing whose costs consume no more than 30 percent of total income. Housing costs consist of mortgage or rental payments, taxes, insurance, and utilities (Bruce 1992:11). Hillsborough County's Housing Finance Authority and the Housing and Community Development Department administer several state and federally funded programs designed to address the issue of affordable housing for very low-, low- and moderate-income families. These programs include Section 8 Rental Assistance, Rental Rehabilitation, Homeowner Rehabilitation, the First-Time Home Buyer Program and the Second Mortgage Program.

Section 8 Rental Assistance is a program that provides rent subsidies through its Certificate and Voucher Programs for very low-income families for safe, decent and

sanitary housing. The families' share of the rent is based on their income and must be paid directly to property owners or managers. Section 8 pays the remainder of the contract rent directly to owners or managers. In some instances, Section 8 pays the entire rental amount and the family receives funds for payment of utilities. Each family chooses its housing unit and the unit must be inspected at least annually. Inspections are conducted to ensure that the unit meets Section 8 Housing Quality Standards and the County's minimum code. Section 8 is currently subsidizing over 1,500 families. One-third of those families are housed in the USF area. Additional federal allocations recently acquired will allow Hillsborough County's Section 8 Program to subsidize more than 1,600 families. According to the Housing and Community Development Department's Comprehensive Housing Affordability Strategy (1991:5), Hillsborough County contained approximately 20,500 very low-income households in need of some form of rental assistance in 1990.

The Rental Rehabilitation Program assists investor/owners rehabilitate existing rental housing to meet the County's Minimum Housing Code. Units rehabilitated under this program are made available to low-income families and the elderly. The Homeowner Rehabilitation Program supplies loans to eligible low-income homeowners and is designed to aid in returning their dwellings to conditions that comply with the Minimum Housing Code. Types of assistance available include low-interest loans, deferred payment loans and decreasing ten-year loans.

The First-Time Home Buyer and Second Mortgage Programs are designed to increase ownership of housing by low- and moderate-income families. The Housing Finance Authority (HFA) administers the First-Time Buyer and Second Mortgage Programs through tax exempt bonds and federal funds. Financing is provided for low-

and moderate-income families through loans carrying no interest or at below market rates.

The Housing and Community Development Department's primary resource for financing affordable housing and neighborhood revitalization is provided by the federal government's Community Development Block Grant (CDBG) program. CDBG funds can be used for development activities such as property acquisition, residential and non-residential property rehabilitation and infrastructure construction and improvements. Eligibility for the CDBG program is based primarily on the percentage of low-income families in a specified area. Also, CDBG housing assistance is available county-wide for income-eligible households.

Areas in Hillsborough County eligible to receive assistance from federal CDBG funds include the communities of Dover, Thonotossasa, Progress Village, Causeway, Gibsonton, Wimauma and Orient Park. Because 1980 Census figures were the source for eligibility determination, the USF area was not included as a CDBG target area. Hillsborough County City-County Planning Commission staff have processed the 1990 Census statistics and determined that the West and Northwest sections of the USF Area are eligible for the CDBG program.

Hillsborough County also receives funds from the federally established HOME (not an acronym) Investment Partnership Program and Florida's State Housing Initiatives Partnership (SHIP) Program. Federal HOME funds can be applied to housing programs that deal with rental assistance, rehabilitation, property acquisition and construction. The HOME Investment Partnership Program encourages public/private collaborative efforts aimed at increasing the supply of affordable housing. Florida's SHIP Program provides financial resources to Hillsborough County and other local governments and encourages

public/private housing partnerships as well. Hillsborough County intends to use the SHIP monies "to match federal HOME funds and to provide loan guarantees for new construction" (Hillsborough County Housing and Community Development Department 1992:2).

Public Facilities and Services

The USF area is served by a variety of public, non-profit and private agencies. This section describes the public facilities and services provided area residents.

Law Enforcement

Crime has been identified by property owners and the Hillsborough County Sheriff's Office as one of the most significant problems in the USF study area. Property and local business owners claim that the issue only recently became a serious concern. An examination of the information collected and maintained since 1980 demonstrates that current concerns are not without warrant. A general summary of the USF area and unincorporated Hillsborough County crime statistics is presented in Table 11. According to the crime reports, the study area is and has been since 1981 one of the highest crime sections of Hillsborough County. The statistics reveal that over the last 11 years the USF Area population has represented roughly 6.5 percent of the unincorporated County's total and accounted for approximately 12.5 percent of its crime (Hillsborough County Sheriff's Office 1982a-1992a, 1982b-1992b).

A closer inspection of the crime statistics since 1981 indicates that changes have

Table 11. 1981-1991 Crime and Population Comparisons: Unincorporated County and USF Area.

Category	1981	1983	1985	1987	1989	1991	1981-1991 % Change
County Population	356,192	392,168	444,900	487,222	506,249	520,531	46.1
USF Area Population	23,009	25,569	28,836	31,569	30,286	32,236	40.1
USF Area Population as % of County Population	6.5	6.5	6.5	6.5	5.9	6.2	-0.3
County Crimes	23,768	21,483	26,961	29,638	36,411	37,430	57.5
USF Area Crimes	2,968	2,790	3,271	3,566	4,302	4,706	58.6
USF Area Crimes as % of County Crimes	12.5	12.9	12.1	12.0	11.8	12.6	0.1
County Crime Per 1,000 Persons[a]	62.5	51.1	56.9	57.0	67.5	66.8	0.4
USF Area Crime Per 1,000 Persons	129.0	109.1	113.4	112.9	142.0	146.0	1.7

[a] County crime per 1,000 persons excludes USF Area data.
Sources: Hillsborough County Sheriff's Office 1982a, 1982b, 1984a, 1984b, 1986a, 1986b, 1988a, 1988b, 1990a, 1990b, 1992a, 1992b.

occurred in the overall unincorporated County and the USF Area. As Table 11 shows, in 1981 crimes per 1,000 persons were at their highest levels in both areas for the years up to 1989. The lowest rate for unincorporated Hillsborough County was in 1983, when crimes per 1,000 persons equalled 51.1. For the USF Area, 1984 marked the year of least crimes reported with 104.1 per 1,000 persons.

Since 1984, the number of crimes reported in the County and the study area have risen substantially. In 1991, crimes per 1000 persons totalled 66.8 in the unincorporated County and 146.0 in the USF area. The crime data comparison also indicates that unincorporated Hillsborough County's population increased from 487,222 in 1987 to 506,249 in 1989, while the USF area's decreased from 31,569 to 30,286 persons.

Crime profiles of the sections north and east of USF are similar to that of unincorporated Hillsborough County as a whole, while those west and northwest are not. Tables 12, 13, 14 and 15 present ratios of population and crime for each section in relation to the unincorporated County totals. In the years presented (1985, 1987, 1989, and 1991) the area west of USF emerges as the most crime-stricken in the study area. Consistently since 1985, the West section has been the location for over five percent of unincorporated Hillsborough County's crimes while housing less than two percent of its total population. Crimes per 1,000 people in the West section have been roughly triple the same figure for the County. In the 1985-1991 period, the Northwest area also housed approximately 2 percent of the County's population but accounted for 4.5 percent of the total crime. Crimes per 1,000 persons in the Northwest approached three times the same figure for unincorporated Hillsborough County in 1991. Tables 12, 13, 14 and 15 show that the North and East sections have also increased their shares of County crime, but not as dramatically as the Northwest and West.

Table 12. 1991 USF Area Population and Crime Comparisons.

Category	West	Northwest	North	East
% of County Population	1.7	2.0	0.9	1.6
% of County Crime	5.3	4.7	1.3	1.2
Crimes Per 1,000 Persons	227.6	171.0	100.52	87.9

Source: Hillsborough County Sheriff's Office 1992a, 1992b.

Table 13. 1989 USF Area Population and Crime Comparisons.

Category	West	Northwest	North	East
% of County Population	1.7	2.0	0.8	1.5
% of County Crime	5.1	4.0	1.4	1.2
Crimes Per 1,000 Persons	216.8	143.5	117.91	58.8

Source: Hillsborough County Sheriff's Office 1990a, 1990b.

Table 14. 1987 USF Area Population and Crime Comparisons.

Category	West	Northwest	North	East
% of County Population	2.1	2.1	0.9	1.3
% of County Crime	5.5	4.9	0.7	0.5
Crimes Per 1,000 Persons	161.3	139.2	44.3	55.0

Source: Hillsborough County Sheriff's Office 1988a, 1988b.

According to USF's University Police Department, the number of crimes committed on the campus by individuals not associated with the university has risen as well. Available crime statistics reveal that in 1989 department personnel performed 413 arrests. The data show that 222 of the total arrests involved individuals not affiliated with the university. University Police Department records for 1991 show that, of the

Table 15. 1985 USF Area Population and Crime Comparisons.

Category	West	Northwest	North	East
% of County Population	2.1	2.1	1.0	1.3
% of County Crime	6.2	4.2	0.7	1.1
Crimes Per 1,000 Persons	179.6	118.3	42.9	52.9

Source: Hillsborough County Sheriff's Office 1986a, 1986b.

462 arrests, 284 involved persons not associated with USF. From 1989 to 1991, the total number of arrests performed by University Police officers rose 11.9 percent, while the number of incidents involving suspects not affiliated with the university increased 27.9 percent. The latest available data indicate that larceny is the most prevalent of crimes in the USF area. Burglary is the second most reported crime, followed by aggravated assault and car theft. In 1991, drug sales and possession arrests per 1,000 persons in the area north of Fletcher Avenue and west of Bruce B. Downs occurred at a higher rate than in any other area in unincorporated Hillsborough County. Car thefts per 1,000 persons in the area south of Fletcher Avenue and west of Bruce B. Downs Boulevard ranked second-highest in the County (Hillsborough County Sheriff's Office 1992a, 1992b).

Though no specific explanations have been offered regarding the 1981 to 1984 crime rate decreases, the rise in crime witnessed by unincorporated Hillsborough County since 1984 has been attributed by Sheriff's Deputies primarily to two specific causes. First, the substantial increase in crimes reported for 1985 coincides with the introduction of significant quantities of 'crack' cocaine into the County. As officials from the Tampa Police Department have noted, "with the introduction of 'crack'... and the advent of open street drug dealing, events began to change rapidly. Every classification of crime

increased dramatically" (Smith et al. 1990:2). In unincorporated Hillsborough the number of crimes reported rose from 21,152 in 1984 to 29,638 in 1987. By 1989, that number had reached 36,411, representing a 72 percent increase for the seven year period. Over the same period, unincorporated Hillsborough County's population increased 24 percent.

The second causal factor mentioned by Sheriff's officers was the founding of the Tampa Police Department's Quick Uniform Attack on Drugs ('Quad Squad') program in County,February 1989. The Quad Squad represents a collaborative public/private initiative that originally sought to move street corner drug dealers indoors and now focuses on indoor and outdoor activities. Specifically, the Police Department developed a strategy to identify active "dope holes" in the City of Tampa. The City was divided into four quadrants and a squad consisting of ten officers was assigned to each quadrant. Each squad was and is given the responsibility for the continuous observation of and enforcement in all identified "dope holes" within their quadrant. If dealers move their businesses to another location, efforts are focused on the new location. Citizens are encouraged by officers who attend neighborhood meetings to report illegal activities. The program involves all City departments and officers from each division or bureau of the Police Department, and includes active media involvement to enhance public education and support (City of Tampa 1991:5-18). According to City officials, "by every standard of measurement, the ... program implemented by the Tampa Police Department has been a success. The streets of Tampa are safer ... and the level of violence ... has declined significantly" (Smith et al. 1990:16). The department also predicted their concentrated efforts "would result in a displacement of the problem to other neighborhoods" (Smith et al. 1990:12). The 1989 and 1991 figures indicate that,

for unincorporated Hillsborough County in general and the USF area in particular, the prediction was realized. Tables 13 and 14 illustrate the significant rise in unincorporated County and USF area crimes reported.

The Hillsborough County Sheriff's Office has responded to the recent intensification of criminal activities with an initiative that seeks to involve local residents in the problem-identification process. Specifically, the Sheriff's Office has formed a Street Crime Unit that bases many of its activities on information supplied by USF area residents. "Community-oriented policing" is the term used by Sheriff's Office personnel to characterize that effort. The Street Crime Unit consists of 12 patrols, including two on bicycles, that operate in the study area from approximately 4 p.m. to 12 p.m., five days a week. Days and times of these patrols vary as unit members deem necessary to provide enforcement during high crime periods and to maintain a certain element of surprise.

The Street Crime Unit operates in addition to the standard patrols that provide law enforcement service to the USF area. The units serving the USF Area operate out of the Northwest District Sheriff's Office. The standard patrols typically consist of 10 to 14 cars and cover a large area of the unincorporated County. The Street Crime Unit and the standard patrols are assisted on Thursdays, Fridays, and Saturdays by the Prisoner Transfer program. The operation supplies the transportation for arrested individuals to the County jail. According to Deputies, the average travel and processing time required to complete a given arrest is approximately 45 minutes. Ideally, the Prisoner Transfer operation allows on-duty Deputies to remain in the field. Sheriff's Office officials note that since funds have not been made available for the operation of the transfer program, a volunteer corps of off-duty officers must be used.

Funding for additional law enforcement as well as community development activities has been requested by Hillsborough County's Community Services and Planning Department from the United States Department of Justice. The Department of Justice administers funds to communities through "Operation Weed and Seed." Weed and Seed is a comprehensive, multi-agency approach aimed at combating violent crime, drug use, and gang activity in high-crime neighborhoods and "restoring neighborhoods through social and economic revitalization" (Hillsborough County Community Services and Planning 1992:1). The program's primary goals are to eliminate violent and drug-related crime in selected neighborhoods and to "provide a safe environment, free of crime, for law-abiding citizens to live, work and raise a family" (U.S. Department of Justice 1992:11). In the fall of 1992, Hillsborough County selected the USF area as one of three County Weed and Seed sites and is anticipating federal funding.

Operation Weed and Seed includes four major strategies and requires a six-step implementation plan. The strategies are: (1) crime suppression; (2) community-oriented policing; (3) drug abuse prevention, intervention and treatment activities; and (4) neighborhood restoration. The required six components of the implementation plan are: (1) establishing a Weed and Seed steering committee; (2) selecting target neighborhoods; (3) conducting a needs assessment; (4) specifying resources required for identified needs; (5) identifying implementation activities; and (6) developing an implementation schedule. Efforts to satisfy the Department of Justice requirements are in progress (Hillsborough County Community Services and Planning 1992:1-3).

Fire Protection

The Hillsborough County Fire Department currently operates one fire station in the USF study area. This facility, North Hillsborough Station 14, is located immediately west of 15th Street on 131st Avenue. It houses two pump-equipped vehicles and one ladder truck. According to a Fire Department official, the USF area has one of the highest rates of fire incidence in Hillsborough County. In 1992, 22,428 fire calls were recorded in the unincorporated county; Station 14 responded to 2,900, or 12.9 percent, of the total. Poor construction practices, substandard materials, and several years of inadequate building maintenance are singled out as causes for the study area's high number of fires.

In addition to the high volume of calls Station 14 receives, two problems were mentioned by Fire Department staff. The first deals with water supply facilities and refers to the fact that, away from the major arteries in the western sections, fire hydrants are placed at relatively great distances from one another. This distancing requires that in some instances hoses of considerable length be used. In these situations, response time from receipt of the call to the time fire fighters begin to attempt to extinguish the blaze may increase significantly and result in greater property damage or loss. The second problem is the large area Station 14 is assigned to cover. According to Fire Department staff, an average of 10 minutes elapses before particular locations east of the University are reached. Based on studies dealing with response time and fire-related property damage, the Hillsborough County Fire Department has determined that a five minute response time is necessary to prevent extensive property loss.

Water and Sewer Facilities

Water and sanitary sewer facilities and services are provided by the City of Tampa. Initial construction of each system began in the 1950s with later modifications performed in the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s. The water distribution system consists of an incomplete grid of 6, 8, 10, 12, and 16 inch lines supplied by two 36 inch transmission main pipes located along Skipper Road, Bearss Avenue and Bruce B. Downs Boulevard. According to City of Tampa staff, the two transmission main pipes were constructed by the Tampa Water Department, while the majority of the area's water supply lines were constructed by small water companies that have since been acquired by the City. The sanitary sewer system consists of a network of 4, 6, 8, 10, 12, and 20 inch lines. Figure 9 presents a map of the water system. The sanitary sewer system is shown in Figure 10.

No significant problems concerning either the water or sanitary sewer system was mentioned by City of Tampa officials. Both systems were said to possess sufficient capacity for new and future development.

Stormwater Management

Much of the physical development in the USF study area occurred prior to the planning and installation of large-scale drainage projects. Increased runoff from urbanization, lack of a natural surface outlet for floodwater and an unplanned piecemeal drainage system have caused many parts of the area to flood during heavier storms. To control the increased runoff and provide adequate storage and treatment facilities in the USF area, the Hillsborough County Engineering Services Department has utilized the

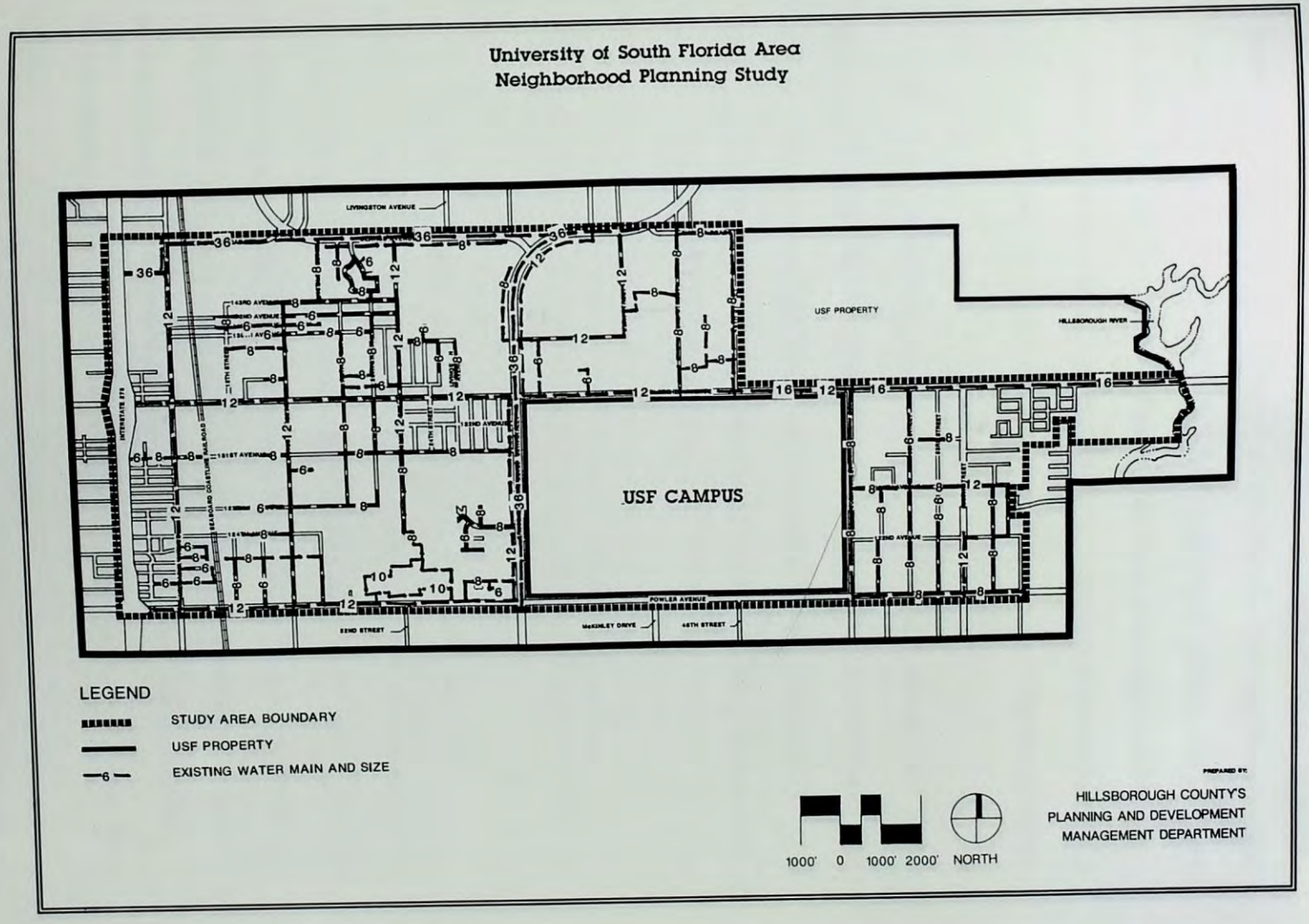


Figure 9. Potable Water System.

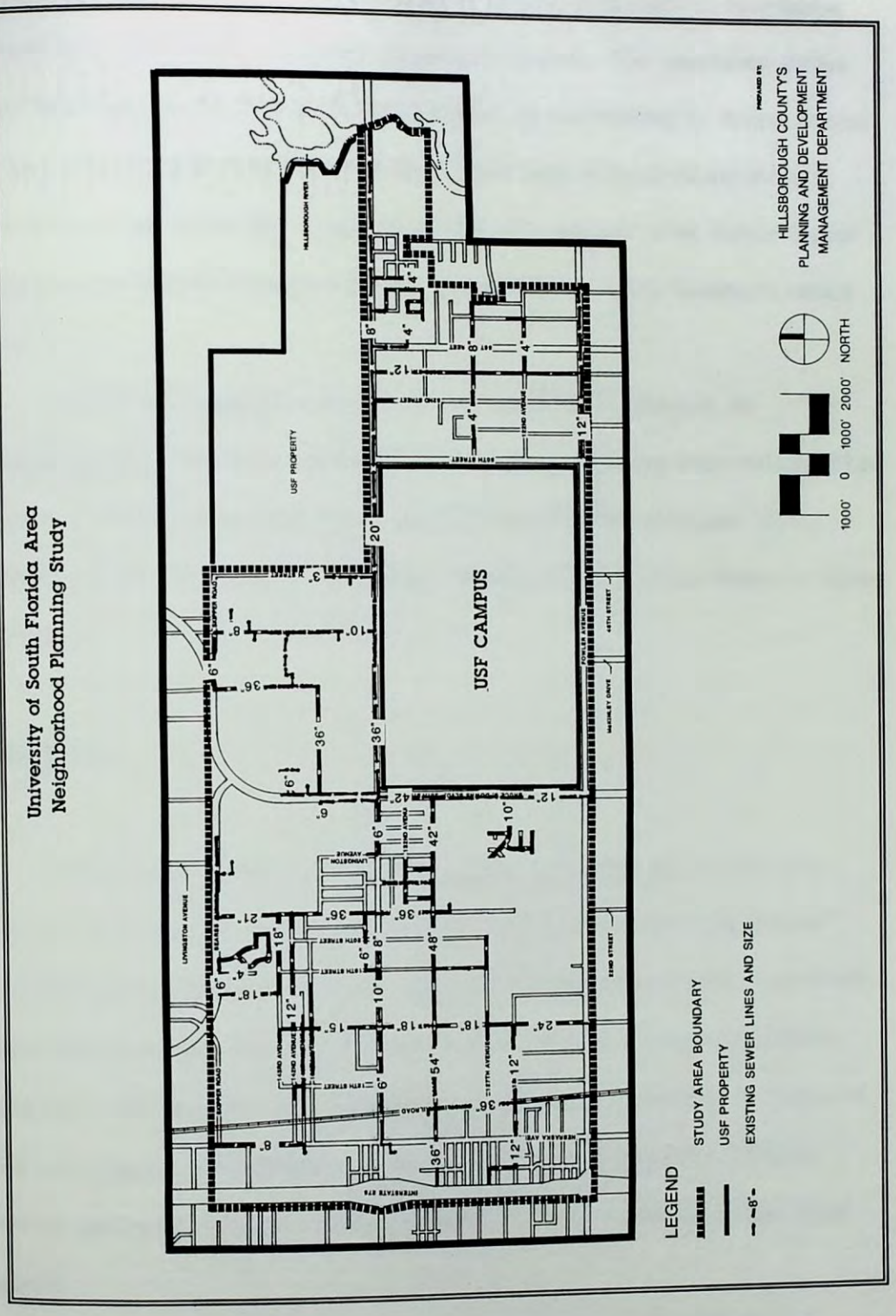


Figure 10. Sanitary Sewer System.

findings and recommendations of two consultants' studies as the bases for determining the necessary stormwater management improvement projects. The consultants' studies focus specifically on the Duck Pond Outfall System, an area bounded by Fowler Avenue on the south, Nebraska Avenue on the west, Skipper Road on the north and Bruce B. Downs Boulevard on the east. County funds have been allocated in the current Capital Improvements Program to improve the flow of runoff and to reduce flooding in certain areas.

Stormwater management projects recently completed or scheduled for construction in the near future include: Duck Pond Phase I drainage improvements; 22nd Street and 136th Avenue; 131st Avenue and Interstate 275; 52nd Street and 127th Avenue; and 58th Street and 122nd Avenue. The Duck Pond Drainage System is shown in Figure 11.

Solid Waste

Hillsborough County Ordinance 86-23 (1986:1) mandates that all solid waste generated in the County be disposed of into the County's Solid Waste Disposal and Resource Recovery System. Ordinance 92-34 (Hillsborough County 1992:1) specifically states that commercial and residential waste is to be collected by authorized franchise collectors. The Ordinance allows exemptions for residents and businesses to dispose of their solid waste at the appropriate County facility (Hillsborough County 1992:16). Persons seeking an exemption must provide proof that they can dispose of their refuse properly.

Solid Waste removal services in the study area are provided by Waste Aid

Figure 11. Stormwater System.

Systems, a private firm operating under a Franchise Agreement with Hillsborough County. Waste Aid Systems provides curbside residential pick-up as well as commercial service to businesses and multi-family establishments. The company also offers special collection services for non-processable items such as household furniture and appliances for an additional fee. Schedules of fees are distributed to apartment managers, businesses and homeowners monthly.

Hillsborough County Department of Solid Waste staff noted a number of problems in the study area. The most significant problems mentioned concerning solid waste in the USF area were littering, illegal dumping into vacant properties and illegal disposal of non-processable items such as furniture into and around residential solid waste dumpsters. Though Waste Aid Systems offers special large item service to property owners and managers, Department of Solid Waste officials claim the additional service is requested less frequently than is necessary. Instead of requesting the special service, County staff state that residents and soon-to-be former residents often place their discarded mattresses, sofas and other items near or around the solid waste dumpsters paid for by the property owner for tenants' use. Given the fact that the area is largely renter occupied and transient, the intensity of illegal disposal of bulky non-processable items can become substantial at times.

From October 1991 to December 1992, the Department of Solid Waste maintains that noticeable improvement has occurred in the Department's USF target area. During this time, 58 tons of solid waste were removed from the West and Northwest sections. The improvement is credited to efficient cleanup procedures developed in a collaborative effort involving the Department of Solid Waste and the County Road and Street Maintenance Department. The cleanup procedures include daily surveillance activities

by County staff. Property owners and managers are notified immediately to clean up illegal accumulations and/or remove non-processable large items identified in their solid waste dumpsters.

Property owners, managers and residents can report illegal dumping activities on Right-of-Ways (ROW) directly to the Department of Solid Waste and request that the accumulations be removed. Following the receipt of cleanup requests, department staff inspect reported sites and forward cleanup requests to the Road and Street Maintenance Department. Through this new procedure, property owners' and managers' awareness has increased regarding the removal of illegal accumulations of furniture and other large items around solid waste dumpsters. County staff are currently exploring additional possible approaches to address problems concerning solid waste in the USF area. The area targeted by the Department of Solid Waste is shown in Figure 12.

Parks and Recreation Facilities

There is a notable absence of parks and other public recreation facilities in the USF area. A playground/neighborhood park maintained by the County's Parks and Recreation Department is located at Paul Mort Elementary School adjacent to the study area's northwest boundary. The Parks and Recreation Department provides after-school and summer programs for area youth at the Mort playground. Access to the park, however, is inhibited by the busy four-lane Bearss Avenue, which children must cross to reach the park from the Northwest section. Children's play activities are otherwise restricted to private yards, parking lots and neighborhood streets. In the Northwest and West sections, the absence of parks and public recreation facilities creates serious safety

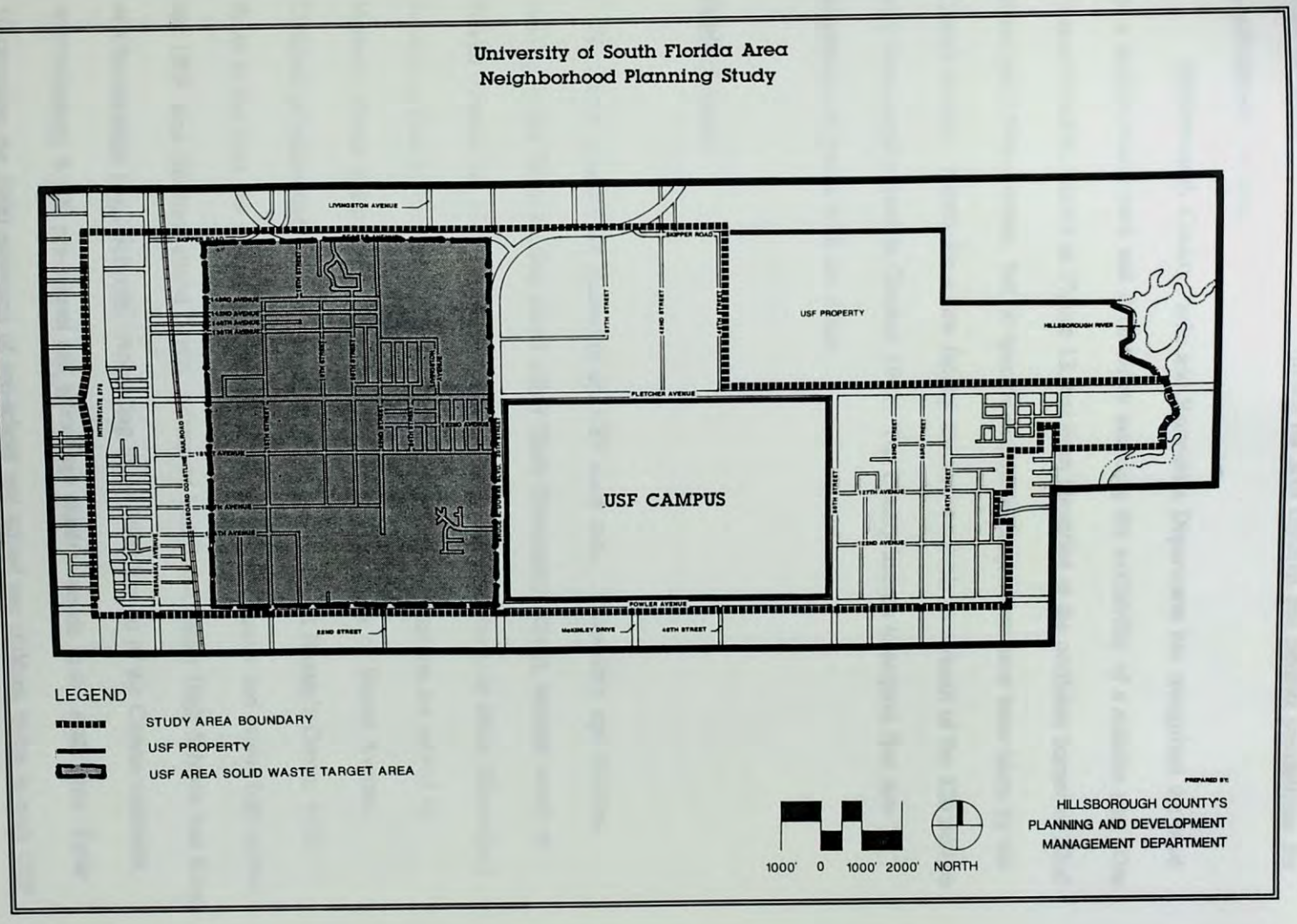


Figure 12. Solid Waste Target Area.

concerns, limits recreational opportunities for area children and inhibits possibilities for neighborhood cohesion.

Hillsborough County Parks and Recreation Department has recognized the need for a neighborhood park and is currently assessing the availability of a suitable site. One 15 acre location, shown in Figure 13, has been identified at the northeast corner of 22nd Street and 138th Avenue, but no specific actions for acquisition have been taken by the County to date. Funds for a new facility are now available as a result of the $20 million park bond issue passed in October 1992. The County intends to acquire five new neighborhood parks with the funds.

Public Schools

No public schools are located in the USF study area. Elementary age children residing in the West section attend either Shaw Elementary School, situated south of Fowler Avenue on 15th Street, Witter Elementary on 22nd Street, or Miles Elementary School on East 124th Street. Those living in the Northwest section are served by Hunter's Green Elementary, Miles and Paul Mort Elementary on Bearss Avenue. Children of elementary school age in the North section attend Hunter's Green, while those in the East are served by Lewis Elementary School. Junior and senior high school age USF area children attend Greco, Adams or Van Buren Junior High Schools and King or Chamberlain High Schools. According to the 1990 Bureau of the Census estimates, approximately 6,100 pre-school and school age children reside in the study area. Table 16 provides the 1990 estimates of pre-school and school age children living in each USF Area section. Figures 14, 15 and 16 illustrate USF Area public school boundaries.

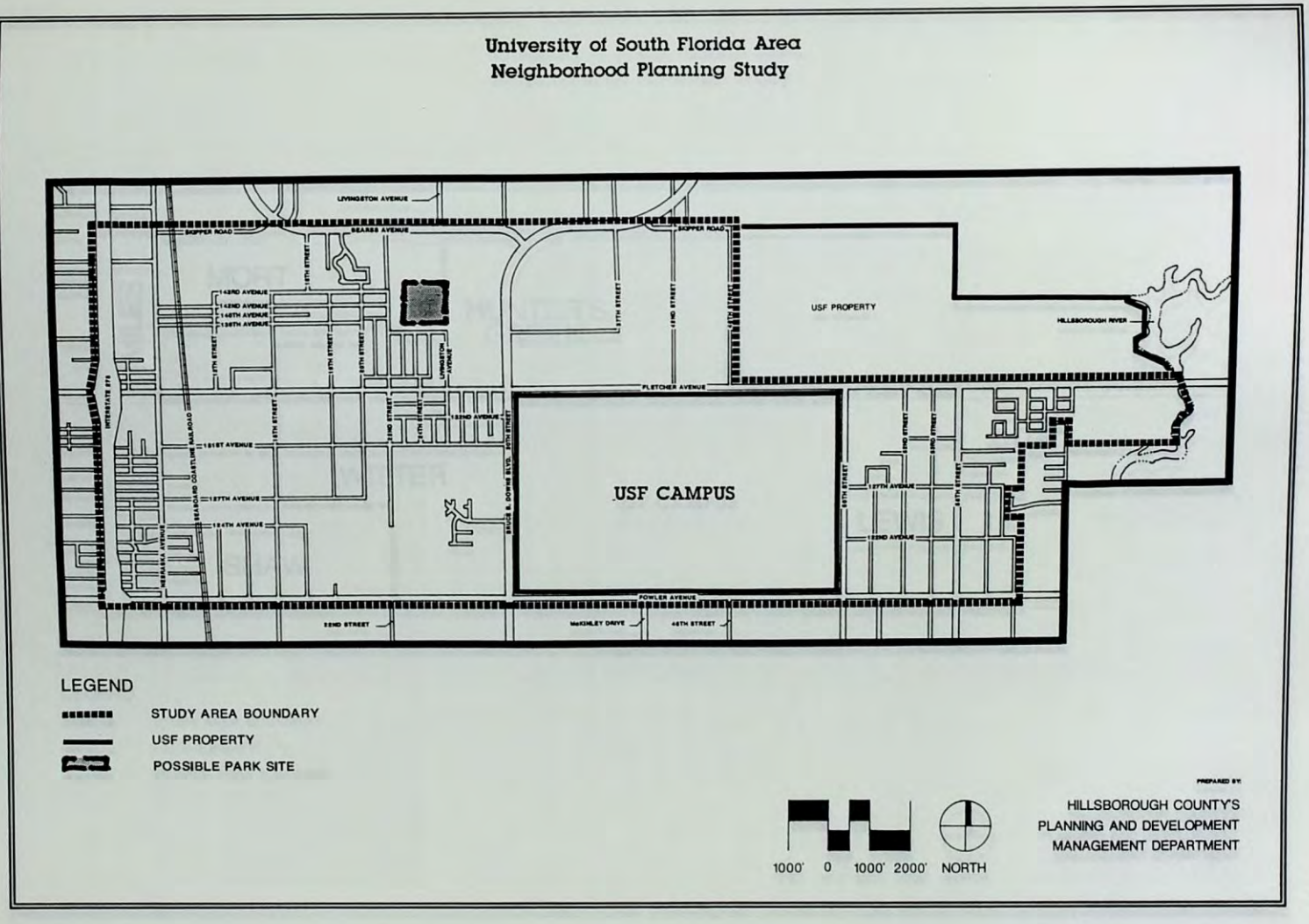


Figure 13. Proposed Park Site.

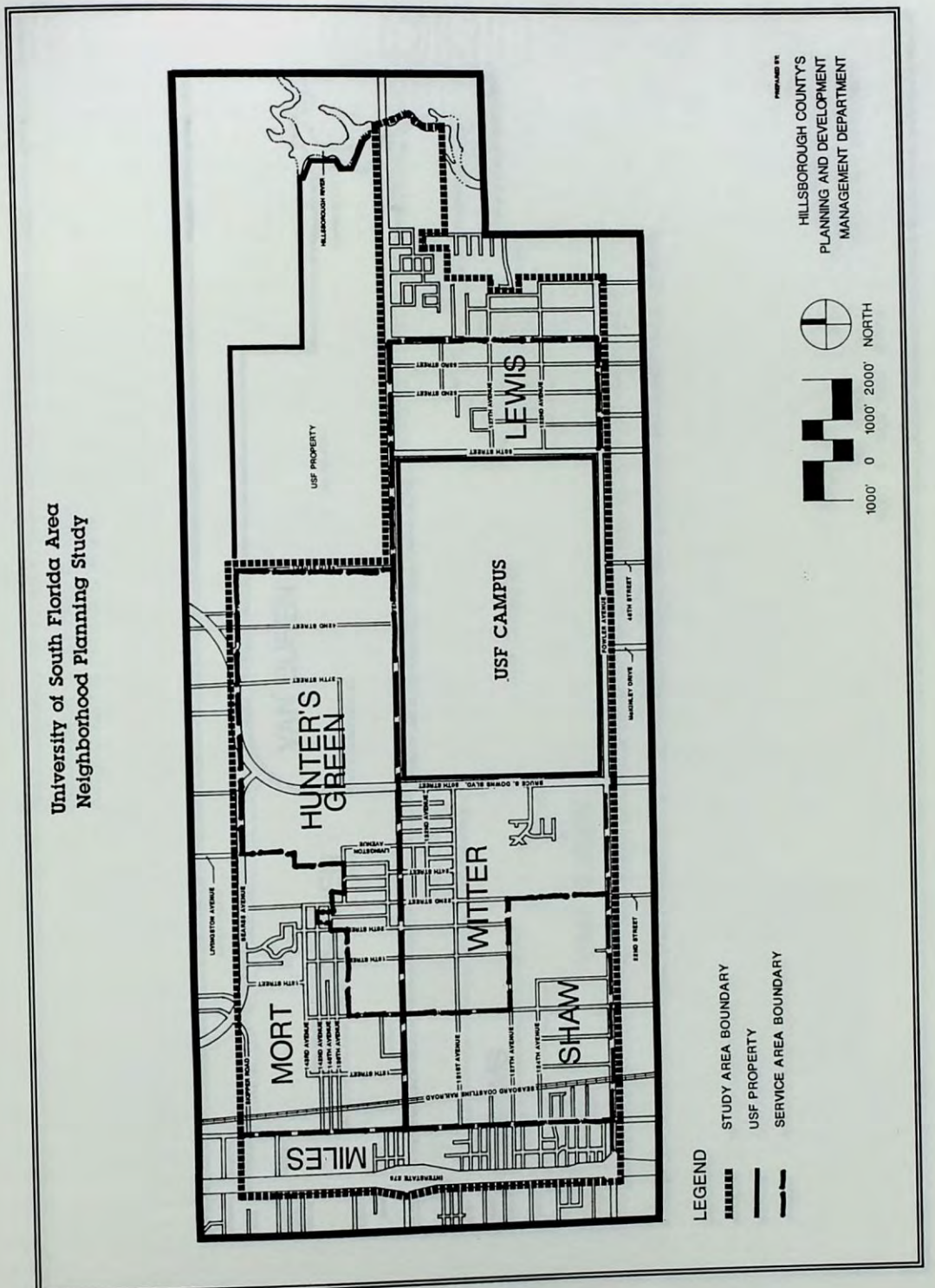


Figure 14. Elementary School Service Area.

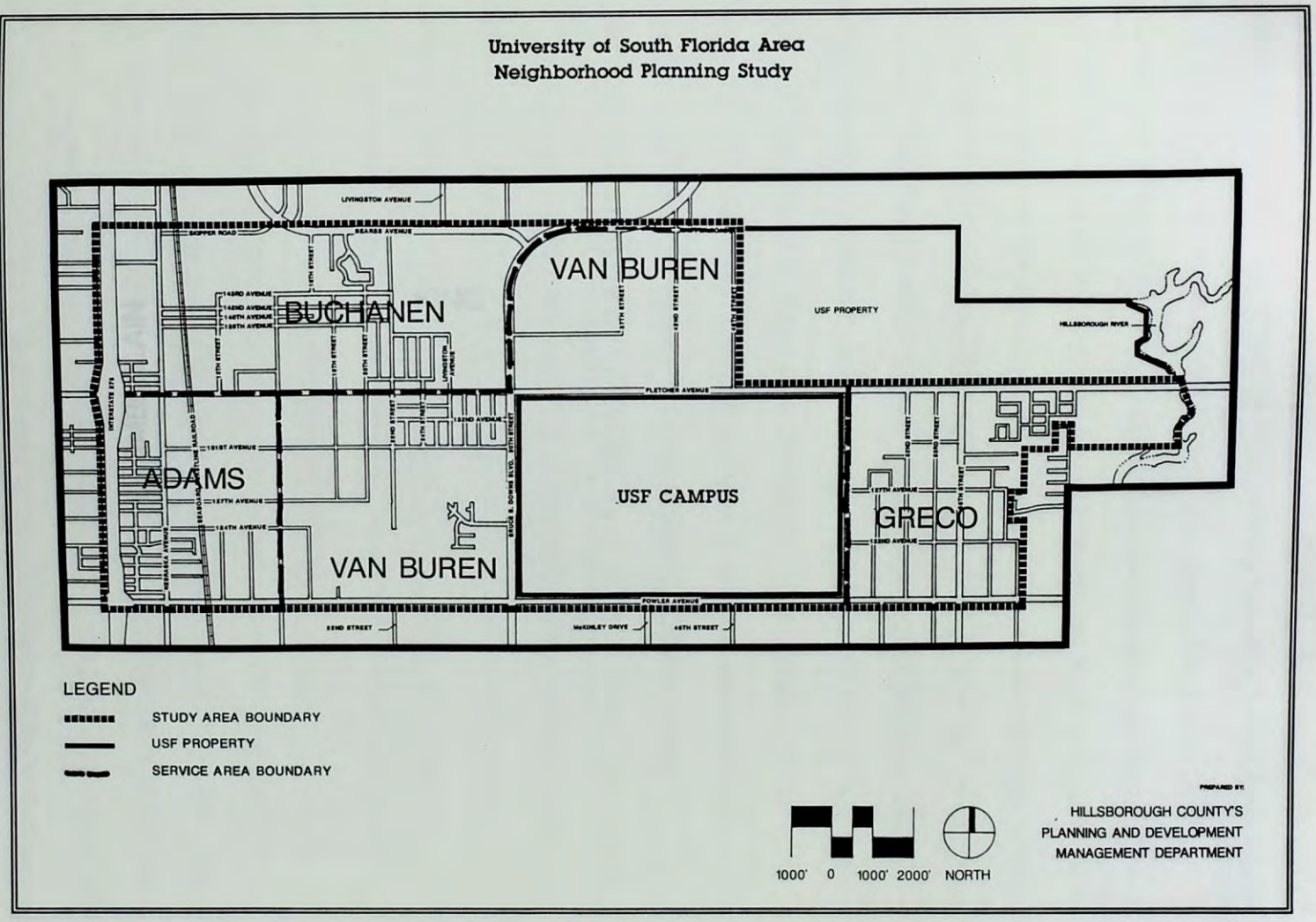


Figure 15. Junior High School Service Area.

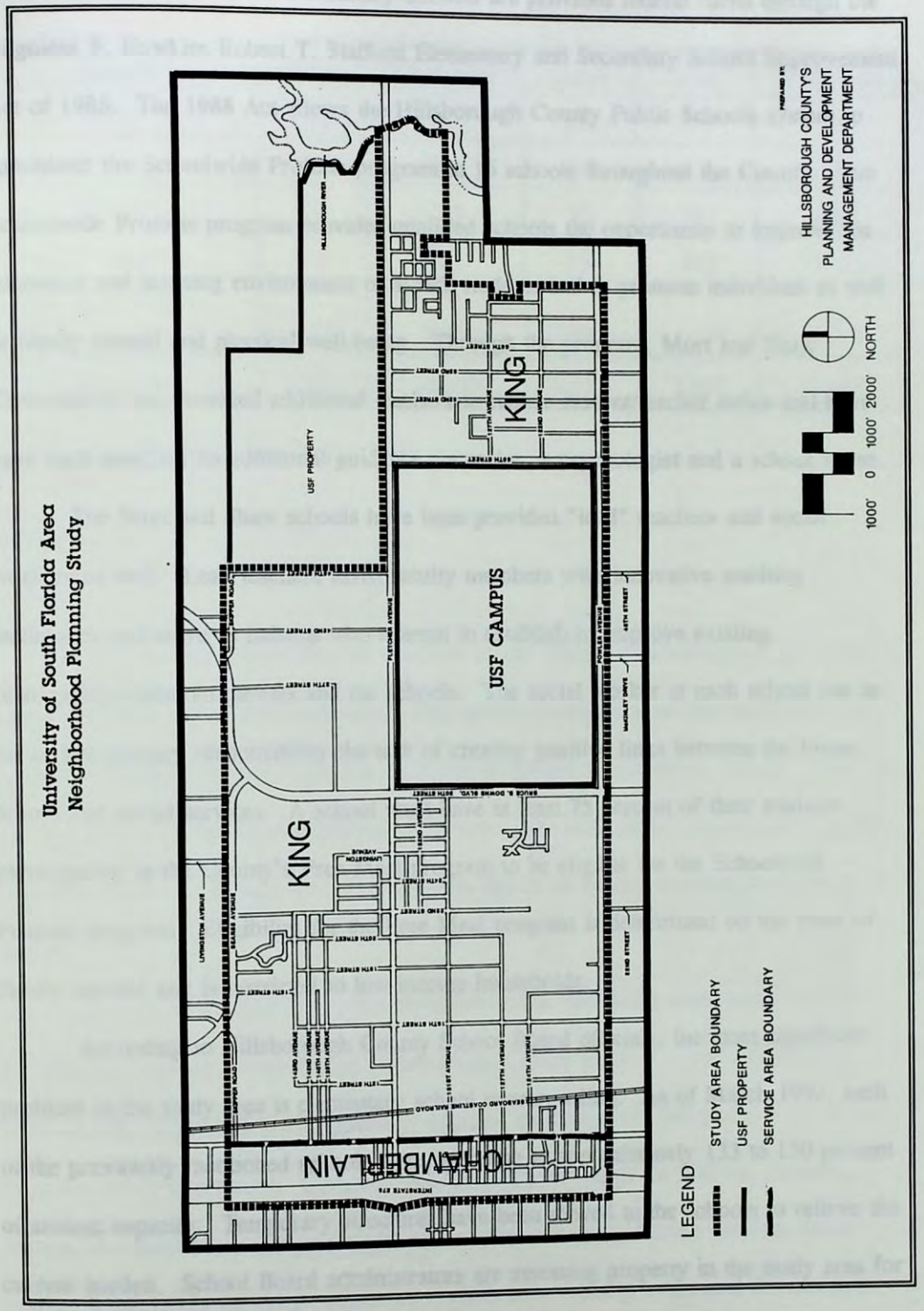


Figure 16. High School Service Area.

Paul Mort and Shaw Elementary Schools are provided federal funds through the Augustus F. Hawkins-Robert T. Stafford Elementary and Secondary School Improvement Act of 1988. The 1988 Act allows the Hillsborough County Public Schools system to administer the Schoolwide Projects program to 16 schools throughout the County. The Schoolwide Projects program provides qualified schools the opportunity to improve the education and learning environment of at-risk students and to promote individual as well as family mental and physical well-being. Through the program, Mort and Shaw Elementaries are provided additional teachers to reduce student/teacher ratios and have been each assigned an additional guidance counselor, a psychologist and a school nurse.

The Mort and Shaw schools have been provided "lead" teachers and social workers as well. Lead teachers assist faculty members with innovative teaching techniques and serve as liaisons who attempt to establish or improve existing relationships between parents and the schools. The social worker at each school has as his or her primary responsibility the task of creating positive links between the home, school and social services. A school must have at least 75 percent of their students participating in the County's Free Meal program to be eligible for the Schoolwide Projects program. Eligibility for the Free Meal program is determined on the basis of family income and is restricted to low-income households.

According to Hillsborough County School Board officials, the most significant problem in the study area is elementary school overcrowding. As of March 1992, each of the previously mentioned schools were operating at approximately 133 to 150 percent of student capacity. Temporary structures have been moved to the schools to relieve the current burden. School Board administrators are assessing property in the study area for construction of a new facility.

Table 16. 1990 USF Area Pre-school and School Age Population.

Category	West	Northwest	North	East	USF Area
0 to 4 Years	644	1,117	186	499	2,446
5 to 9 Years	408	796	125	422	1,751
10 to 13 Years	223	425	79	281	1,008
14 to 17 Years	214	366	89	244	913
Total Age 17 and Under	1,489	2,704	479	1,446	6,118
Total Population	8,722	10,269	4,785	7,835	31,611

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census 1990.

Libraries

There are no branch libraries operated by the Tampa Hillsborough County Public Library System in the USF study area. The public libraries nearest the study area are located in Temple Terrace, Lutz and on North Boulevard in northwest Tampa. The USF campus library is also located in close proximity to the study area. At the USF facility, a permit may be purchased for $50 that allows use of all library facilities for a one year period.

Though no County library facility exists in the USF study area, some residents are provided service by the Tampa Hillsborough County Public Library System's Bookmobile. The Bookmobile generally operates on a schedule that places it at various locations every two weeks. Currently only John Knox Village on Fletcher Avenue, Tampa Bay Retirement Center on 17th Street, and University Village on 22nd Street receive Bookmobile services. Interested citizens have recently expressed the desire to have a branch library in the area.

Hillsborough County's Director of Library Services has indicated that increased Bookmobile services may be a possible short-term approach to provide residents more convenient library access. The Director also expressed an interest in establishing a branch library in the USF area.

Public Assistance

Despite the large number and high percentage of low income families in the study area, no public assistance facility is currently located in any of the four USF area sections. Local residents are directed to the Florida Department of Health and Rehabilitative Services (HRS) Service Center to apply or be recertified for the Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), Food Stamp and Medicaid programs. The HRS Service Center is located south of Fowler Avenue on North Florida Avenue. The nearest full-service community facility is the Lee Davis Neighborhood Service Center in north-central Tampa. Services available at the facility include emergency help with food, shelter and other social services. A variety of health services are also provided at Lee Davis and at the Hillsborough County Public Health Unit located near Nebraska Avenue and Busch Boulevard. Transportation to these and other medical and human service facilities is available from Hillsborough County's Coordinated Transportation Intake and the Share-a-Van programs.

The Hillsborough County Public Assistance Department recently employed a private firm to conduct a County-wide needs assessment focused on the health care needs of low-income individuals. Based on the results of the study, Public Assistance staff concluded that a need exists for health care and public assistance facilities in the USF

area.

Hillsborough County's recently established Indigent Health Care Plan, funded by a half-cent sales tax increase and property taxes, is a program intended to improve medical care for the County's low-income and uninsured population. The health care plan has established a network of hospitals and outpatient clinics to provide care for indigent residents. The program has divided the County into four territories, with St. Joseph's Hospital, Tampa General Hospital, Ruskin Community Health Care Center and the Florida Health Department in charge of one zone each. St. Joseph's territory includes the study area's West and Northwest sections. The USF area's North and East sections fall within Tampa General's zone. St. Joseph's opened a temporary 1,000 square foot clinic at Nebraska and Fowler Avenues in early 1993. A comprehensive health care facility of 9,000 square feet will be in operation by late April 1993. Tampa General has not yet identified a suitable site in the USF area.

Transportation Facilities and Services

One of the most vital elements of an urban community is its transportation system. Public roadways, street lighting, public transit, sidewalks and bicycle facilities are essential to the orderly functioning of an area. This section describes existing USF area transportation facilities and services, transportation problems and plans for future improvements.

Public Roadways

Principal roadways serving the USF area include Nebraska Avenue, Fowler Avenue, Fletcher Avenue, Bruce B. Downs Boulevard (30th Street), Bearss Avenue, Skipper Road, 22nd Street, 46th Street, 56th Street and 131st Avenue. From the southern study area boundary to Fletcher Avenue, Nebraska Avenue is a four-lane Florida Department of Transportation (FDOT) facility. The roadway narrows to two lanes north of the Fletcher intersection. The two-lane section of Nebraska Avenue from Fletcher Avenue to Interstate 275 has been identified for future widening but no schedule has been determined. Bearss Avenue along the northern boundary is a four-lane roadway that currently operates at an acceptable Level Of Service (LOS). Levels Of Service are qualitative measures of driver satisfaction describing operational conditions of roadways.

Fletcher Avenue is a four-lane roadway which operates at an unacceptable LOS. Though it is shown in the County's Long Range Transportation Plan as a six-lane divided facility, there are no improvements scheduled within the present five year Capital Improvement Program. Bruce B. Downs Boulevard is a six-lane divided facility that also operates at an unacceptable Level Of Service. It is also not scheduled for widening in the next five years. Fowler Avenue, a six-lane roadway, is an FDOT facility and has recently been expanded and turn lanes have been added and/or modified in the area from Interstate 75 to Bruce B. Downs Boulevard. In the northeast quadrant of the USF area are Skipper Road and 46th Street, both two-lane facilities operating at acceptable Levels Of Service. Several other roadways in the study area carry significant volumes of traffic. These include 15th Street, 22nd Street, 56th Street, and 131st Avenue.

Due to the high level of automobile and bus traffic accessing and exiting University Square Mall, 22nd Street from Fletcher Avenue to the Mall entrance appears in need of resurfacing. Hillsborough County Road and Street Maintenance Department staff have stated that 22nd Street is scheduled for resurfacing in the near future. With the exception of 22nd Street, all of the major roadways in the study area are in good condition. Figure 17 details the functional categories and locations of USF area roadways.

Sidewalks

Prior to 1973, there were no policies or regulations in unincorporated Hillsborough County requiring developers to provide public walkways. Since that time, zoning and subdivision regulations have mandated that commercial and residential developers construct sidewalks or post bonds or letters of credit to ensure that the sidewalks will be built within and/or on the fringe of developments. According to current County requirements, a Certificate of Occupancy may not be issued until the walkways are constructed or financially secured. Prior to 1988, however, the regulations and procedures did not provide for verification that the requirements were met, and County staff relied "on the assurances of developers' engineers" (Scherberger 1992:1). As a result of the earlier absence of regulations and the later failures to investigate requirement compliance, paved sidewalks appear sporadically throughout the USF area. There are continuous or lengthy sections of paved walkways along Bearss Avenue, Fletcher Avenue, 131st Avenue, 15th Street, Nebraska Avenue and along 19th Street near Paul Mort Elementary School.

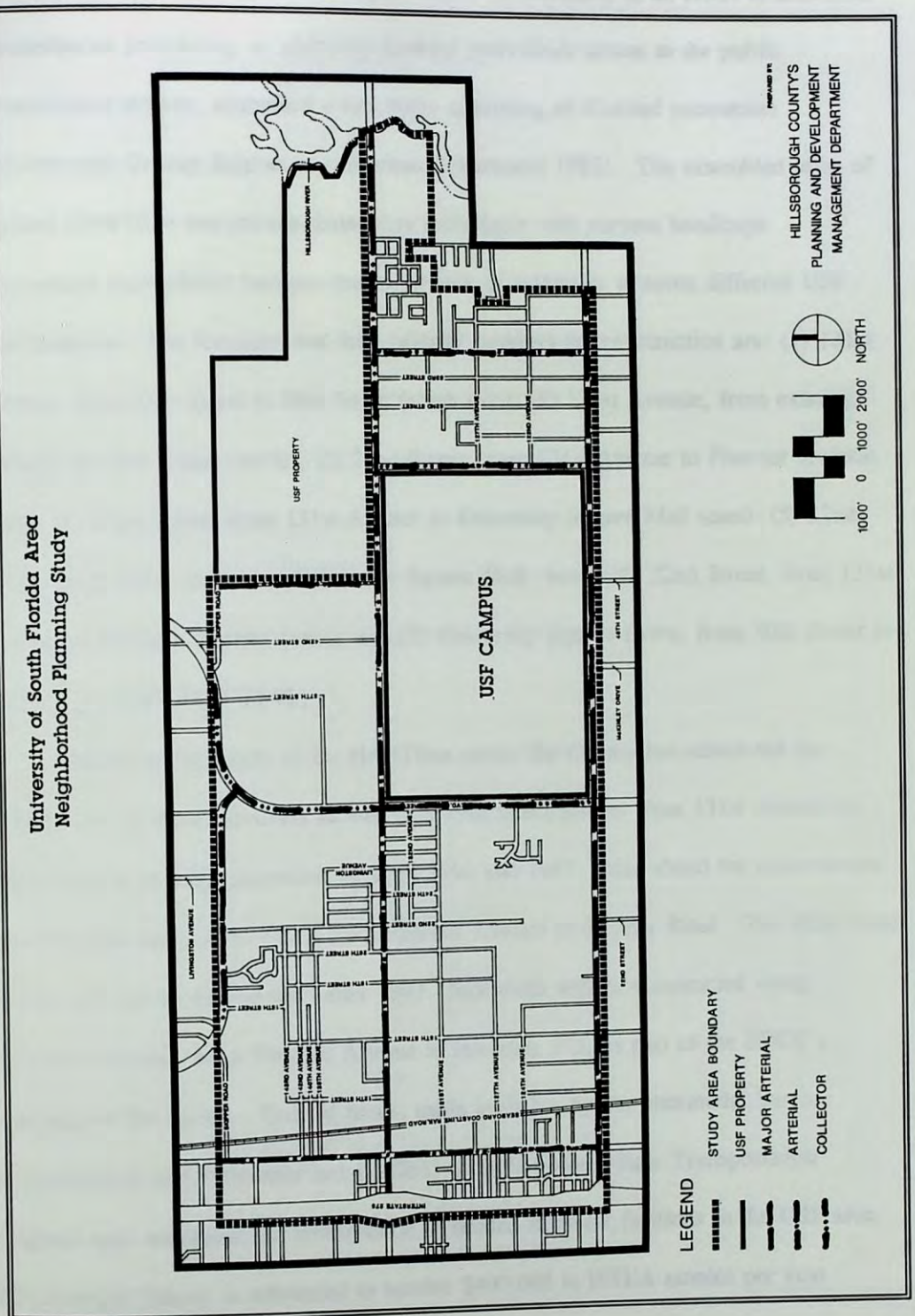


Figure 17. Roadway Classifications.

In 1991, Hillsborough Area Rapid Transit (HARTline), in an effort to determine circumstances prohibiting or inhibiting disabled individuals access to the public transportation system, assembled a task force consisting of disabled consumers (Hillsborough County Engineering Services Department 1992). The assembled team of disabled HARTline patrons concluded that individuals with various handicaps experienced accessibility barriers due to the lack of sidewalks at seven different USF area locations. The locations and their priority rankings for construction are: (1) 131st Avenue, from 15th Street to 30th Street (south side); (2) 131st Avenue, from existing sidewalk to 30th Street (north); (3) 22nd Street, from 131st Avenue to Fletcher Avenue (east); (4) 22nd Street, from 131st Avenue to University Square Mall (east); (5) 22nd Street, from 131st Avenue to University Square Mall (west); (6) 22nd Street, from 131st Avenue to Fletcher Avenue (west); and (7) University Square Drive, from 30th Street to University Square Mall (south).

Based on the results of the HARTline study, the County has scheduled the construction of these sidewalks as well as a 19th Street project from 131st Avenue to 127th Avenue to begin sometime between 1993 and 1997. Also slated for construction are sidewalks along 42nd Street from Fletcher Avenue to Skipper Road. The 42nd Street project will not be funded until after 1997. Sidewalks will be constructed along Nebraska Avenue, from Fletcher Avenue to Interstate 275, as part of the FDOT's widening of the facility. Federal funds, made available by the Intermodal Surface Transportation and Efficiency Act (ISTEA) of 1991 Federal/State Transportation Program may accelerate the construction of needed sidewalk facilities in the USF area. Hillsborough County is scheduled to receive $400,000 in ISTEA monies per year through 1997. An inventory of paved and proposed sidewalks is presented in Figure 18.

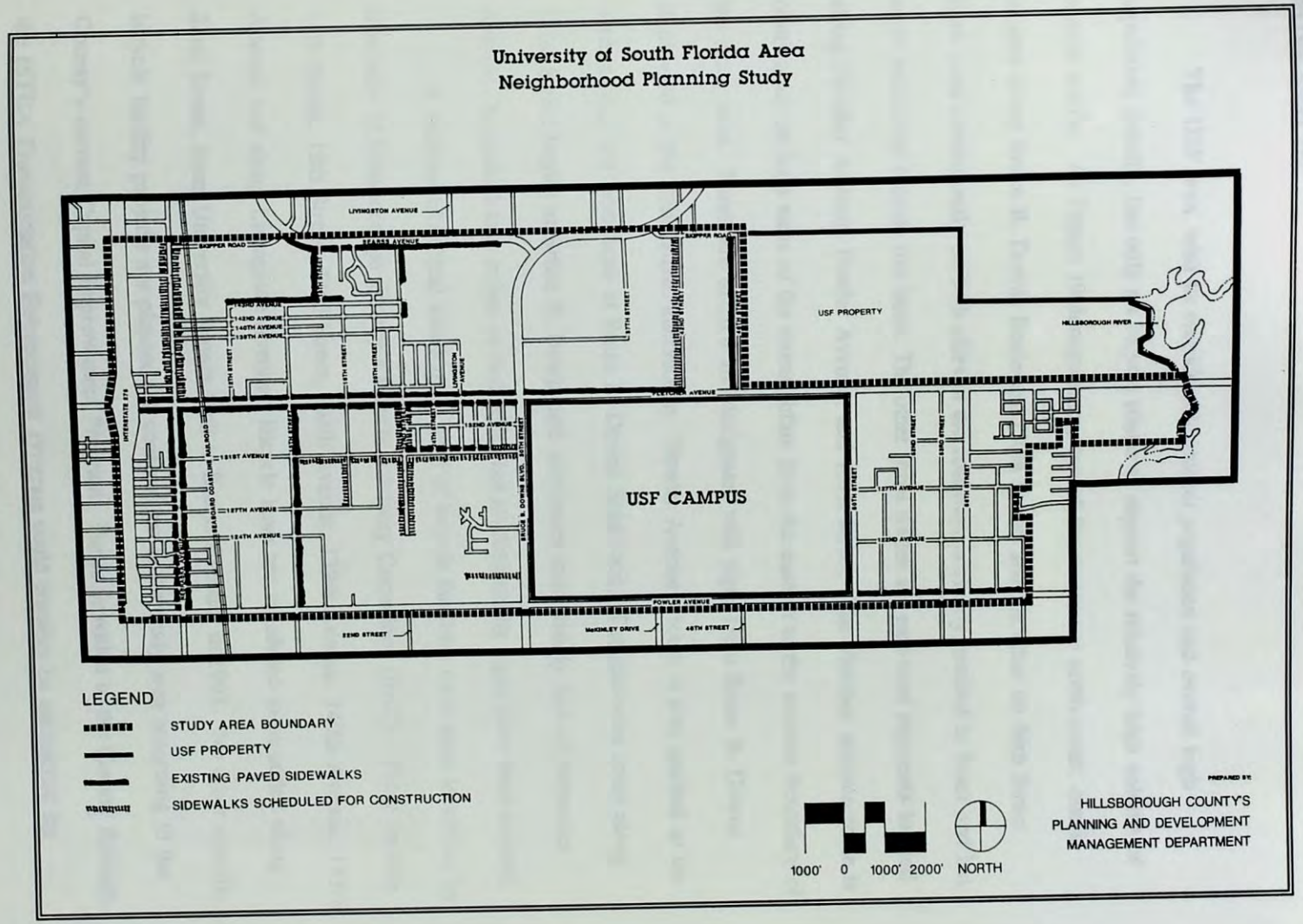


Figure 18. Sidewalks.

Bicycle Facilities

The USF area, with its considerable student population and overall high population density, has only six bicycle routes to support the relatively high volume of bicycle traffic. As Figure 19 demonstrates, two of the routes are north-south: one is located along Bruce B. Downs Boulevard (30th Street) and the other on 56th Street. Each runs continuously on both sides of the roadway, is clearly marked as lanes and has signs indicating bicycle use lanes. The other three routes are east-west segments located along Fletcher Avenue, Fowler Avenue, and 131st Street. The Fletcher Avenue route is continuous on both sides of the thoroughfare from the eastern to the western boundary of the study area. Lanes are marked and designated with signs from Bruce B. Downs Boulevard to the 22nd Street intersection. Fowler Avenue's route is also marked to the eastern edge but terminates at Bruce B. Downs Boulevard. The east-west route along 131st Street begins at Bruce B. Downs and terminates immediately east of Nebraska Avenue. A marked lane exists on both sides but no designating signs have been erected.

A number of critical locations in need of bicycle facilities have been identified by members of Hillsborough County's Bicycle Advisory Committee (BAC). These include 15th Street, 18th Street, 22nd Street, 138th Avenue, 139th Avenue, 140th Avenue, 143rd Avenue and along Livingston Avenue. Bicycle lanes are scheduled to be added along 22nd Street, from University Square Mall to Bearss Avenue, in 1993. No other specific bicycle facility projects are planned for construction in the study area according to the County's current Capital Improvement Program. Funds provided to the County through the ISTEA Transportation Enhancement Program could possibly be earmarked for construction of bicycle facilities within the next five years.

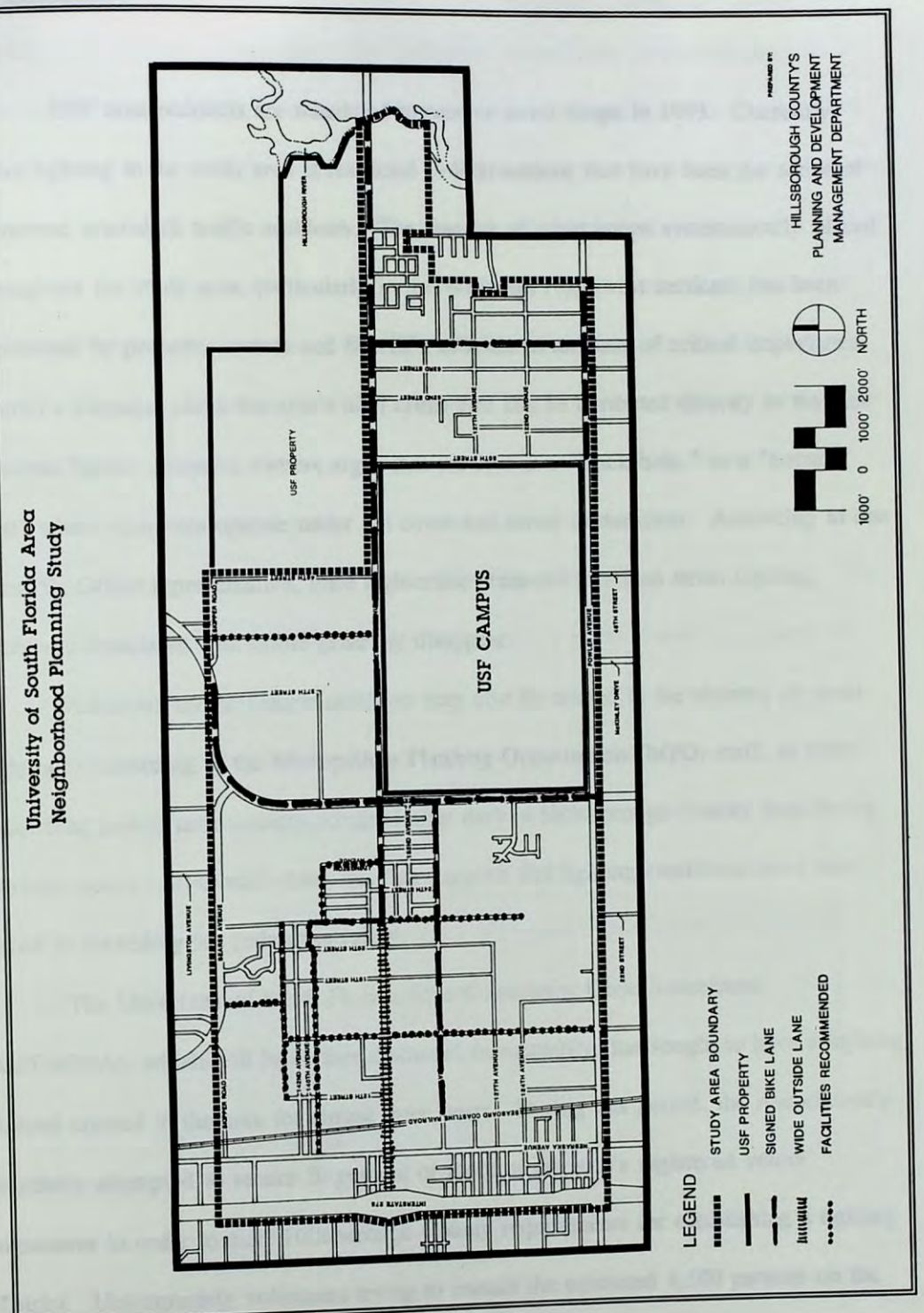


Figure 19. Bicycle Facilities.

Street Lighting

USF area residents are scheduled to receive street lamps in 1993. Currently, street lighting in the study area is restricted to intersections that have been the scene of numerous after-dark traffic accidents. The absence of other lamps systematically placed throughout the study area, particularly in the West and Northwest sections, has been mentioned by property owners and Sheriff's officials as an issue of critical importance. Sheriff's Deputies claim the area's high crime rate can be attributed directly to the lack of street lights. Property owners argue that the area is a "black hole," or a "hornets' nest" where criminals operate under the cover and safety of darkness. According to one Sheriff's Office representative, once high-crime areas are provided street lighting, problems associated with crime generally disappear.

Pedestrian/motor vehicle accidents may also be related to the absence of street lighting. According to the Metropolitan Planning Organization (MPO) staff, in 1990 more fatal pedestrian accidents occurred after dark in Hillsborough County than during daylight hours. MPO staff claim this fact suggests that lighting conditions are a key factor in providing for pedestrian safety.

The University of South Florida Area Community Civic Association (USFACCA), which will be further discussed momentarily, has sought to have a lighting district created in the area for almost three years. During this period, the Association's members attempted to secure 50 percent or more of the area's registered voters' signatures in order to meet Hillsborough County requirements for establishing a lighting district. Unfortunately volunteers trying to contact the estimated 4,500 persons on the voting rolls claimed a large number of them no longer lived in the area.

In their most recent efforts, USFACCA members and County staff presented to the Board of County Commissioners the difficulties experienced in meeting the requirements for establishing a lighting district as stipulated by County Ordinance 74-9 and asked that the petition requirements be waived. As a result of this request the Board voted to have the Ordinance revised. The Board approved the revised Ordinance on October 6, 1992. The Ordinance now allows the Board to establish a lighting district without 50 percent of the registered voters' signatures providing certain conditions are met. According to the revised Ordinance the Board may waive the petition requirement if (1) the group seeking a lighting district demonstrates that securing the appropriate number of signatures is not possible and that the attempt was made to obtain the signatures; (2) the area is designated by the Sheriff's Office as one with high crime and that lighting will serve as a deterrent to crime; and (3) a public purpose is served by creating the requested lighting district.

On December 2, 1992, the Board of County Commissioners voted unanimously to establish a USF area lighting district. Property owners in the area will be assessed a fee of approximately $44 on their November 1993 tax bill to cover installation. After 1993, property owners will pay approximately $22 a year. As Figure 20 shows, the lighting district's boundaries will be Fowler Avenue on the south, Interstate 275 on the west, Skipper Road on the north and Bruce B. Downs Boulevard on the east.

Mass Transit

Hillsborough Area Regional Transit (HARTline) provides more service to the USF area than any other area in the unincorporated County. The level of service

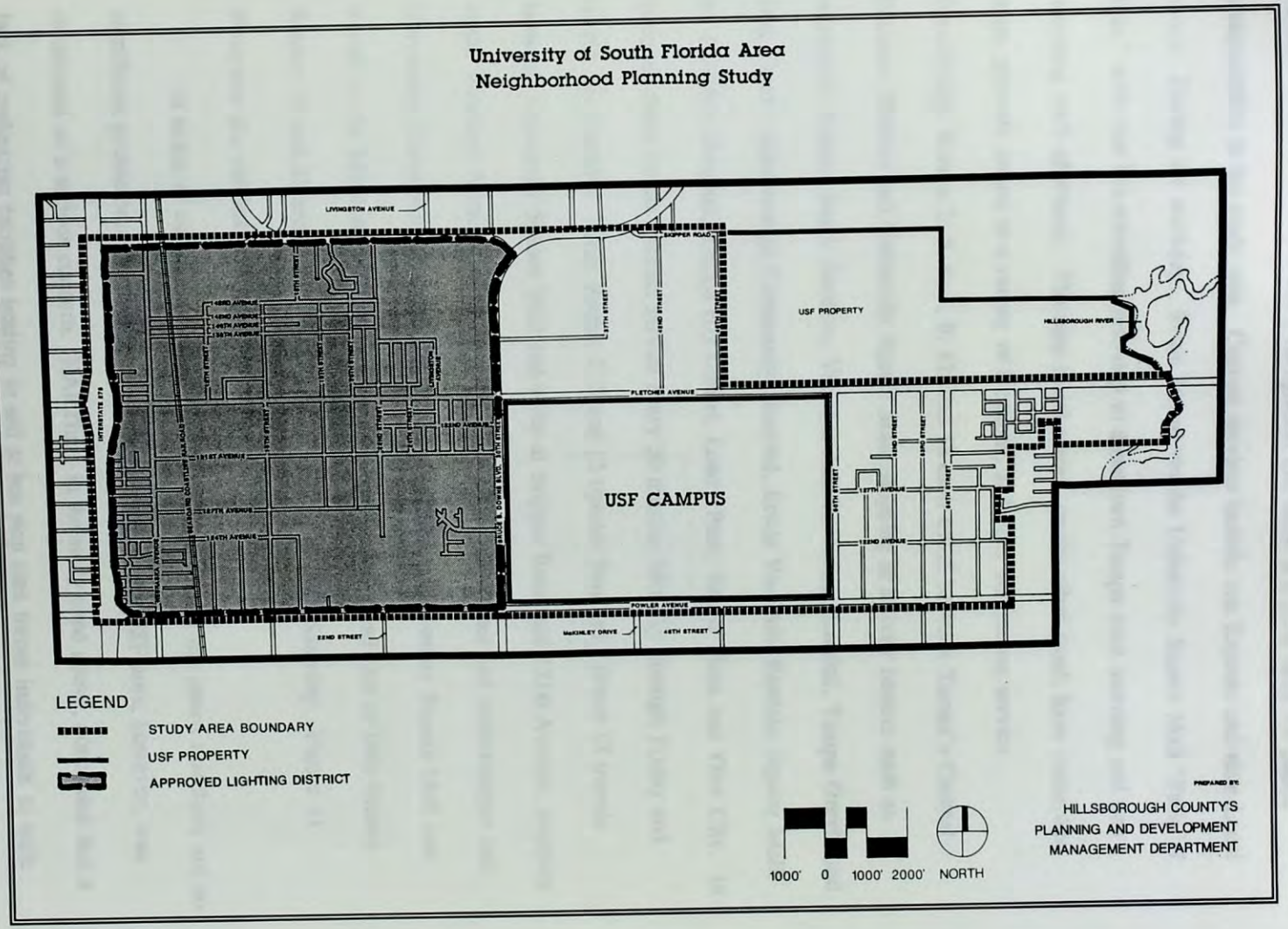
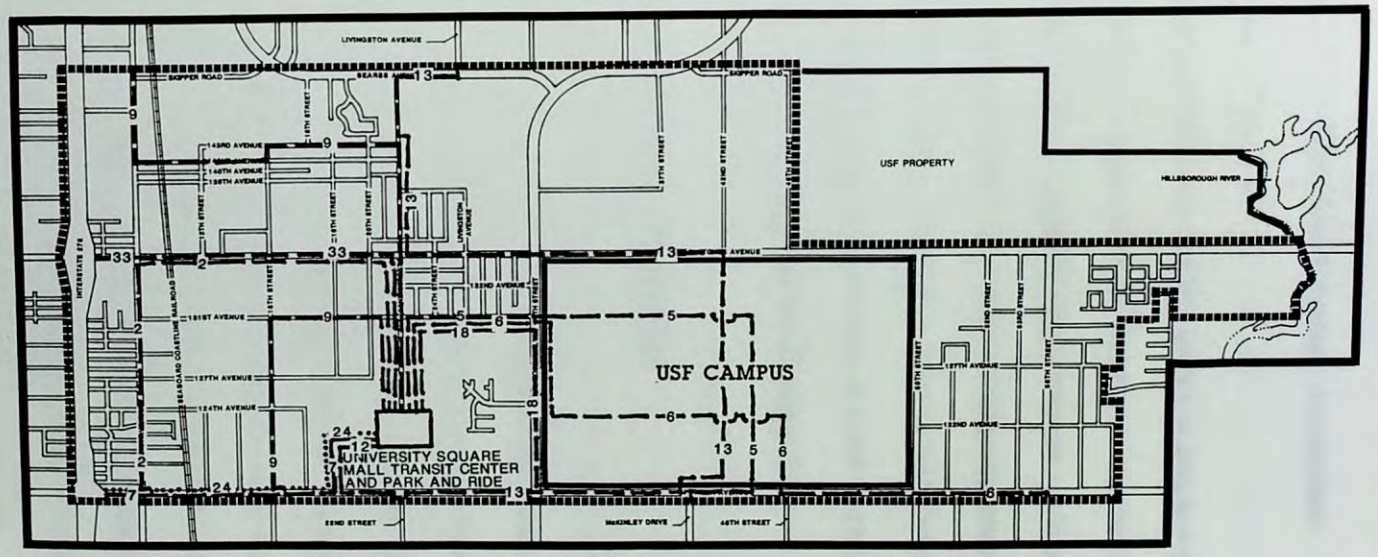


Figure 20. Street Lighting District.

provided is based on HARTline's recognition that there is a great need for public transportation in the study area. Current services include one Express and nine Local routes. During the weekdays, Route 24x serves the University Square Mall "Park 'N Ride," with one bus travelling non-stop to downtown Tampa each morning and one returning each afternoon. The nine Local routes, on the other hand, have numerous stops, provide access to a variety of locations, and offer continuous service. Specifically, Routes 2, 5, 6, 7, 9, 12, and 18 each travel between Tampa's Central Business District and University Square Mall, stopping at activity centers such as Adventure Island, Busch Gardens, Veterans Administration Hospital, Tampa Greyhound Dog Track, Hillsborough Community Hospital, Erwin Vo-Tech, Eastlake Square Mall, St. Joseph's Hospital, Tampa Bay Center, Lowry Park, Bearss Plaza and Ybor City. In general, these routes provide service every 30 minutes Monday through Friday and hourly on Saturday. Only Routes 2, 5 and 12 operate Sundays. Route 13 travels between University Square Mall and a site at Skipper Road and 131st Avenue, stopping at the Veterans Administration Hospital, USF's Medical Center and main campus and University Community Hospital. Route 33 originates at University Square Mall and travels to the Mission Bell Transit Center located on Stall Road east of Dale Mabry. Routes 13 and 33 arrive and depart hourly Monday through Saturday. Figure 21 illustrates the various USF area bus routes.

In terms of current operations, one HARTline official has stated that there are no significant problems. Physical access to bus service in the USF area, however, was mentioned as a serious concern. HARTline, in the study cited above, concluded that a lack of pedestrian facilities leading to and at bus stop sites forces individuals to walk along the edge of busy roadways, placing the bus rider at considerable risk. It was also

University of South Florida Area
Neighborhood Planning Study



LEGEND

- STUDY AREA BOUNDARY
- USF PROPERTY
- LOCAL ROUTES
- EXPRESS ROUTES

1000' 0 1000' 2000' NORTH

PREPARED BY:
HILLSBOROUGH COUNTY'S
PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT
MANAGEMENT DEPARTMENT

Figure 21. Mass Transit Routes.

noted that existing drainage ditches can be barriers to individuals in wheelchairs.

USF Area Voluntary Associations

Voluntary organizations are typically groups of people organized for the pursuit of one or more interests or goals shared by the group's members. Voluntary community organizations include block or neighborhood associations, civic associations, church groups and merchant associations. This section briefly describes the two most active USF area voluntary associations identified by Planning and Development Management staff. Included in the discussion is an overview of a task force formed by County staff in the course of the USF Area Neighborhood Planning Study.

The University Community Civic Association

The University Community Civic Association represents over 300 homeowners in the USF area. The Association concerns itself with an area bounded by Fowler Avenue on the south, 50th Street on the west, Fletcher Avenue on the north and 56th Street on the east. According to one of the group's members, the organization has existed for many years but until recently was relatively dormant. In the past few years the group has become more active, dealing with various neighborhood issues as they arise. The University Community Civic Association does not hold regularly scheduled meetings. The group instead meets when issues surface that are important to the members. No meetings were held during my internship period.

The USF Area Community Civic Association

The University of South Florida Area Community Civic Association (USFACCA) represents residents, property owners and business people from the area bounded by Fowler Avenue on the south, Interstate 275 on the west, Skipper Road and Bearss Avenue on the north and 50th Street on the east. Formed by a disgruntled group of long-time area homeowners in 1990, the USFACCA currently boasts a membership of over 400 and is growing. This number, however, is misleading: according to several sources, the USFACCA's current leadership has employed a "strength in numbers" strategy to attract attention. Specifically, area apartment complex owners associated with the organization are given special membership rates to encourage the enlistment of additional members. Over the 11-month internship period, I observed an average of 60 individuals attending USFACCA meetings. Further, I would estimate that approximately 60 to 75 percent were association members. Perhaps more importantly, less than 50 percent of the individuals present at each of the 12 meetings I attended were area residents.

The association's structure contains a number of committees including those concerned with membership, government relations, public relations, code enforcement and fund-raising. The USFACCA's president, two vice-presidents, secretary, treasurer and legal counsel are not, however, USF area residents and only three of the association's committee chairpersons live within the study area boundaries. Two of the committee chairpersons who reside in the area are also president and vice-president of the University Community Civic Association. The USFACCA's president was elected to the Florida legislature in 1992.

The USFACCA convenes monthly and program meetings are geared to educate the association's membership regarding a variety of key and critical issues that affect association members. All issues of concern are defined and discussed at USFACCA board meetings and the courses of action determined at these gatherings are presented to members for approval at the monthly program meetings. The courses of action typically involve the "organization pressing other organizations, usually government, to take or halt certain actions in order to advance the goal of the" association (Cunningham 1982:19). I will further discuss the University of South Florida Area Community Civic Association in Chapter Six.

The USF Area Task Force

The USF Area Task Force is a group I helped the Planning and Development Management Department assemble in the latter part of the data collection process. My responsibility in the formation of the Task Force was to identify, interview and invite selected community leaders. Department staff determined who among those identified were invited to participate as Task Force members.

The USF Task Force consisted of representatives of the area's residents, business community, civic associations, public schools, church groups, County staff, the University's administration, faculty, police and student body and the medical community. More specifically, in its final form the group was composed of 3 residents from the area west of the University, 2 residents from the East section, 10 area business and/or property owners, and 15 County and other public organization employees.

According to the Planning and Development Management Department, the

purpose of the USF Area Task Force was to help develop and act upon solutions to immediate problems as well as to identify long range concerns and to serve as a primary advocate for change in the USF area. Ostensibly, the USF Area Task Force provided the credibility for the concerns of the people whose lives are intimately bound to the USF community. Chapter Five will detail Task Force activities.

This chapter represents the conclusion of the first phase of a two-phase planning study. Phase I of the study focused primarily on gathering information regarding conditions in the USF area as requested by the Hillsborough County Planning and Development Management Department. The chapter has shown that, in the more than 30 years since the University of South Florida opened its doors, the surrounding area has experienced tremendous physical as well as population change. The study area evolved from a rural community in 1960, with a population of approximately 1,800, to a densely-populated urban fringe area housing almost 32,000 people in 1990. In the 30 year period, the area has seen its population increasingly become more diverse, most notably in the sections west of the University. It has also experienced a decreasing median income and, despite the development of large numbers of rental properties, a decreasing student population. Currently, over 75 percent of the residential units in the study area are located in multi-family apartment complexes.

A variety of problems were identified in the data collection process. According to County officials, crime is the most significant problem affecting the USF study area. As was demonstrated, since 1981 the area has been one of the highest crime sections of the unincorporated County. Deteriorating housing structures, inadequate fire protection, an absence of public recreation areas, libraries, public assistance facilities, flooding, school overcrowding, and a shortage of sidewalks and bicycle facilities are other

problems identified by County employees.

The final section of this chapter presented brief summaries of voluntary associations active in the USF area. Two of these groups, the University Community Civic Association and the University of South Florida Area Community Civic Association, were formed by residents and property owners to address problems in their respective areas. Conversely, the USF Area Task Force was assembled by me at the request of the Planning and Development Management Department in the latter part of the data collection process. These voluntary organizations represent vehicles through which participatory change can be accomplished, and it is to citizen participation in the USF planning project that I now turn.

CHAPTER FIVE: PARTICIPATORY PLANNING IN THE USF AREA

The literature of the past 20 to 25 years on the theory, practice and evaluation of citizen participation has burgeoned, coinciding with the increased requirements of many governments for public involvement in planning (Rosener 1981:583; Wandersman 1981:28). The many articles and books provide case studies of public participation programs ranging from simple reports of public attitudes about specific projects to carefully prescribed processes for dealing with matters of local importance, to less structured, larger scale regional studies of situations where social conflict is evident (Kaplan 1977:221-233; Minnery 1985; Sewell and Phillips 1979:337-358). Regardless of the nature of the problem addressed, it is evident that the citizen participation process inevitably includes a number of players with differing points of view regarding what the objectives of the program should be, the criteria for its success, and the way in which it should be implemented.

Scholars and practitioners have attempted to define "good" citizen participation practices (Creighton 1981:3-12; Florin and Wandersman 1990:41-54; Linney 1990:1-17). Generalized rules--for example, that public participation should begin early in the planning process--have been offered and specific procedures have been outlined, such as how to identify interest groups adequately, or how to analyze data collected from citizens (Feldt and Rycus 1982:73-104; Warner 1982:125-139). Finally, suggestions have been made as to which mechanisms are most useful to planners in various situations--for instance, reviews of when public hearings, workshops or other specific techniques are

likely to be successful (Burke 1968:287-294; Glass 1979:180-189; Rosener 1975:16-19). This approach has culminated in prescriptive handbooks such as those published by James Creighton (1981) and the Institute for Participatory Planning (IPP) (1981) under the direction of Annemarie Bleiker, a Wyoming-based anthropologist.

It is not the purpose of this chapter, however, to provide an exhaustive review of the hundreds of empirical studies that led to these prescriptive "how-to" manuals. In my original formulation of this chapter, I was to review the citizen participation literature and discuss the various strategies appropriate for diverse situations. The chapter was also to present in detail participation in the USF area project and to offer suggestions regarding how I, as an applied anthropologist, enhanced and could have further enhanced the participation process. But, with the retrospective application of Spicer's (1976:341) "emic-holistic-historical-comparative approach" and the disparity between citizen participation as outlined in the staff proposal and participation as it actually occurred, the situation suggests that a somewhat different orientation is in order.

In brief, the purpose of this chapter is to explore why there was a disparity between the project proposal's stated intentions regarding public participation and participation as it in fact occurred. Therefore, as originally planned, this chapter will examine the participatory process as orchestrated by the Planning and Development Management Department. The chapter will include a restatement of the ideal process as presented in the enabling project proposal, the Department's rationale for participatory neighborhood planning, and the participation process as it actually occurred. Following this presentation, an explanation for the chosen course of action is offered. Also provided is a review of various studies that address the issue of formalized citizen participation and its effects on governmental bodies and voluntary associations. The

chapter concludes with the suggestion that citizen participation can serve both residents and government administrators in a relationship that stresses cooperation. As Selznick (1966:xii) says of his analysis of the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA), the aim here is not "to debunk" or suggest that there existed within the Department a conspiratorial scheme designed to disguise any wrongdoing. Rather, it is essentially an effort to explore certain operative forces that possibly inhibit democratic participation and to point to conditions that may be necessary for the development and effective achievement of participatory planning.

The USF Area Proposal Revisited

The USF Area Neighborhood Planning Study was, as I mentioned in Chapter One, a departure from past planning practice in Hillsborough County. It was both the County's first neighborhood planning project and the first that attempted to incorporate the ethic of extensive citizen participation. However, the Planning and Development Management Department's approach to the project had, as has been discussed in Chapter Two, for the most part been determined prior to Dr. Borkowski's letter to the Hillsborough County Board of County Commissioners. Dr. Borkowski (1991:2) "respectfully request[ed] that a detailed University Sector Land Use Plan be undertaken by the area land planning agency." The USF central "administration, faculty and staff," he added, had "a sincere desire to contribute positively to the quality of the built environment" around the University (Borkowski 1991:4). Further, Dr. Borkowski (1991:4) stated, University personnel wished "to engage in meaningful participation with other ... community groups and governmental agencies toward this goal." The Planning

and Development Management Department, responding to Dr. Borkowski and the desires of the County Commission, included an addendum to the USF project proposal that addressed citizen participation in the planning process.

The USF project thus represented a departure from past County planning efforts in that it embraced the ethic of citizen participation. Again, as presented in Chapter Two, the Planning and Development Management Department proposal's addendum stated that

> [s]taff envisions the overall USF area planning effort to be a fully participatory process, involving not only County, City of Tampa, and Planning Commission staff, but also with the ... participation of area residents, property owners, neighborhood and civic associations, USF students, USF faculty/administration, and area businesses. Phase I activities and findings will be regularly presented to an existing task force comprised of County, City of Tampa, and Planning Commission staff members, and the USF Planning Commission. The detailed neighborhood plans that are envisioned for Phase II will ... be developed in conjunction with area neighborhood/civic associations, and/or ad hoc task forces comprised largely of area residents (1992a:4).

Ostensibly, these efforts would "facilitate the establishment of additional neighborhood associations" (Hillsborough County Planning and Development Management Department 1992a:5).

The participatory democratic process envisioned was considered by Department staff

> to be a critical missing link in the existing planning process in Hillsborough County. Essentially, there is no mid-range linkage between broad-scale, long-term Comprehensive planning, and the day-to-day development pressures that are orchestrated through the rezoning process. It is staff's contention that this gap circumvents the warranted desire of residents to assume a meaningful and active role in planning for their area's future. [Staff] believe[s] that effective neighborhood planning can: encourage and provide a vehicle for responsible and meaningful participation in civic/community affairs; foster neighborhood pride; encourage self-help neighborhood activities and organizations; provide a tool to preserve and enhance the quality of life; create stability and a sense of certainty for businesses, residents, and property owners concerning their neighborhood's future; [and] guide and direct future development at a detailed level and create incentives for desirable forms of development (Hillsborough County Planning and Development Management Department 1992a:6).

These broad mandates suggest that an intense involvement of both citizens and Planning and Development Management staff would occur. In reality, however, much of what was proposed failed to materialize. The USF Area Task Force was in fact the only form of face-to-face involvement of citizens with Department personnel. For the purpose of later analysis, a history of the Task Force is presented below.

The USF Area Task Force

As was stated in the previous chapter, the USF Area Task Force was composed of a group of community leaders I recruited at the request of the Planning and Development Department. Membership was determined by Department staff. Following my recruitment activities, a formal invitation was mailed to each of the prospective members. The letter advised that the Department, with my assistance, was conducting a planning study in the area of the unincorporated County surrounding the University of South Florida. According to the invitation, the primary objectives of the planning study included identifying community needs and problems and formulating recommendations and implementational approaches to address those issues (Hillsborough County Planning and Development Management Department 1992b:1).

Prospective members were told that the USF Area Neighborhood Planning Study contained two phases. They were informed that the nearly-completed first phase included collecting and analyzing information regarding past and present physical conditions, identifying various County agencies' needs and plans, and developing a questionnaire that would be administered to various sectors of the local population. Further, the invitation stated, the second stage of the study involved administering the

questionnaire, summarizing problems and needs based on the research findings and questionnaire results, and establishing goals and objectives to address neighborhood problems. With the questionnaire, the Department "hope[d] to validate the identified problems and needs in the community as well as uncover some new needs and solutions ..." (Hillsborough County Planning and Development Management Department 1992c:2). The final product would be a neighborhood plan report designed to help improve the USF area. Department staff stated that they anticipated the final report would be presented to the Board of County Commissioners in August 1993 for their review and action (Hillsborough County Planning and Development Management Department 1992b:1).

Recipients of the invitation were advised that they and other community representatives were contacted and invited to form a USF Area Task Force. "We consider the Task Force's participation to be very important in achieving positive community change," the letter stated (Hillsborough County Planning and Development Management Department 1992b:1). The letter further said that Department staff "hope[d] that [the Task Force] would be able to assist in the distribution and collection of the questionnaires and formulation of solutions to serve as report recommendations" (Hillsborough County Planning and Development Management Department 1992b:2). And finally, staff "also hope[d] that the Task Force [would] continue as a group beyond the study period to help further affect change in the USF area" (Hillsborough County Planning and Development Management Department 1992b:2).

The invitation informed prospective members that the Department scheduled the first meeting of the USF Area Task Force for Thursday, November 12, 1992, at 7 p.m. At the meeting, the letter noted, staff would further introduce the USF Area

Neighborhood Planning Study to the members, discuss the purpose and direction of the Task Force, and examine current conditions in the USF area. The invitation included "an almost completed Phase I staff report that contain[ed] the majority of the significant background information gathered to date" (Hillsborough County Planning and Development Management Department 1992b:2).

In conclusion, the invitation stated that Department staff "look[ed] forward to meeting and collaborating with [the Task Force] in our efforts to create a safe, healthy and quality environment in the USF area" (Hillsborough County Planning and Development Management Department 1992b:2).

As scheduled, the Task Force held its first meeting on November 12, 1992, at University Village. A number of topics and issues were discussed at the meeting. These included an overview of the USF Area Study process and the problems identified, the structure, purpose and importance of the Task Force and the approach the Task Force should take in the collaborative efforts to affect positive change in the USF area.

At the meeting, the group discussed changes that have occurred in the USF area in the last 10 years and agreed that a variety of problems currently exist. Those in attendance agreed that the most serious problem was the number of crimes committed in the area. Other problems mentioned included the absence of and the need for a local recreation/community center, youth programs and a public assistance facility. Community image, physical appearance and neighborhood maintenance were also mentioned as troublesome issues that must be addressed. Department management, in what was to be their only appearance at a Task Force meeting, indicated they believed "tinkering" with the areas of concern could result in positive change.

Members were informed that the purpose of the USF Area Task Force was to

help develop and act upon solutions to immediate problems as well as long range concerns and to serve as a primary advocate for change in the USF area.

Several Task Force members suggested the Task Force needed some form of structure to be effective. County staff agreed and stated that, over the next few meetings, the group would determine its appropriate organization. Task Force meetings, members were told, would generally concentrate on a specific topic or topics and County staff or other specialists in specific areas, such as housing, would participate. The Task Force agreed to review with Planning and Development Management staff, at the next meeting, the physical features and existing land uses in the USF area.

The Task Force held its second meeting on December 10, 1992. A variety of issues were discussed at the meeting, including the area's needs for a public library, a neighborhood park, structured programs for local youth and a multi-service community center. Department staff informed members each issue would be further investigated and the findings would be presented at the next meeting.

Task Force members were provided a preliminary draft of the USF Area Neighborhood Planning Study Interim Report (Hillsborough County Planning and Development Management Department, University of South Florida and University of South Florida Center for Applied Anthropology 1993) at the December 10 meeting and were informed that the next meeting of the USF Area Task Force was scheduled for January 14, 1993. Staff noted they would review and discuss members' comments regarding the interim report as well as several staff-formulated recommendations intended for presentation to the Board of County Commissioners in the Department's status report on the planning study. The recommendations, staff stated, addressed key issues identified by the Task Force in need of immediate attention, prior to the study's

completion in September.

At the third meeting of the USF Area Task Force, the group further discussed the possibility of having a branch library established in the area and received an update concerning the status of the proposed USF area park site. In attendance was the Director of Hillsborough County's Library Services, who stated that his department had no plans to locate a library in the study area. Library Services were collaborating with the Museum of Science and Industry, he said, to establish an Information Resource Center at the museum on Fowler Avenue. The Director recommended that citizens attend Library Services Board meetings if they would like to have the issue formally considered. He also noted that branch library facilities in community centers have been successful in Hillsborough County.

Also attending the meeting was a staff member of the Parks and Recreation Department. He indicated that placing a branch library in a USF area community center was a possibility. He stated that the County was conducting negotiations with a representative of the owner of the proposed park site at 22nd Street and 138th Avenue. The Parks and Recreation Department representative assured Task Force members they would be advised on a regular basis of the Parks and Recreation Department's activities regarding the area park.

Planning and Development Management staff addressed questions posed by Task Force members at the December meeting. Members were informed that a new indigent care health clinic, operated by St. Joseph's Hospital, was scheduled to open February 1, 1993 at Fowler and Nebraska Avenues. Tampa General Hospital, members were told, was assessing sites for an additional clinic in the area.

Staff also informed members that, according to the County's Engineering

Services Department, the sidewalks scheduled for construction along 22nd Street and 131st Avenue had only two projects ahead of them on the priority list. Members were told that Engineering Services staff said the projects were being designed by a private firm. The Task Force was also informed that Planning and Development Management Department staff requested the Engineering Services Department conduct a sidewalk needs analysis for 143rd Avenue as well as re-evaluate the need for sidewalks along 42nd Street.

Task Force members were provided a copy of the 1993 outline of activities for the planning study, informed that they would receive copies of the final USF Area Neighborhood Planning Study Interim Report (Hillsborough County Planning and Development Management Department, University of South Florida and University of South Florida Center for Applied Anthropology 1993) at the next meeting, and advised that the report would be presented to the Board of County Commissioners on March 9, 1993. Staff also informed members that the next meeting of the USF Area Task Force was scheduled for February 11, 1993. The focus of the meeting, staff said, would be the issue of housing in the USF area. Staff from various County departments were scheduled to participate in the evening's discussion.

As promised, the topic of discussion at the February meeting included USF area housing issues. In addition, the recent formation of the County's USF Area committee was discussed. In attendance was a Senior Assistant County Administrator who described the purpose of the County's committee. He stated the group was formed because the County recognized the need for a coordinated, inter-organizational approach to improve conditions in the USF area. The Administrator also noted that the County intended to meet with all sectors of the USF community to determine present needs and

desires for the area's future. He emphasized the fact that Hillsborough County was determined to improve the area through a public/private partnership.

Also present was a Housing and Community Development Department representative, who discussed various problems regarding USF area housing and possible problem solving approaches, noting that housing conditions in the area appeared relatively good compared to other sections of the County. The representative said, however, that much of the housing stock could begin a process of rapid deterioration if current conditions were not stabilized. Task Force members were informed that the Housing and Community Development Department believed the area would soon be designated as a Community Development Block Grant (CDBG) target area. CDBG funds, the representative stated, can be used for housing rehabilitation.

Planning and Development Management staff informed members that the next meeting of the USF Area Task Force was scheduled for March 11, 1993. Task Force members were reminded that staff would present the USF Area Neighborhood Planning Study Interim Report (Hillsborough County Planning and Development Management Department, University of South Florida and University of South Florida Center for Applied Anthropology) to the Board of County Commissioners on March 9, 1993, and were encouraged to attend the meeting and share their opinions with the Commissioners. Staff provided members copies of the recommendations that would accompany the report. The recommendations were to direct appropriate County departments and staff to

continue to work with the USF community to identify, clarify and prioritize goals; perform random site Code Inspections of the rental communities in the area to achieve a greater understanding of the housing problems; speak to current property managers in the rental communities that are experiencing problems to determine what factors they believe are causing the problems and elicit managers' opinions regarding possible remedies; contact owners and investors of USF area rental communities to determine their opinions regarding housing problems and remedies; establish USF area residents' housing needs; review Resolution Trust Corporation properties in the USF area and discuss methods for

purchase of suitable or appropriate parcels for redevelopment as affordable housing and/or community servicing uses; ensure that short, medium and long-range recreational needs are addressed in the planning and development of facilities and services in the area; seek youth recreation and development services programming in the USF area; identify, cost and prioritize any critically needed public or social services and investigate means to provide them; cost and prioritize critically needed sidewalks, bicycle facilities, road improvements and other infrastructure and investigate means for providing them; [and] identify and pursue any special federal or State funding programs which can be used to improve the community in general ... through specific services and infrastructure (Hillsborough County Planning and Development Management Department 1993a:11-12).

The primary topic of discussion at the Task Force's March meeting was neighborhood maintenance. A representative from the County's Department of Solid Waste described the various County efforts regarding solid waste disposal in the study area. It was noted that approximately 58 tons of solid waste accumulations had been removed from the area in the previous 12 months. The representative also stated that the County, in association with Waste Aid Systems, was exploring a number of alternative approaches to problems related to solid waste disposal.

Another topic of discussion was the need for youth programs in the USF area. As a result of the discussion Task Force members decided that a committee should be established to address the issue of youth programs. Several Task Force members agreed to join the committee and meet to develop ideas and priorities and explore possibilities for providing programs for youth in the area. Task Force members wanted to see some programs planned for the coming summer. Results of the committee's first meeting, staff indicated, would be presented at the next Task Force meeting on April 8, 1993. The sub-committee met later in the month and determined that various agencies should be contacted regarding the provision of youth programs.

At the April meeting, one topic of discussion was area residents' health care needs. Staff from the County's Public Assistance Department informed Task Force members that the Department had formed a task force that was assessing the health care

needs of Hillsborough County residents. Public Assistance Department staff explained the need for a representative from the USF area to attend one of the group's meetings to address health care needs of local citizens.

Also discussed was the need for a more defined structure, priorities and leadership of the USF Area Task Force. Several ideas were proposed concerning who should serve as the Task Force leader/meeting facilitator. A group of Task Force members volunteered to meet and discuss alternatives for the Task Force structure, and present their ideas at the next Task Force meeting.

On May 6, 1993, the Task Force convened for the last time. The members--led by the USF Area Community Civic Association (USFACCA) president, recently returned from his duties in the Florida House of Representatives--proposed merging the group with the civic association as committees to be directed by the association's vice presidents. The committees, Task Force members were informed, would be organized to address three areas of concern: crime, children and commerce. No objections to the proposed merger were voiced. Privately, several of the Task Force members confessed they did not believe the marriage would result in fair treatment to the many USF area residents who, as suggested in Chapter Four, were not represented by the USFACCA. These individuals had reservations concerning the motives of the civic association's leader. As a result, only four members who had no previous affiliation with the USFACCA continued their involvement. The dissolution of the Task Force signalled the end of the Planning and Development Management Department's control of the project. As stated in the previous chapter, I will return to the civic association's activities as well as the involvement of the County Administrator's Office in Chapter Six.

In summary, the USF Area Neighborhood Planning Study proposal stated that the

Planning and Development Management Department would attempt to involve a broad range of participants in the planning process. In reality, the USF Area Task Force was the only form of face-to-face interaction achieved. As stated in Chapter Four, the Task Force in its final form was composed of 3 residents from the area west of the University, 2 residents from the East section, 10 area business and/or property owners, and 15 County and other public institution staff. Average attendance rate for area representatives was approximately 10 for each meeting, while an average of 5 County staff were present. Moreover, as the above narrative indicates, USF area representatives had no part in the initial organization, and no structure was determined until the USFACCA president returned from Tallahassee. Planning decisions were formulated by County staff and presented to members for approval, and authority for the decisions was clearly controlled by Department staff. In short, there was a low level of participation by area representatives; there existed no neighborhood organizing component; participants were, in essence, reminded by various County staff of the information provided in the interim report, and members only reviewed Department proposals. Planning and Development Management Department staff, in other words, planned <u>for</u> rather than <u>with</u> area residents and property owners.

The participation process as it actually occurred raises a number of questions. Perhaps the most important is why, given the County Commission-approved broad mandate for participation, did the Planning and Development Management choose this strategy? Selznick's (1966) idea of co-optation as an administrative tool helps, I believe, to shed light on the question.

Co-optation Revisited

Selznick's (1966) study of the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) provides evidence of the use of co-optation as a form of organizational defense mechanism employed by the agency's top administrators. Although the TVA, as an experiment in grassroots administration, was formally committed to embracing local residents' desires, it "did not arise out of the expressed desires of the local area, and consequently was faced with a special problem of adjustment" (Selznick 1966:12). Selznick's approach,

> put in a few words ... involved the hypothesis that the Authority's grass-roots policy as doctrine and as action must be understood as related to the need of the organization to come to terms with certain local and national interests; and that in actual practice this procedure resulted in commitments which had restrictive consequences for the policy and behavior of the Authority itself (1966:12).

Selznick argues that the TVA administration, in their efforts to maintain the organization's stability, co-opted local groups. Co-optation, as noted in Chapter Three, refers to the process of attempting to avert external threats by absorbing the threatening elements into the apparatus of the organization (Selznick 1966:13). In this sense citizens are not seen as a means to achieve better planning goals nor are they viewed as partners in assisting an organization in achieving citizens' goals; rather, they are seen as potential elements of obstruction or frustration whose cooperation and approval are believed necessary.

According to Selznick (1966:13-16), co-optation can take two forms, both of which are applicable to government organizations involving citizens. One is employed in response to specific power sources. Certain individuals and institutions are considered to have sufficient resources or influence--financial, decision-making, legislative--to vitally affect the organization's operation. To capture this influence or neutralize it, not only

are they brought into the organization, but, more significantly, they are included at the policy-making level because their influence is crucial to the continuation of current organizational policy. Selznick defines this as "informal co-optation," and its key characteristic is that it is a technique "of meeting the pressure of specific individuals or interest groups which are in a position to enforce demands" (1966:14).

Austin (1972:413) argues "there is ... a long tradition in ... local government of establishing structures for citizen involvement and participation as an adjunct to the administrative operation of ... planning organizations on an advisory basis only." Similarly, Burke (1968:291) maintains that "a more prevalent practice of welfare and planning organizations is to rely upon ... formal co-optation." Formal co-optation is a device for winning consent of the "elements which in some way reflect the sentiment, or possess the confidence of the relevant public or mass" (Selznick 1966:13). Formal co-optation often occurs when participation is publicly offered to representatives of the public "as a response to widely-voiced questioning of the legitimacy of particular actions or as a means of resolving certain practical administrative problems" (Silverman 1970:187). Thus, groups who reflect the sentiments of the community are absorbed into the organization in order for it to gain legitimacy (Selznick 1966:13-14). As Burke (1968:291) contends, church leaders, for example, are invariably involved in community projects because they lend credibility to projects. Other groups believed to reflect community sentiments, such as business, labor, school and civic organizations are invariably involved as well (Burke 1968:291).

Formal co-optation also describes the practice of setting up and maintaining communication networks in a community. Any organization, Selznick (1966:224) says, needs to establish reliable and readily accessible channels of communication through

which information and requests may be transmitted to all relevant segments and participants. One method is to establish relations with existing neighborhood organizations or block clubs. In this way the citizens, through their voluntary organizations or committees, become identified and committed to the program and, ideally, the apparatus of the operating agency (Selznick 1966:224-225).

The participants' ability to affect policy, according to Selznick (1966:13-16), is the basis for the distinction between informal and formal co-optation. Informal co-optation implies a sharing of power in response to specific or potential pressures. Formal co-optation seeks public acknowledgement of the public/private relationship, since it is not anticipated that organizational policies will be jeopardized. "What is shared," Selznick explains, "is the responsibility for power rather than power itself" (1966:14).

Burke (1968:292) rightly suggests that, despite the negative connotation attached to formal co-optation, it does provide a means for achieving goals. Typically, certain groups not normally included in policy-making are given an entrance into the decision-making arena. Moreover, because it often provides overlapping memberships, it is also a device that increases the opportunity for organizations to relate to one another and possibly establish compatible goals. From the organization's viewpoint, it provides a means of giving "outsiders" an awareness and understanding of the complexity of existing problems (Burke 1968:292).

But, Burke (1968:292) admits, the strategy is an administrative device. Facilitating the achievement of community goals is incidental. "The aim" he (1968:292) correctly notes, "is to permit the limited participation of citizens as a means of achieving organization goals, but not to the extent that these goals are impeded."

Limited participation was in fact what occurred in the USF Area Neighborhood Planning Study, and the Task Force appears to have been an organizational defense mechanism. It was noted in Chapter One and Chapter Two that the Planning and Development Management Department was not especially devoted to neighborhood planning and was not adequately staffed. The Department, with the aid of the USF Graduate Architecture School, possessed detailed preliminary guidelines for the land use component of the proposal. USF President Borkowski's letter to the Board imposed on the Department the need to have citizens participate in the planning process; it was not an idea born within the Department's decision-making machinery. In the end, the Board of County Commissioners could only assume that a genuine effort to encourage citizen participation had occurred and that the recommendations presented represented the desires of the community.

Preservation of organizational stability thus seems to have been a primary goal at which the chosen structure of citizen participation was aimed. The form did not require extensive modification of organizational procedures, the involvement of several staff members or a substantial amount of time in an already understaffed department. Submitting the interim report, along with a lengthy staff summary of the report that included Task Force-approved recommendations (Hillsborough County Planning and Development Management Department 1993a), demonstrated to the Commissioners the Department's competency and also proved that it was responding to citizens' desires as articulated by citizens. The Task Force was, moreover, a "blue ribbon" committee, composed primarily of White middle class community leaders. Their status as community leaders was defined by Planning and Development Management Department staff, and access to the Task Force was, by and large, controlled by Department

personnel. According to Selznick,

> the crucial test of control over co-opted citizens' groups is this: is access to the association by outside elements channeled through officials of the co-opting agency? If it is understood that accessibility is a primary objective of the co-optative mechanism, then it may be anticipated that such organizations will be looked upon as the "property" of their initiators. By common consent, rights in this property will be respected by officials of other agencies who in their turn will expect a similar courtesy. ... This not a result of undemocratic attitudes but is simply because the associations were originally organized to serve certain administrative functions (Selznick 1966:233).

In short, the process of participation in the USF Area Neighborhood Planning Study appeared to be a variant of Selznick's (1966) formal co-optation. As a response to extra-departmental forces, the strategy employed and controlled by the Planning and Development Management Department provided for the sharing of "the responsibility for power rather than power itself" (Selznick 1966:14).

Participation, Dependency, Autonomy and Cooperation: A Conclusion of Sorts

What then, given the TVA, Community Action Program, Model Cities, and USF experiences, can be said of formalized citizen participation? Is it inevitable that governments, in mandating public participation, will attempt to transform "an unorganized citizenry into a reliable instrument for the achievement of administrative goals ..." (Selznick 1966:220)? Can formalized citizen participation provide community members "an actual role in the determination of policy ..." (Selznick 1966:220)? Can voluntary associations accept formal roles in local government and maintain independence? And, what relationship between government and citizens' groups will meet with the greatest success? Several investigators have addressed these questions and, based on their findings and convictions, offered answers. Summarized below, each of

these arguments contributes significantly to the following chapter's recommendations and discussion.

Selznick's (1966) analysis of the TVA focused on the effects of its mandated citizen participation policy on the bureaucratic machinery. As Gamson (1972:471) points out, the TVA was "faced ... with a powerfully entrenched ... interest bloc in the Tennessee Valley." The "bloc consisted of a complex headed by the Land Grant Colleges, the more prosperous farmers represented by the American Farm Bureau Federation, and the Federal Agricultural Extension Service with its county agents" (Gamson 1972:471-472). In their attempt to become established, TVA officials chose the strategy of informal co-optation to adjust to this complex, and formal co-optation of voluntary associations in their efforts "to organize the mass, to change an undifferentiated and unreliable citizenry into a structured, readily accessible public" (Selznick 1966:219).

Selznick's (1966) analysis highlights a number of resulting impacts. For instance, one of the consequences of the co-optation strategy was a "considerable amount of influence by the Farm Bureau complex over TVA's agricultural policies" (Gamson 1972:472). Decisions on fertilizer programs, on the degree of emphasis on rural cooperatives, and on the participation of Black farmers in the TVA program were apparently influenced by the co-opted elements (Selznick 1966:91-116). But, Selznick argues, in seeking to adjust to the local centers of influence, the TVA's strategy involved an organizational as well as programmatic capitulation. In effect, a "right wing" was built inside the TVA which controlled the agricultural program. This group represented within TVA the interests, organizational and programmatic, of its external constituency. In other words, this was not a case of simple compromise, made by an organization which retains its internal unity; it was a case of creating a split in the character of the organization, as evidenced in the alienation of a group within it. As a result, the TVA was unable to retain control of the course of the basic compromise. Concessions were demanded and won which may or may not have been essential if there

had been fundamental unity within the organization (Selznick 1950:164, emphases in original).

"If," Selznick (1966:xiii) writes, "there is a practical lesson for leadership here, it is this: if you have to compromise, guard against organizational surrender." Perhaps equally important, Gamson suggests, a lesson to be drawn from the TVA experience "is that any act of co-optation of potential partisans by authorities is likely to be a mixture of [policy] modification and ... control and the balance of the mix is problematic and of concern to both parties" (1972:472, emphasis in original).

Gittell (1980), in a study of community organizations and their effects on education policy in three cities focuses on the costs to voluntary associations involved in government-mandated citizen participation. She found in the study that government-mandated community organizations had particular characteristics which were decidedly different from self-initiated groups. The mandates, Gittell (1980:42-43) says, prescribed and determined the organizations' character, created external dependencies, and limited their activities and purposes. Conversely, the self-initiated groups tended to be less dependent, more likely to act as advocates, and contain leadership and membership more representative of the community (Gittell 1980:41-47).

Further, Gittell (1980:47-48) notes, in the mandated groups' leadership positions, terms of office and the roles of the organizations were determined by the mandating agency. These organizations were expected to serve as a bridge between the community and the agency. But, because qualifications for membership were externally imposed, the groups often lacked a base of community support and were, as a result, less successful than self-initiated groups in involving a wide range of residents in the organizations' activities (Gittell 1980:48, 242-243). In addition, Gittell (1980:244) maintains that because these organizations did not develop rotating leadership, there was

little, if any, basis for the survival of the groups if the mandate were removed. Finally, she (Gittell 1980:244) says, the leaders in the mandated organizations were less likely to be policy-oriented than the self-initiated groups. The government-mandated organizations "work[ed] within the system and restrict[ed] themselves to the tasks outlined" (Gittell 1980:245) by the mandating agency. As shown earlier, many of the conditions described by Gittell are present in the USF project's participation component.

In conclusion, Gittell (1980:250) asks: "Can it be otherwise?" She argues that mandated organizations "are the least likely to accomplish the objectives of increased participation and institutional change," and that there is a significant and crucial difference "between government encouragement and support of self-initiated organizations and government mandating and maintaining organizations" (Gittell 1980:251). Gittell (1980:251) therefore submits that "government should not be in the business of mandating community organizations." "At best," she says, "it should be providing general support for self-initiated citizen organizations, particularly in lower income areas" (Gittell 1980:251).

Rich (1983:96-101) suggests that under certain conditions formalized citizen participation is not, as Gittell (1980) would have it, detrimental to citizens and citizens' organizations. Agreeing that some loss of autonomy may necessarily accompany acceptance of an official role, he questions whether "the gains more than offset this loss ..." (Rich 1983:97). Rich correctly argues that where the access of community groups to the policy process is informal, some neighborhoods will be under-represented, and to fail to formalize neighborhood participation "is to deny those communities without organizations or with ineffective associations a voice in policy formation and implementation" (1983:97). The absence of institutionalized participation, he says, can

lead to a misallocation of societal resources if the demand for public goods in low-income areas is consistently understated (Rich 1983:97-98).

After reviewing neighborhood-based participation programs in several cities, Rich (1983:98-100) finds evidence affirming Gittell's (1980) argument that groups participating did lose a degree of autonomy. His study revealed that, in many local government-created neighborhood councils, leaders did not generally have extensive ties to their neighborhoods, councils' agendas appeared to be controlled by government, and "the vast majority of the items of business they took up were in response to initiatives from the city government" (Rich 1983:98). But, he notes, in the communities examined, voluntary associations and local governments had entered into far more cooperative relationships than had been the case prior to institutionalizing the participation process. Policies that would have resulted largely without citizen input were formulated with neighborhood preferences in mind as a result of the formalization of citizen participation (Rich 1983:99-100).

Rich (1983:100) concludes that while neighborhood groups should seek to retain a capacity for advocacy, it would be "a mistake to forego opportunities to influence public policy in an effort to ensure a capacity for independent action." If, he suggests, local government encourages strong ties to the community through mechanisms such as "matching funding and popular selection [of representatives], and communities maintain independent associations as well as officially supported ones, we should be able to have autonomy and capacity at the neighborhood level" (Rich 1983:100, emphasis in original).

Kushner, admitting "that no human community can be thought of as absolutely and completely autonomous ... or self-determining" (1973:97), suggests dependency and the development and maintenance of relative autonomy are affected by "the kind of

bureaucratic administration ... in ... communities" (1973:94). His argument draws on Gouldner's (1954, 1959) dichotomous classification of the "representative bureaucracy" and the "punishment-centered bureaucracy," and Selznick's (1966) formal and informal co-optation (Kushner 1973:94-97). According to Gouldner,

> [t]he representative bureaucracy is, in part, characterized by authority based on knowledge and expertise. It also entails collaborative or bilateral initiation of the organizational rules by the parties involved; the rules are justified by the participants on the ground that they are means to desired ends, and persuasion and education are used to obtain compliance with them. The punishment-centered bureaucracy is characterized by authority based on incumbency in office, and by the unilateral initiation of organization rules which are enforced through punishments (Gouldner 1959:403).

A representative bureaucracy, Kushner (1973:94) continues, is representative because, as Gouldner (1954:221-222) writes, an "expert's authority is validated only when used to further the ... [clients'] ends, and when ... [clients] have a say-so in the enactment and administration of the expert's program." Conversely, in an authoritarian punishment-centered bureaucracy "obedience would tend to be stressed as an end in itself, and authority tend to be legitimated in terms of incumbency of office, when subordinates are ordered to do things divergent from their own ends" (Gouldner 1954:223, emphasis in original).

In the Israeli new-immigrant community he studied, Kushner argues the administration changed "from a representative bureaucracy based on consensus and participation to a punishment-centered bureaucracy based on authority and non-participation ..." (1973:95, emphasis in original). In the USF project, no such transformation occurred; "[t]he goals," as Willner (1961) says of the Israeli situation, "[were] fixed and the roles ... set independent of the [residents'] participation and prior to their arrival" (quoted in Kushner 1973:95). Participation in the Task Force, as Verba writes of "democratic" methods of decision-making often employed in small groups,

appeared

limited to member endorsement of decisions made by the leader who ... [was] neither selected by the group nor responsible to the group for his [or her] actions. In group discussions, the leader [did] not present alternatives to the group from which members [chose]. Rather, the group leader [had] a particular goal in mind and use[d] the group discussion as a means of inducing acceptance of the goal (Verba 1961:220).

In the USF project proposal, as in the examples Kushner (1973:124) cites, "provision [was] made for representative councils or organizations of the administered people. In all these cases, however, the general trend seem[ed] to be for the representative bodies to function merely as auxiliaries to the administration." Administrators in Kushner's (1973:124) illustrations, as was the case with the Planning and Development Management Department prior to the Task Force's dissolution, did "not appear to relinquish their power to define policy. ... This," he suggests, "would seem to be due to the" existence of a punishment-centered "bureaucratic administration ..." (Kushner 1973:124). Perhaps the same can be said of Hillsborough County.

Kushner (1973:97) maintains that a punishment-centered bureaucracy employing formal co-optation cannot promote community democracy and autonomy. Instead, community autonomy can only be realized when the community is afforded "substantive participation through informal co-optation in a representative bureaucracy" (Kushner 1973:97). Formal co-optation, as noted earlier, indicates a sharing of "responsibility for power rather than power itself" (Selznick 1966:14). Informal co-optation means a sharing of power with local people involved in "actual role[s] in the determination of policy" (Kushner 1973:96). "Given substantive participation," Kushner says, "the community would not ... be dependent ..." (1973:97).

Kushner (1973:126) goes on to offer various ideas aimed at "enabl[ing] people to do something besides merely responding to outside initiative, and to do it in a collective

way." Certain of these ideas will receive attention in Chapter Six. Rich (1983) provides no elaborations as to the relationship of the councils he describes to local government. There are, he correctly says, many different ways to organize neighborhood councils and structure the relationships. Each city or county embarking upon this endeavor will "no doubt want to develop an arrangement tailored to its own circumstances. As this happens, local officials and citizens may want to know about the experience elsewhere in order to better comprehend the alternatives ..." (Rich 1983:100).

Cole (1974:121-137), from a study of 26 neighborhood programs operating in several states, provides data suggesting there is an optimum formalized citizen participation relationship. Though he does not address the effects of citizen participation on governmental organizations or voluntary associations, his findings are instructive in their implications for government officials and citizens. Specifically, he focuses on the extent to which participation programs improve the delivery of goods and services and the degree to which programs improve neighborhood residents' trust and confidence in local government (Cole 1974:7-10).

The several programs investigated, Cole (1974:18-19) notes, represented varying degrees and gradations of citizen influence and scope of program coverage, and he admits that any attempt to assess the impact of citizen participation must account for these variations. Accordingly, he assigns each of the 26 programs a score ranging from one to five, based on their ranking in a nine-celled matrix that accounts for three gradations (less to more) of citizen influence and three gradations (narrow to broad) of program scope (Cole 1974:19-20). Cole's (1974:86-88) data show that 13 percent of the programs were assigned an index score of one, 19 percent scored as two, 24 percent were assigned a score of three, 25 percent scored as four, and 19 percent were assigned

a score of five.

After subjecting his data to statistical analysis, Cole (1974:122-123) identifies "an optimum zone of program typology" which maximizes "values of both citizen satisfaction regarding the delivery of goods and services and improved citizen trust." Trust and satisfaction, Cole (1974:124) states, are lowest in programs rated at the lowest and highest ends of the program index. Conversely, "trust and satisfaction are reported to be greatest in programs assigned more moderate values" (Cole 1974:124). Regardless, he (Cole 1974:125) concludes, of whether "'success' is measured in terms of citizen satisfaction" with the program's ability to improve the "delivery of goods and services or defined in terms of improved citizen trust, the most successful programs will be those avoiding either extreme of the intensity and scope index."

Similarly, Sundquist and Davis (1969:240-243), in their study of 29 decentralization programs, found those stressing independence of local government, program innovation, and vigorous challenging of the status quo to be less successful than those emphasizing coordination of activities, planning conducted by citizens and public officials, and greater control exercised by local government. Sundquist and Davis (1969:242-243) label the former "the Community Action Agency model," and the latter "the Model Cities model."

Sundquist and Davis (1969:116) note that the Model Cities approach involves a considerable amount of coordination and direction from local government while attempting to maintain the concept of "widespread citizen participation" in the planning process. Thus, they suggest, the community as a whole is more willing to accept as "legitimate" the Model Cities approach, and this acceptance is essential to program success (Sundquist and Davis 1969:116-119).

Hallman (1972:421-427) also argues for a balance between coordination and participation in neighborhood-based programs. He states that

> on the one hand, coordination emphasizes the centripetal force of community power. This is because ... voluntary coordination is not very effective since the tough issues are those on which no participating agency will yield easily. Therefore, there has to be some form of sanction to assure coordination, such as the authoritative relationship of the hierarchical organization or the control of monetary resources and physical facilities. The exercise of these controls comes most easily when they are in the hands of one person or relatively few. Since in public programs we are rightly concerned with accountability, we want such persons to be responsible to the people through the processes of representative democracy. This points to the mayor and other elected officials as the ones who should have authority. ... On the other hand, citizen participation is a centrifugal force. As involvement increases, more actors enter the arena and more diverse views are presented. Competition for scarce resources comes into play, and various interest groups contend against one another (Hallman 1972:425).

Hallman (1972:425-426) goes on to suggest that a successful policy for citizen participation programs is one which seeks to bring these two forces into harmony. And, he concludes, "an organization interested in increasing citizen participation of necessity has to be less concerned with tight operation ..." (Hallman 1972:426).

Though not conclusive, the above review and the examples of contemporary participatory planning presented in Chapter Three suggest that, given certain conditions, formalized citizen participation programs can be shaped for the benefit of both government and citizen organizations. It may in fact be necessarily true that neighborhood groups will lose a degree of autonomy in accepting a formal role in policy formation. "The issue," as Kushner (1973:97) says, "is a matter of degree." The creation of parallel associations as proposed by Rich (1983:100) could possibly ensure that citizens maintain control over their organizations, retain capacity for advocacy and action, and have a share of power in the decision-making process. Conversely, local governments may of necessity be required to sacrifice a measure of program efficiency in adopting an institutionalized process that emphasizes community participation.

Negotiation and compromise must, in the final analysis, be characteristic of a public/private relationship. But effective negotiation and compromise cannot occur in a bureaucracy "characterized by authority based on incumbency in office, and by the unilateral initiation of organization rules which are enforced through punishments" (Gouldner 1959:403). As stated in Chapter Three, program development stresses efficiency, program results, minimization of manpower and resource expenditures, and rapid decision-making. Any genuine participation process is, at least for the short-run, inefficient, costly, time-consuming and uncertain. Effective participation calls for a commitment of sufficient depth to override these other values. "Over the long-run," as Gross and Singh (1984:289) argue, participation "can add to an organization's effectiveness and efficiency" as it broadens "the vision and unleashes the cognitive powers" of all concerned. Cole's findings--based on data collected from citizen participants--and those reported by Sundquist and Davis--derived largely from government officials--lend support to the idea that a program providing for substantive participation and intended to meet administrative needs can be fashioned. In short, such a program would be one stressing cooperation between citizens and government.

Selznick (1966:264) suggests his study of the TVA reveals "three sources of paradox and tension" which must be confronted when attempting to combine democracy and planning. First, he says, "ideologies must be seen in the context of the needs they serve; it is a reliable assumption that something more urgent than patterns of belief will lie behind the strong advocacy of doctrine by an organizational leadership" (Selznick 1966:264). Second, "it is essential to recognize that power in a community is distributed among those who can mobilize resources ... and these can effectively shape the character and role of governmental instrumentalities" (Selznick 1966:265). Lastly, he writes, the

tendency of democratic participation to break down into administrative involvement requires continuous attention" (Selznick 1966:265).

"The TVA," Selznick concludes,

has been a particularly good subject for the analysis of these problems. This is so precisely because it may be said that the Authority has, on the whole, very effectively achieved some of its major purposes, including the mobilization of a staff of very high quality. No one is surprised when a weak or corrupt governmental agency does not fulfill its doctrinal promise. When, however, a morally strong and fundamentally honest organization is subject to the kind of process ... described, then the pervasive significance of that process becomes materially enhanced. In a sense, it is just because TVA is a relatively good example of democratic administration that the evidences of weakness in this respect are so important. It is just because the TVA stands as something of a shining example of incorruptibility in such major matters as noncapitulation to local political interests in the hiring of personnel or to local utility interests in public power policy that the evidence of covert co-optation in the agricultural program attains its general significance.

For the things which are important in the analysis of democracy are those which bind the hands of good men. We then learn that something more than virtue is necessary in the realm of circumstance and power (1966:265-266).

Nevertheless, as Duhl (1969:xi) writes, a democratic society cannot plan without involving people in the process of planning. "No one," Creighton (1981:20) points out, "said democracy is cheap or easy, but it is better than the alternative." Participatory planning "can only facilitate democracy by reducing the inequities, maximizing the range of choice, and making the choices more widely available" (Duhl 1969:xi). Moreover, "truly democratic planning" empowers "the majority of the population ... to articulate their common interests and guide their own collective future" (Gross and Singh 1984:287-288). People, as McClendon (1993:146-147) rightly asserts, must be empowered to solve their own problems: "Effective planners do not represent or act as agents on behalf of their customer--that tends to promote dependency. Rather they work to empower and to reinforce the self-sufficiency of their customers."

This chapter has traced the history of citizen participation in the USF Area Neighborhood Planning Study. Included in the chapter was a presentation of the

Planning and Development Management Department's staff proposal. Although the proposal stated that the Department would attempt to involve a broad range of participants, it was shown that the USF Area Task Force was the only form of face-to-face interaction achieved. The Task Force, it was noted, was a small group of community leaders and various County staff organized by me with Department staff direction and approval.

The chapter thus illustrated that, in essence, the community was "acted on" rather than "acted with." Further, community representatives were absorbed into the Planning and Development Management Department. Task Force members were formally co-opted, not specifically as a means of deflecting potential obstructions, but more as a necessary response to the Hillsborough County Board of County Commissioner's imposed requirement for citizen participation in the planning project. As was the case with the groups Gittell (1980) describes, the Task Force limited its activities to the Department-defined agenda, and it does not appear likely that the group would have continued to function had the mandate been removed.

Some effects of mandated citizen participation on governmental bodies and voluntary associations were reviewed. In particular, the issues of autonomy and dependency as they relate to mandated participation were briefly addressed. It was suggested that though formalized participation may result in a loss of a degree of autonomy for citizens' groups, the benefits outweigh potential costs. The key conclusion is that, above all, participatory planning requires an administration wherein the "expert's authority is validated only when used to further the ... [clients'] ends, and when ... [clients] have a say-so in the enactment and administration of the expert's program (Gouldner 1954:221-222). Such a program, in short, requires commitment and

cooperation. Considerations as to what that program might entail are contained in the following chapter.

CHAPTER SIX: SUMMARY, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

It is customary to conclude reports of research on social problems with statements about the implications of the study and suggested courses of action which might follow. Often, such recommendations are made in reference to program improvement (Rose 1972:176). But, to my knowledge, no program designed to afford Hillsborough County residents extensive opportunities to participate in governmental affairs currently exists. Substantive citizen participation calls for decentralization or some sharing of power, and decentralization is not likely to successfully proceed on an ad hoc, project by project basis. To allow certain neighborhood groups the power to help determine policy while excluding other groups in other neighborhoods may lead to conflict, with the excluded groups almost certainly demanding their fair share of the County's resources. Moreover, the absence of a well-defined mode of operation regarding participation would no doubt add to the possibility that those individuals and organized groups already in position to demand and obtain a disproportionate share of community resources would do so at the expense of the unorganized and less-influential citizenry.

It thus seems appropriate in this concluding chapter to propose a County-wide citizen participation program structure as well as specific program elements. Before hazarding such suggestions, however, a summary of the USF Area Neighborhood Planning Study is provided. Following the summary, a brief review of the Hillsborough County Administrator's involvement in the project is presented. Program recommendations are next provided, and the chapter concludes with a discussion of my

contributions as an applied anthropologist to the study. Included in the latter section is a discussion of the relevance of applied anthropology to participatory planning.

Project and Thesis Summary

On January 14, 1992 the Hillsborough County Board of County Commissioners directed the Planning and Development Management Department to conduct a comprehensive neighborhood planning study of the unincorporated area immediately surrounding the University of South Florida (USF). The Commissioners' request was prompted by USF President Francis T. Borkowski who, in a letter dated March 7, 1991, asked the Board's Chairperson to initiate a University Sector land use study aimed at addressing concerns related to urban growth, development patterns and various other problems in the general university community area. According to the project proposal approved by the Commissioners, the study would in fact "address many of the concerns expressed by Dr. Borkowski ... [through the] development of a specific plan and zoning proposal based on the adopted Comprehensive Plan Land Use Map" (Hillsborough County Planning and Development Management Department 1992a:2). Planning and Development Management Department staff anticipated that the study would produce:

> (1) a community urban design/land use plan, which will define existing and recommended future land uses, as well as public areas and open spaces within the overall community; (2) detailed neighborhood design/streetscape/open space plans, which will focus on special neighborhood areas and local street systems; and (3) an amended Special Public Interest (SPI) zoning district plan, which may provide both planned and conventional districts. The intent of the SPI district will be to resolve land use and zoning inconsistencies, provide flexible design controls, establish incentives for desirable new development, and offer innovative solutions in site planning and design (Hillsborough County Planning and Development Management Department 1992a:2).

Phase I of the two phase study was to consist primarily of data collection activities. This first phase of the study, the proposal stated, would "include solicitation of information from community groups, property owners, the student body, and the university administration relative to the problems and issues they experience in the area" (Hillsborough County Planning and Development Management Department 1992a:2). The information was to be collected "through a variety of avenues including community meetings, which could be in the form of Town Hall meetings, and from detailed opinion surveys in Phase II of the study" (Hillsborough County Planning and Development Management Department 1992a:2).

Certain of the problems identified in Phase I, the proposal suggested, "could be solved quickly through Board or Administrative action[s] ... [such as] code enforcement actions, trash cleanup, and enhanced Sheriff patrols" (Hillsborough County Planning and Development Management Department 1992a:2). Other problems identified "would feed into Phase II, which would be a detailed urban planning analysis of the area" (Hillsborough County Planning and Development Management Department 1992a:2). Phase II activities would thus include an analysis of the opportunities and constraints in the area through documentation of "land use characteristics, open space links, utility service coverage, neighborhood character and definitions, hierarchy of the circulation system, pedestrian, bicycle, and community activity links, streetscape, landscaping, and street lighting" (Hillsborough County Planning and Development Management Department 1992a:2).

Planning and Development Management Department personnel, as noted in Chapter Two, began the study in late spring of 1992 and, shortly thereafter, the USF central administration notified County staff that the University could provide student

assistance with the project. The University's willingness to supply student assistance thus resulted in the internship on which this thesis is based. As I stated in Chapter Two, my introduction and commitment to the study came at a meeting with Department management and staff in the latter part of June 1992. In the course of the meeting I received a copy of the enabling staff report cited above. According to Department management, my efforts would be primarily directed at providing the research and analysis that would directly contribute to facilitating the achievement of the anticipated product previously outlined.

Department management also indicated they had no objections to my focusing on any specific issue or topic presented or implied in the project proposal. The project proposal, as shown in Chapter Two and Chapter Five, suggested that Hillsborough County viewed neighborhood planning as a process of cooperation, information sharing and citizen participation in the development and redevelopment of the area's neighborhoods. This commitment to participatory community development fueled my desire to participate in the project and provided what I felt was an excellent opportunity to concentrate on the citizen participation process. My resolve, therefore, was to conduct an extensive review of the body of literature associated with neighborhood planning, neighborhood revitalization, community development and citizen participation in hope that the findings would be applied to the process as orchestrated by the Planning and Development Management Department. As the project progressed, however, it became increasingly apparent that my acquired knowledge and skills would remain untapped as would those of area residents. As a result, following the conclusion of my internship, I decided to seek to provide a discussion of why, given the Board of County Commissioners' approval for the broad participation of a wide spectrum of local

community members, the Department failed to attempt to secure extensive community involvement. Bureaucratic factors that inhibited the process, rather than the process itself, thus became the focus of my attention.

Retrospectively returning specifically to the applied anthropological literature concerning the policy process, "the essentials of anthropological method" that Spicer (1976:341) identifies as "the emic-holistic-historical-comparative approach" thus became the vehicle for interpreting the project's trajectory and for identifying feasible recommendations. As mentioned in Chapter One, Spicer (1976:341) correctly maintains that it is through this approach that the anthropologist can understand the forces that shape public policy, program formation, program selection and program evaluation. The emic component, he argues, should be used in the context of etic data. It includes "the gathering of data on attitudes and value orientations and social relations directly from the people engaged in the making of a given policy and those on whom the policy impinges" (Spicer 1976:341). The holistic approach "include[s] placement of the policy decision in the context of the competing or cooperating interests, with their value orientations, out of which the policy formulation emerged ..." (Spicer 1976:341). The historical approach requires "some diachronic acquaintance with the policy and the process giving rise to it" (Spicer 1976:341). The comparative approach "include[s] consideration of conceivable alternatives and of how other varieties of this class of policy have been applied and with what results" (Spicer 1976:341). Again, as Spicer (1976:341) admits, this prescription "will probably never be fully realized." Nevertheless, it is an approach that can provide "knowledge of the kind of phenomena which all concerned with applying social science should know most about" (Spicer 1976:341).

So framed, this thesis appears to demonstrate the utility of Spicer's prescription.

Employing the emic-holistic-historical-comparative approach as an organizing principle, I have argued in Chapter Two that the study was the result of concerns identified by two independent sources. Each of these sources helped to define the problems of the area and contributed significantly to the formulation of the strategy for addressing the problems. A preliminary report produced by the Planning and Development Management Department (1991) addressed zoning issues and contained several recommendations aimed at correcting problems identified by Department staff. In addition to this document, the Planning and Development Management Department possessed a USF Graduate Architecture School (1991) report containing detailed specifications that, when coupled with the preliminary report, would produce products similar to those spelled out in the project proposal. The Department had, it thus appears, substantially completed the groundwork for what they stated would be accomplished in the USF study. President Borkowski's letter to the Board, however, led the Commissioners to call for a public involvement component. The result was a proposal to the Board of County Commissioners for the Planning and Development Management Department to undertake a comprehensive study of the USF area, focusing on social as well as physical problems. Responding to the Board's request, in an addendum to the proposal, it was determined that citizens would be afforded extensive opportunities to participate in the study and thereby help solve local problems.

Chapter Five chronicles the citizen participation process as orchestrated by the Planning and Development Management Department. According to the project proposal's addendum,

> [s]taff envision[ed] the overall USF area planning effort to be a fully participatory process, involving not only County, City of Tampa, and Planning Commission staff, but also with the ... participation of area residents, property owners, neighborhood and civic associations, USF students, USF faculty/administration, and area businesses. Phase I

activities and findings [would] be regularly presented to an existing task force comprised of County, City of Tampa, and Planning Commission staff members, and the USF Planning Commission. The detailed neighborhood plans that [were] envisioned for Phase II [would] ... be developed in conjunction with area neighborhood/civic associations, and/or ad hoc task forces comprised largely of area residents (Hillsborough County Planning and Development Management Department 1992a:4).

As was shown in Chapter Five, no attempt was made to achieve this "fully participatory process" envisioned, and the USF Area Task Force was the only form of face-to-face interaction between County staff and citizens. The Task Force, it was noted, was a small group of community leaders and various County staff organized by me with Department staff direction and approval. Task Force members, rather than being encouraged to determine their own agenda, were for the most part directed by staff to limit activities to those defined by the Department. Thus, as I said in the previous chapter, the community was "acted on" rather than "acted with." The Task Force was formally co-opted, not specifically as a means of deflecting potential obstructions, but more as a necessary response to the imposed requirement for citizen participation in the planning project. According to Selznick (1966:14), formal co-optation does not involve "the transfer of actual power. The forms of participation are emphasized but action is channeled so as to fulfill the administrative functions while preserving the locus of significant decision in the hands of the initiating group." Finally, I suggested that the failure to attempt to involve a broad spectrum of citizens was influenced by the County bureaucracy's punishment-centered orientation. Punishment-centered bureaucracies tend to stress "obedience ... as an end in itself, and authority tend[s] to be legitimated in terms of incumbency of office, when subordinates are ordered to do things <u>divergent from their own ends</u>" (Gouldner 1954:223, emphasis in original).

The Shift of Project Control

In Chapter Five it was also noted that the County Administrator's Office decided to form a USF area committee composed of various Hillsborough County department representatives. As stated in the chapter, an Assistant County Administrator informed Task Force members that the County had recognized the need for a coordinated, inter-organizational approach to improve conditions in the USF study area. Several astute observers of County politics, however, have suggested other reasons for the intervention. One source believed the intervention occurred because "the time was right" for a coordinated assault on the area's problems. Another pointed to the USF Area Community Civic Association (USFACCA) president and his recent election as a State legislator, and suggested that the Board of County Commissioners felt it politically necessary to provide support for the president's efforts. Still another argued that the County Administrator's involvement was the direct result of one County Commissioner's desire to participate and thus, in the process, promote that Commissioner's image. The same observer also suggested that County-wide involvement could have been motivated by the County Administrator's desire to retain centralized control. Finally, one staff member pointed out that the Board of County Commissioners had in 1992 began to explore possible avenues through which neighborhood organizations could participate in government activities. The Office of the County Administrator's involvement was thus argued to be associated with the Board's explorations. Given the project's complexity and the players involved, it is likely that one or more of the above contributed to the decision to shift the locus of control.

Whatever the reason or reasons, the Office of the County Administrator, in

January 1993, issued an invitation to various County department directors. The invitation was for a meeting to be held the following month, at which time the County Administrator hoped to learn the status of current departmental efforts in the USF area and to consider additional possibilities. "Despite the dedicated efforts of numerous departments, agencies and community groups," the invitation stated, "problems in the USF area persist" (Hillsborough County Office of the County Administrator 1993a:1). Further, the complex issues of "crime, substandard housing, illegal dumping, and continuous code violations demonstrate the need for a coordinated, inter-organizational approach to USF area improvement" (Hillsborough County Office of the County Administrator 1993a:1). The County Administrator thus determined it necessary to coordinate the implementation of recommendations contained in the Planning and Development Management Department's USF status report to the Board of County Commissioners, as well as "the County government's involvement with the USF Area Community Civic Association, other government agencies, private sector groups and others to improve the quality of life for those living in the USF area" (Hillsborough County Office of the County Administrator 1993a:1).

In April 1993 the County Administrator issued a call for another meeting, the purpose of which was to determine what advances each County department had made towards targeting efforts in the USF area (Hillsborough County Office of the County Administrator 1993b:1). The invitation noted that his Office had "been working with the USF Area Community Civic Association in formulating three objectives for the area" (Hillsborough County Office of the County Administrator 1993b:1). Efforts were also underway to determine "a structure for the Civic Association which [would] enable them to develop and implement action plans to achieve the objectives" (Hillsborough County

Office of the County Administrator 1993b:1). The dissolution in May of the USF Area Task Force, discussed in Chapter Five, thus appears to have been one result of these efforts.

As noted in the previous chapter, the USF Area Community Civic Association absorbed certain members of the Task Force to serve on one of several committees directed by the association's vice presidents. USFACCA leadership, in collaboration with the Office of the County Administrator, determined that the association would address three areas of concern: crime, children and commerce. According to a document outlining the chosen approach, the collective efforts were aimed at reducing the area's crime rate by 50 percent over a two year period, improving the "environment and delivery of services for children to ensure that they will grow to become productive citizens," and improving area "commerce ... by reducing unemployment, improving property values, eliminating dilapidated buildings, and increasing the prosperity of area businesses" (Hillsborough County Office of the County Administrator 1993c:1).

To achieve these objectives, it was determined that five separate groups--homeowners, tenants, landlords, businesses and public institutions--would be organized to "develop action plans for their role in achieving the three objectives and ... follow through on their portion of the ... plans" (Hillsborough County Office of the County Administrator 1993c:1). Each group's leader was responsible for recruiting participants, scheduling meetings and synthesizing ideas proposed in the meetings. The groups were to hold at least one meeting for each area to be addressed. At the meetings, committees were to agree on three priority actions members of the particular group would take and "identify three priority actions which others [such as government departments] should take" (Hillsborough County Office of the County Administrator 1993c:1). The proposed

actions would then be submitted to the USFACCA Board of Directors.

The final steps in the process involve civic association leadership and County government. According to the Office of the County Administrator (1993d:1), after each committee submitted the results of their deliberations, the USFACCA "Board of Directors synthesizes [the proposals] ... to eliminate duplication and prepares [an] action plan." The resulting action plan would then be presented to the Board of County Commissioners "for approval of actions to be taken by Hillsborough County" (Hillsborough County Office of the County Administrator 1993d:1).

As of this writing, the Board of County Commissioners has not received the USFACCA's action plan. Originally scheduled for presentation in September 1993, the civic association now intends to present the plan in May 1994 (Crist 1994:2). The important point here is that the process described appears to represent a shift from a "bureaucracy ... characterized by authority based on incumbency in office, and by the unilateral initiation of organization rules" towards one characterized by "collaborative or bilateral initiation of the organizational rules by the parties involved [in which] the rules are justified by the participants on the ground that they are means to desired ends ..." (Gouldner 1959:403). This development, as suggested in Chapter Five, is crucial for participatory planning and the recommendations presented below.

Recommendations

Earlier in this chapter it was noted that the Board of County Commissioners, in 1992, began exploring possible avenues for affording citizens the opportunity to participate in planning issues in the County's neighborhoods. One result of the process

was the Board's adoption of the Neighborhood Bill of Rights program in April 1992. The intent of the program is to provide an organized process whereby registered neighborhood associations are notified of permit applications for development activity in as well as within one mile of the area represented by the associations (Hillsborough County 1992b:1). As a brochure describing the program states, the Neighborhood Bill of Rights initiative was designed to assure residents "that they would have more of a say in decisions regarding development activity in the vicinity of their neighborhoods" (Hillsborough County 1992b:2). To participate in the program, neighborhood organizations submit applications to the County's Development Services Center. The applications are required to include names and addresses of the associations' representatives or officers and a map which geographically identifies the area represented. Once a civic association or neighborhood group is registered, notices and general information about development petitions are forwarded to the associations' representatives. Each notice includes a brief description of the development approval requested, and a request for citizen input prior to the formulation of a staff report and recommendation (Hillsborough County 1992b:2-3). "Under this program," the brochure claims,

> neighborhood groups are provided a better opportunity to participate as early as possible in land use matters to be considered by the County Commission, and are able to participate pro-actively rather than learning of proposed development activity late in the process. This ensures that residents not only have a chance to be more involved in land management issues, but also that they have a say in what their communities will look like subsequent to development activity (Hillsborough County 1992b:2).

More recently, as a result of citizens' voiced concerns regarding perceived shortcomings in the program, Commissioner Joe Chillura assembled a group consisting of various County departments' representatives and private citizens to discuss potential changes to the Neighborhood Bill of Rights program (Hillsborough County Planning and

Development Management Department 1993b:2). Following the meeting, Commissioner Chillura issued a memorandum indicating his "desire to expand [the] Neighborhood Bill of Rights program into an Office of Neighborhood Organizations, to be part of [the] Planning and Development Management Department" (Chillura 1993:1). Chillura suggests the County be divided into four districts, similar to the current four legislative districts represented by County Commissioners. Each district, as he sees it, would have a volunteer or group of volunteers that would represent the area's neighborhood organizations (Hillsborough County Planning and Development Management Department 1993b:5). In collaboration with the volunteers, Chillura proposes that the Office of Neighborhood Organizations be responsible for:

notifying [neighborhood organizations] of meetings, hearings, elections, and other events; provid[ing] for the sharing of information, i.e. maintain[ing] a list of reports, studies, etc.; provid[ing] referral services to individuals, neighborhood associations, city agencies, etc.; keep[ing] a current list of neighborhood associations and their principal officers; assist[ing] in reproducing and mailing newsletters and other printed matter; act[ing] as a liaison while neighborhood associations and County agencies work out processes for County involvement; assist[ing] in contracts with other County/City agencies on behalf of neighborhood associations; assist[ing] in education efforts relative to citizen participation; prepar[ing] Neighborhood Need Reports; [and] form[ing] Budget Advisory Committees (Chillura 1993:4).

Programs consisting of similar elements, Chillura (1993:1) correctly points out, "have been adopted in other areas ... and have proved to be very successful and representative of the respective communities, with the main strength being the decentralized structure." Portland, Oregon, for example, has implemented a program that provides services to citizens and 89 neighborhood associations through seven District Coalition Boards. Each Board is a nonprofit organization which contracts with Portland's Office of Neighborhood Associations for City funds to provide citizen participation and crime prevention activities within their geographic area. The bylaws of each District Coalition specify requirements for representation on its Board of Directors,

and the Board determines general operating procedures for the organization. Most Coalition Boards include members from each neighborhood association within the Board's geographic boundaries and have at-large seats for business, social service and other groups. The Coalitions are also involved in Portland's Capital Budgeting process (Hillsborough County Planning and Development Management Department 1993b:4; Rohe and Gates 1985:76-77).

A somewhat different approach providing substantive participation is that of Independence, Missouri. The Independence Plan for Neighborhood Councils helped organize and officially recognizes 19 city-wide citizens' committees related to the functions of various City departments (Hallman 1977:93; Silver 1985:173). Each committee contains two representatives from each of the City's neighborhood organizations. This structure, according to Hallman (1977:93), facilitates the flow of communication within each neighborhood, between neighborhoods, and from neighborhoods to a wide variety of City departments and community agencies. Participation in the city-wide committees, Hallman (1977:94) says, "provides the neighborhood representatives a forum to share ideas, an opportunity to have regular access to decision makers, and a chance to help organize and coordinate city-wide programs." The city-wide committees simultaneously meet monthly for workshops, followed by an open Citizens Assembly with the Mayor, City council and various City department leaders participating (Hallman 1977:93; Silver 1985:174).

Still another approach is that of the City of Honolulu, Hawaii. In its neighborhood operations, the Honolulu Neighborhood Commission also helps organize and formally recognizes neighborhood associations. The Commission provides technical as well as financial assistance, on a matching basis, to all of the City's neighborhood

groups. Further, the Commission encourages and authorizes associations to select their own activities from among, but not necessarily limited to, the following duties and functions: reviewing and making recommendations on any development plan or zoning change request within the neighborhood; preparing a list of recommended capital improvement plans proposed by the City; setting goals, objectives and priorities for neighborhood development; sponsoring studies, holding public meetings and making recommendations regarding neighborhood problems; monitoring and evaluating the efficiency and effectiveness of government service delivery; advocating residents' interests to public agencies, City Council and other governmental organizations; conducting education programs for association members regarding governmental decision-making processes relevant to neighborhood association activities and functions; and assisting government agencies in their educational programs relevant to association activities (Honolulu Neighborhood Commission 1984:12-16).

Cincinnati, Ohio's participatory planning program is another example supporting Chillura's suggestions. Originally sanctioned in 1971 by a City Council Resolution, the major goals of the program are to assist the City's 47 formally recognized community councils in formulating neighborhood plans and a community work program, to provide neighborhood groups with information and technical assistance, and to facilitate community involvement in government decision-making, particularly budgeting decisions (Rohe and Gates 1985:102). According to Rohe and Gates (1985:103), most of the officially recognized groups existed prior to the start of the program, while others "have been organized to take advantage of the benefits offered by the program." Program staff consists of 16 professionals organized into four Community Assistance Teams consisting of a team leader, a human services planner, a land use planner and a technician. Each

team is responsible for working with community groups in one quadrant of the City (Rohe and Gates 1985:102-104). Cincinnati's approach is thus similar to those, described in Chapter Three, of Atlanta and Savannah.

According to a Hillsborough County staff report addressing Commissioner Chillura's propositions,

> the result of discussion among staff indicates that a broad range of neighborhood-directed programs and activities are currently provided through various County agencies. There seems also to be agreement that no clear "neighborhood philosophy" or mission statement is ... available to provide focus for these programs. There was also a consensus that this type of program proposed by Commissioner Chillura should be essentially an empowerment program designed to aid the County's neighborhoods in fashioning their own identity and direction. ... County Administration considers the proposal by Commissioner Chillura to have considerable merit and recommends that [a] ... study ... be initiated. To expedite and focus [the] work, a senior staff person ... from within County Administration should be assigned to complete the necessary assessment and return recommendations in time for consideration during the ... [1995] budget cycle (Hillsborough County Planning and Development Management Department 1993b:5).

Commissioner Chillura's proposal thus seems sound, promising and appears to have support. An Office of Neighborhood Organizations that officially recognizes neighborhood groups can fulfill several purposes. The Office, with operations structured similar to Atlanta, Savannah, Cincinnati or Portland, would provide a channel for two-way communication which will benefit government and County residents. Such an Office can aid neighborhood groups in developing the capacity to perform self-help projects, such as supplemental refuse collection, beautification activities, maintenance of neighborhood community centers, street fairs and festivals, and recreation activities.

Organizing, assisting and affording representative neighborhood associations substantive authority may help promote a sense of community. As Kushner argues,

> the very first step necessary is to ensure the development of a community, an organization of people who share needs and wants and common understandings; who are in some sense dependent upon one another for their mutual satisfactions, and who interact with their total environment in ways that are meaningful and rewarding. ... before the "community" can be mobilized, before "natural leaders" are sought, before

"preexisting organizations" may be co-opted there must be something other than a mere aggregate of people (Kushner 1973:125).

Agreeing with Holmberg, Kushner (1973:125) says a crucial point "is the development of community solidarity and community leadership" (Holmberg 1960:100). This, he suggests, can be accomplished by advancing

> a sense of loyalty to the community ... stimulating an awareness that the welfare of the individual depends in some measure on that of the entire community. Another way to do this is to foster the development of local organizations to deal with issues that affect all families, regardless of local affiliations or status ... (Holmberg 1960:100-101).

Cunningham (1982:19) makes a complimentary recommendation, suggesting that organizers and organizations concentrate on formulating and launching specific programs designed to "promote networks of kin, friends and neighbors, e.g. a family reunion Sunday, block parties, [and] talent and work exchanges."

Holmberg (1960:102) also believes the development of "a greater degree of community" can be aided by "strengthen[ing] the role of local leadership so as to make it representative of the community as a whole." To accomplish this, he suggests increasing "the range of activities of ... [community leaders] ... to include all functions which are of importance to all members of the community" (Holmberg 1960:102). Placing additional "responsibilities on local authorities" and thereby "enhanc[ing] their stature both in their dealings with the outside world and in their leadership within the community" (Holmberg 1960:102) is another means. Finally, Holmberg says, a crucial

> step is to broaden the number and functions of positions of leadership ... in order to provide active roles for a larger proportion of their members. This can help the people to see that authority is the responsibility and the right of all, not the privilege of a small group representing particular interests (Holmberg 1960:102).

"The essential point," as Kushner (1973:126) says of these suggestions, "is to enable people to do something besides merely responding to outside initiative, and to do it in a collective way."

If the goal is helping people gain control of their environment and their destiny, Hillsborough County will also be promoting self-respect, self-reliance and self-determination. Commissioner Chillura's proposed Office of Neighborhood Organizations, established by an administration wherein the "expert's authority is validated only when used to further the [clients'] ends, and when ... [clients] have a say-so in the enactment and administration of the expert's program" (Gouldner 1954:221-222), can strengthen the relationship of neighborhoods to local government. It will not increase the quantity of government funds available, nor will it lessen the competition among neighborhoods for their share of the scarce resources, but it will generate increased information concerning neighborhood wants, needs and problems, and afford higher levels of citizen involvement.

Applied Anthropology, the USF Project and Participatory Planning

Chapter Four of this thesis represents, I believe, the most significant direct contribution of my internship to the USF Area Neighborhood Planning Study. It is, in essence, a needs assessment that inventories government-provided services and facilities. My duties, prescribed by County planners, were accomplished by conducting key informant interviews with various County and local government agency personnel, mapping physical attributes of the area, analyzing assorted maps, reviewing documents related to Hillsborough County land use policy, collecting census data and crime statistics, and reviewing numerous studies and plans. The final product of my investigations was the USF Area Neighborhood Planning Study Interim Report (Hillsborough County Planning and Development Management Department, University of

South Florida and University of South Florida Center for Applied Anthropology 1993), which I authored and presented to the Hillsborough County Board of County Commissioners. The document has been used by the County's Community Services and Planning Department to meet federal Weed and Seed application requirements. It provided valuable reference data for the Florida Mental Health Institute's involvement in the Head Start program in the USF area. The report also provided the necessary background information for the interorganizational County effort to address USF area problems. The needs assessment, along with my organizing the USF Area Task Force and the questionnaire I constructed thus illustrate applied anthropological contributions to and in the domain of urban planning.

As I suggested in Chapter One, there is, in addition, much more that applied anthropologists can contribute to the planning process. Specifically, adopting an "ethnographic approach to the demands of time and the production of results" (Hyland et al. 1987:115), applied anthropologists--as planners or members of interdisciplinary planning teams--can encourage participation and, at the same time, help discover residents' needs. Goodenough (1963:58-59) suggests that a long-range view of change involves the recognition that participation is necessarily a continuing process. "Determining a workable course of action for development," Goodenough (1963:58) states, "requires reconciling several different pictures of what the community needs." "There is," he says,

> the agent's view with his own goals in mind, and there is his view with his clients' goals in mind. Then there is the clients' view of what is appropriate to the agent's goals as well as their view of what should be done to achieve their goals. ... Too often ... a technical consultant appraises his clients' circumstances and draws conclusions about their needs with reference to only one of these four perspectives (Goodenough 1963:59).

As Kushner (1973:93) says, Goodenough seems to imply that the most reasonable way to

reconcile these divergent views is through participation." And, Kushner continues, "since there is no "omniscient observer" ... the only path open to us is to attempt to make ... [clients' and observers'] needs more approximate to each other in such a manner as to foster understanding of real needs [the most effective means for gratifying clients' wants]. This, it is hoped, could be a consequence of participation (Kushner 1973:93).

Support for participant observation as a tool to encourage citizen participation and to help discover community needs is offered by Bleiker (1979), Chapelle (1994) and Rich and Wandersman (1983). Bleiker, summarizing "a number of personal experiences, successes as well as failures," in community planning, maintains

> that the anthropological techniques of participant-observation and intensive interviewing are especially useful in determining public sentiment and encouraging citizen participation. Unobtrusively listening as people express their concerns in an informal, non- threatening setting is one of the best ways to obtain information that will help produce a sensitive plan. A serendipitous discovery from the use of this technique was that it is not only valuable in recording public points of view, but that it frequently elicits solutions to problems. People who are closest to change are often the first to think of workable solutions (Bleiker 1979:11).

Similarly, Chapelle, discussing her involvement in a family resource program, claims the "time-honored anthropological method" of qualitative interviewing

> created a context for people in three seriously stressed urban neighborhoods in Tucson, Arizona, not only to define problems in their community, but also to identify their family's strengths and to conceive of possibilities for action. The interview process created linkages between families in the community, and is currently seen by participants ... as a necessary component for future outreach efforts. In addition to generating important data, the interviews unexpectedly became the glue binding all aspects of program development into a cohesive whole. ... The interview process communicated the values and generated the energy that made community change a possibility in these urban Tucson neighborhoods (Chapelle 1994:16,18).

Rich and Wandersman (1983:45-47), in a study aimed at discovering who participates in block organizations, who does not participate, what factors help predict participation, and what can be done to encourage participation, provide empirical data

supporting the utility of an ethnographic approach. "Personal contact with an ... organizer," they (Rich and Wandersman 1983:47) state, "stands out as the most important single variable predicting participation." Their study in fact revealed that 62 percent of the residents who were personally contacted chose to join a block organization, while only 10 percent of those in the study area who were not contacted chose to join. Moreover, Rich and Wandersman (1983:47) claim, personal contact had a "substantial effect on the percentage of people who joined in every demographic group. ... Members of all groups were far more likely to join if contacted."

Finally, as anthropologist and planner Wesley Nakajima argues,

> in order to produce more effective targeting of community development activities to satisfy human needs, planners should seek to identify neighborhoods as perceived by residents and then study their sociological traits. In doing so, the felt needs of residents can be discovered and understood in terms of behavior patterns within the parameters of their social and physical environment.
>
> Applied anthropolog[ical] concepts and methodology are extremely useful in urban planning. They enable greater understanding of the city through describing the critical relationship between people and the environment. People, patterns of behavior, felt needs, and the environment are functionally interrelated and should be viewed holistically in order to develop effective plans (Nakajima 1979:25-26).

Thus, as I stated in Chapter One, the urban planning arena is a context in which applied anthropologists are particularly equipped and well-suited to contribute their expertise. Urban neighborhoods are complex open systems, inhabited by varieties of individuals who rely on services and infrastructures provided by sources outside the immediate area. Internal and external politics, social structure, personal networks and organized groups and affiliations are all factors that shape citizens' opinions of what their immediate worlds should look like and what they should provide. Ideally, participatory neighborhood planning identifies the products of the various factors and translates the products into a coherent design that satisfies residents' needs and fits neatly the visions held by those concerned. Applied anthropological concepts and a skillful blend of

research techniques, including direct observation and participation, can function so as to encourage public participation, usefully articulate the various factors and, as a result, improve the quality of planning efforts. Neighborhood planning demands a holistic approach that applied anthropologists, by virtue of their concepts and methodologies, and "their history of involvement with community development ... and their knowledge and expertise concerning human behavior" (Pardee 1980:3) can provide. And, equipped with Spicer's (1976:341) "emic-holistic-historical-comparative approach," applied anthropologists can understand the forces that shape public policy and thus perform effectively in the urban planning arena.

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APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A

USF AREA CITIZEN SURVEY

Hillsborough County is conducting a planning study of the neighborhoods in the USF area. The County wants to know what needs to be done to improve the area and we believe residents should have a voice in determining what will be done. This survey will help you, your neighbors and Hillsborough County make your neighborhood a better place to live. Please take a few minutes to answer each question. If you wish to comment on any question, please feel free to write in the margins and use the space below the question. Your comments will be read and taken into account.

We would first like to know a few things about you and how you feel about the neighborhood you live in.

Q-1 How long have you lived in the USF area? (Circle the number of your answer)

1 LESS THAN 3 MONTHS
2 3 TO 6 MONTHS
3 7 MONTHS TO 1 YEAR
4 1 TO 2 YEARS
5 MORE THAN 2 YEARS

Q-2 How long have you lived at this address?

1 LESS THAN 3 MONTHS
2 3 TO 6 MONTHS
3 7 MONTHS TO 1 YEAR
4 1 TO 2 YEARS
5 MORE THAN 2 YEARS

Q-3 Why do you chose to live in this area?

_____

_____

_____

Q-4 How would you rate the condition of your apartment or house?

1 EXCELLENT
2 GOOD
3 FAIR
4 POOR

Q-5 How would you rate the housing in this area?

1 EXCELLENT
2 GOOD
3 FAIR
4 POOR

Q-6 People sometimes like to think of the area in which they live as a neighborhood. What, if at all, do you consider to be your neighborhood? Do you think of it as:

1 THE STREET ON WHICH YOU LIVE
2 THE BLOCK ON WHICH YOU LIVE
3 YOUR APARTMENT COMPLEX
4 OR ANOTHER PARTICULAR AREA (Specify) _____

_____

5 NO OPINION (Skip to question Q-7)

Q-6a Do you and your neighbors have a name for your neighborhood?

1 YES
2 NO

If YES, what is the name of your neighborhood? _____

Q-7 Thinking about this area, how would you rate the quality of the neighborhood you live in? Would you describe it as:

1 EXCELLENT
2 GOOD
3 FAIR
4 POOR

Q-8 Do you feel that about the right number of people live in this area now, that more people could live here comfortably or that it is overcrowded?

1 ABOUT THE RIGHT NUMBER LIVE IN THIS AREA NOW
2 MORE PEOPLE COULD LIVE HERE COMFORTABLY
3 THE AREA IS OVERCROWDED
4 NO OPINION

Q-9 Are there enough businesses such as grocery, drug and department stores nearby?

1 YES
2 NO
3 NO OPINION

COMMENTS: _____

Q-10 How safe do you feel walking alone in this area at night? Do you feel:

1 VERY SAFE
2 REASONABLY SAFE
3 NOT SAFE
4 DON'T KNOW

COMMENTS: _____

Q-11 How safe do you feel walking alone in this area during the day?

1 VERY SAFE
2 REASONABLY SAFE
3 NOT SAFE
4 DON'T KNOW

COMMENTS: _____

Q-12 Is crime a problem in your neighborhood?

1 YES
2 NO (Skip to question Q-18)
3 NO OPINION (Skip to question Q-18)

Q-13 How often do crimes occur near your home?

1 ALMOST DAILY
2 AT LEAST ONCE A WEEK
3 AT LEAST ONCE A MONTH
4 LESS THAN ONCE A MONTH

Q-14 Does crime in your neighborhood cause you to worry, feel fear or feel unsafe?

1 YES
2 NO

Q-15 Has neighborhood crime caused a change in you or your family's daily life or routine?

1 YES

2 NO

Q-16 What do you feel is the cause of the crime in your neighborhood?

_____

_____

Q-17 What do you think should be done to stop crime in your neighborhood?

_____

_____

Q-18 Would you say this immediate area is:

1 VERY CLEAN
2 FAIRLY CLEAN
3 FAIRLY DIRTY
4 VERY DIRTY
5 NO OPINION

Q-19 Would you be willing to work with a local group to help clean up and maintain the area?

1 YES
2 NO

Q-20 Do you belong to any area organizations such as the PTA, Boys or Girl Scouts, a civic association or neighborhood group or church? (If yes, please list)

1 _____ 2 _____

3 _____ 4 _____

Now we'd like to ask you about some of the services provided by Hillsborough County.

Q-21 Do you think a Neighborhood Center with social service offices is needed in this area?

1 YES
2 NO (Skip to question Q-22)
3 NO OPINION (Skip to question Q-22)

Q-21a Should health care be available at a Neighborhood Center?

1 YES

2 NO
3 NO OPINION

Q-22 Did you or anyone in your household visit a park in Hillsborough County in the past 12 months?

1 YES
2 NO
3 DON'T KNOW

Q-23 Would you like to see a park established in this area?
1 YES
2 NO (Skip to question Q-24)
3 NO OPINION (Skip to question Q-24)

Q-23a What do you think are the most important facilities a park should have? (Circle as many as you wish)

1 SWINGS
2 BALL FIELDS
3 BASKETBALL AND TENNIS COURTS
4 RECREATION ACTIVITIES CENTER
5 OTHER (Specify) _____

Q-24 Are supervised activities needed for youth who live in the area?

1 YES
2 NO
3 NO OPINION

Q-25 Did you or anyone in your household visit a library in the past 12 months?

1 YES
2 NO
3 DON'T KNOW

Q-26 Do you think this area should have a library?

1 YES
2 NO
3 NO OPINION

Q-27 In the past 12 months, did you or anyone in your home apply for financial assistance or Food Stamps?

1 YES
2 NO
3 DON'T KNOW

Q-28 In the past 12 months, did you or anyone in your home seek medical care outside the USF area?

1 YES
2 NO
3 DON'T KNOW

Q-29 About how often have you ridden on Hartline buses in the past 12 months? Would you say:

1 ALMOST DAILY
2 AT LEAST ONCE A WEEK
3 AT LEAST ONCE A MONTH
4 LESS THAN ONCE A MONTH
5 NOT AT ALL

Q-30 Does anyone in your home own a car or truck?

1 YES
2 NO

Q-31 Does anyone in your home own a bicycle?

1 YES
2 NO

Q-32 Would you say the streets in this area:

1 DO NOT NEED ANY REPAIR
2 NEED SOME MINOR REPAIR
3 NEED MAJOR REPAIR
4 NO OPINION

Q-33 Do you think more sidewalks are needed in this area?

1 YES
2 NO (Skip to question Q-34)
3 NO OPINION (Skip to question Q-34)

Q-33a Can you think of any streets in particular that need sidewalks?

1 YES
2 NO (Skip to question Q-34)

Q-33b Which streets need sidewalks?

_____

_____

Q-34 Do you think more bicycle lanes are needed in this area?

1 YES
2 NO (Skip to question Q-35)
3 NO OPINION (Skip to question Q-35)

Q-34a Where are bicycle lanes needed?

_____

_____

Q-35 Do you think street lights are needed in this area?

1 YES
2 NO
3 NO OPINION

Q-36 How do you rate the trash collection service in this area?

1 EXCELLENT
2 GOOD
3 FAIR
4 POOR
5 NO OPINION

COMMENTS: _____

Q-37 Can you think of any other services you would like to see provided in this area?

1 YES
2 NO (Skip to question Q-38)
3 NO OPINION (Skip to question Q-38)

Q-37a What services would you like to see provided in this area?

1 _____ 2 _____

3 _____ 4 _____

Q-38 Next we would like to ask you about some of the advantages of living in this area. In your opinion, what are two or three of the greatest advantages of living in this area?

1 _____

2 _____

3 _____

Q-39 What, in your opinion, are the two or three most serious problems facing residents of this area?

1 _____

2 _____

3 _____

Finally, we would like to ask a few questions about yourself for statistical purposes. We assure you that the answers will be kept confidential.

Q-40 Your sex.

1 MALE
2 FEMALE

Q-41 How old are you?

1 19 OR YOUNGER
2 20 TO 34
3 35 TO 54
4 55 TO 64
5 65 TO 74
6 75 OR OVER

Q-42 What is your present marital status?

1 NEVER MARRIED
2 MARRIED
3 DIVORCED
4 SEPARATED
5 WIDOWED

Q-43 Do you have any children under 18 years old living with you?

1 YES
2 NO (Skip to question Q-44)

Q-43a How many children under 18 years old live with you? _____

Q-43b How many children in your home are 3 years old? _____

Q-43c How many children in your home are 4 years old? _____

Q-43d Is there good child care nearby that you can afford?

1 YES
2 NO
3 DON'T KNOW

Q-44 How many adults age 65 or over live in your home? ____

Q-45 How many years of school have you completed?

1 LESS THAN 4 YEARS
2 5 TO 8 YEARS
3 9 TO 12 YEARS
4 MORE THAN 12 YEARS

Q-46 Are you currently employed?

1 YES
2 NO
3 RETIRED

Q-47 In what type of building do you live?

1 MOBILE HOME
2 SINGLE FAMILY HOME
3 DUPLEX (2 UNITS IN THE BUILDING)
4 APARTMENT COMPLEX (MORE THAN 2 UNITS IN THE BUILDING)
5 OTHER (Specify) _____

Q-48 How much is your monthly rent or mortgage, including utilities?

1 UNDER $250
2 $250 TO $299
3 $300 TO $349
4 $350 TO $449
5 $450 TO $549
6 MORE THAN $550

Q-49 Which of the following categories best describes your total family income for 1992?

1 LESS THAN $10,000
2 $10,000 TO $14,999
3 $15,000 TO $19,999
4 $20,000 TO $29,999
5 $30,000 TO $50,000
6 MORE THAN $50,000

Q-50 What do you consider to be your primary racial, ethnic or national group?

1 WHITE
2 AFRICAN-AMERICAN
3 HISPANIC
4 AMERICAN INDIAN
5 ASIAN OR PACIFIC ISLANDER
6 IF YOU DO NOT CONSIDER YOURSELF TO BE A MEMBER OF ONE OF THESE GROUPS, WHAT DO YOU CONSIDER TO BE YOUR PRIMARY GROUP? _____

Q-51 So that the department may collect more information if necessary, may we please have your name and telephone number or your mailing address?

NAME _____ PHONE _____

ADDRESS _____

Those are all the questions we have.

THANK YOU FOR YOUR TIME.

APPENDIX B

CITIZEN PARTICIPATION IN PLANNING: A SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

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