The Neighborhoods as Community Assets project (or Porters Narrative, as it's fondly known) received the Award of Excellence in neighborhood planning from the Florida Chapter of the American Planning Association. Please see below for the APA FL's synopsis of the program; the complete narrative is contained in the pages that follow.

American Planning Association
Florida Chapter

Creating Great Communities for All

2019 Project Award Winners

Awards of Excellence

NEIGHBORHOOD PLANNING AS COMMUNITY ASSETS

Category: Neighborhood Planning

Since the 1960's, planners have wrestled with how to meaningfully engage neighborhoods in planning processes. To meaningfully engage, neighborhoods must possess informational, social, and political capacities. The project, Neighborhoods as Community Assets, pilot tested a new "participatory neighborhood narrative" process for neighborhood capacity building and planning. The process was tested over 15 months in Porters, a historically African American neighborhood in Gainesville, Florida, which is facing gentrification. The transferrable process directly strengthened the neighborhood by building all three capacities, which in turn led to more meaningful participation and tangible impacts, within the neighborhood and in relation to local planning.

JULY 2018

NEIGHBORHOODS AS COMMUNITY ASSETS

THE PORTERS COMMUNITY, GAINESVILLE, FLORIDA

UF | College of Design, Construction & Planning
UNIVERSITY *of* FLORIDA

NEIGHBORHOODS AS COMMUNITY ASSETS
The Porters Community, Gainesville, Florida

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Porters Project Steering Committee Members

Gigi Simmons	Sheena Larry	JoeAnn Johnson
Beverly King	Andy Coffey	Angela Wright
John Davidson	Michael Leath	Stephanie Seawright

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Home with front porch in Porters.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

New mural at the Porters Community Center

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report describes the purpose, methods, and findings of the Neighborhoods As Community Assets project, which was one of seven one-year projects funded by the UF-Gainesville Research Award, a new partnership between the University and City. The project was a pilot study of a participatory and information-based process to build civic capacity for neighborhood protection and resilience in the face of redevelopment pressures, i.e., gentrification. Specifically, the project focused on the creation of a neighborhood narrative, to serve as a communication and empowerment tool for building consensus around neighborhood assets, values, and vision. This report covers the activities and outputs for the pilot neighborhood, and thus the intended audiences are the neighborhood's residents and stakeholders. Lessons from the pilot project were applied to craft a transferrable model of neighborhood capacity building, including other in-town historic African-American neighborhoods, which is presented in a separate, forthcoming report.

The pilot neighborhood was the Porters Community, a historically African-American and low-income neighborhood situated in the short distance between the University and downtown Gainesville. With the upturn in the national economy since the early 2010s, areas adjacent to the neighborhood have been rapidly developing with apartments and condominiums primarily aimed at students, and the City and University have made substantial investments in infrastructure and amenities. Within the Porters neighborhood are longtime and newcomer residents of all ages, a mix of old and new houses, historic churches and sites, a thriving community spirit and Community Center, and a strong sense of place. The neighborhood's several vacant lots and abandoned homes possess redevelopment and revitalization potential, and thus represent an opportunity to establish policies, programs, and projects to prepare for the future while protecting the neighborhood, for its residents and the city as a whole.

The Neighborhoods As Community Assets project was designed and facilitated by a team of scholars and practitioners in the UF Department of Urban and Regional Planning. The team brought expertise in neighborhood planning and

revitalization, housing, crime prevention through environmental design, race relations, community resilience, and public participation. The project brought together a diverse neighborhood-based Steering Committee of Porters residents and stakeholders. The Steering Committee and project team led implementation of the project, and engaged residents, City and UF representatives, and the general public in several activities to gather input and promote the project. These activities included resident oral and photographic histories, a box city event with the after-school children at the Porters Community Center, a booth at the downtown arts festival, and an end of project neighborhood celebration. The project team also applied previous Porters neighborhood studies and oral histories, attended neighborhood meetings and events, interviewed City staff and leaders, researched the Porters neighborhood past and present, and reviewed the scholarly literature. The project methods and findings for each method are described in this report.

THE CITY OF GAINESVILLE, FLORIDA

INNOVATION DISTRICT

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA

DOWNTOWN

PORTERS NEIGHBORHOOD
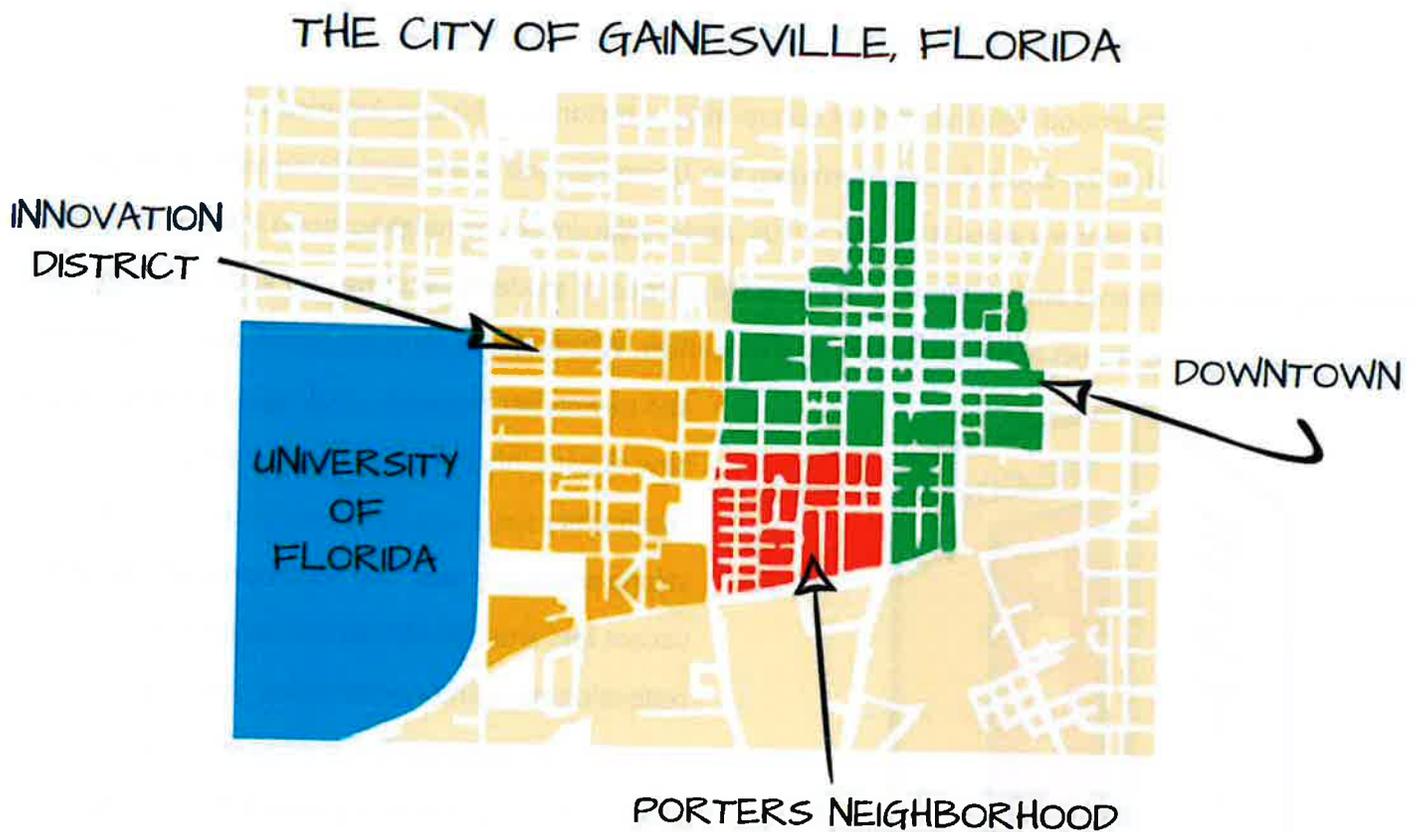
The Porters neighborhood narrative – text and graphics – is the culmination of all the project's methods, and synthesis of all the gathered information. The narrative, which speaks to the neighborhood's past, present, and future, consists of four themes, answering "Porters is _____":

- **Home.** Since its establishment in 1884, the Porters neighborhood has been home to generations of families, many of whom still reside in Porters. Porters' strong roots have resulted in a close-knit community that has retained its ability to welcome new residents into the fold, into the family.

- **Engaged and Inclusive.** The Porters Community is engaged, inclusive, and residents understand their strength lies with their people. Networks of solidarity are key to the Porters' "front porch" way of life, with residents helping each other during stressful times and prioritizing each other's wellbeing. Porters members don't take the strong community spirit for granted; they know it needs maintenance and protection, just as homes and infrastructure do.

- **Resilient.** Established many decades ago as an African-American neighborhood between downtown and the university, the Porters Community has proven its resilience, surviving racism and maintaining a strong communal spirit to this day. The community's strengths have stemmed from its residents, whose hard work and creativity manifested in thriving businesses and nurturing households. Porters families have passed on the virtue of perseverance to future generations.

- **Opportunity.** The Porters Community reflects the best features that Gainesville has to offer: a central location; intimate connections reinforced by a neighborhood of front porches and single-family homes; diversity in age, income, and race; and rich soil, which connects the neighborhood to a founding principle of homes among gardens. Porters' strengths provide an opportunity to shore up critical foundational elements and proactively plan for future growth, and serve as a model to other neighborhoods.

PORTERS

Est. 1884

The narrative also has three overarching icons, which were incorporated into the graphic designs:

FRONT PORCH   HEART   TREE

The narrative was remarkably clear and consistent among residents, stakeholders, and city representatives. The narrative focused on social, cultural, economic, and physical assets within the neighborhood as well as what the neighborhood has to offer the city as a whole. This dramatically differed from narratives of the past, such as the "forgotten" neighborhood. The project also noted an undercurrent of interrelated counter narratives of resident distrust, resulting from past actions of the City and University, internal factions, and some owners' interest in profiting from rising property values. In contrast, the main narrative above is simultaneously community oriented, protective of assets of all kinds, and forward thinking.

The Porters Community narrative and this report are now in the hands of the neighborhood's residents and stakeholders, the City and University, and social advocacy groups, to use as a consensus-based vision for neighborhood oriented policies, programs, and projects. The timing of the project was fortunate; not only is there still a Porters neighborhood to protect, recent studies, planning initiatives, and policies of the City and University have indicated growing resolve to support strong neighborhoods, historic and cultural preservation, and social equity. The scholarly literature also supported neighborhood protection, especially when strong social networks and social justice were at stake.

This report identifies specific programs and policies that hold promise for maintaining the character of the Porters Community, enabling residents to remain in their homes and preserving the strong community ties that make Porters special. The programs and policies can simultaneously re-establish the vitality of the historic Porters and meet multiple stakeholder objectives. The programs and policies will require ongoing engagement and open lines of communication between the Porters Community, the City and University, and other local groups. Fortunately, the Porters Community has leadership and engaged residents possessing a can-do spirit, along with many caring potential partners, who can make the most of the project's outputs and the relationships fostered along the way.

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New sidewalk in Porters

INTRODUCTION

Nationwide, cities are experiencing a resurgence as suburbanites and businesses return to vibrant urban scenes. Cities are increasingly recognized by baby boomers and millennials alike as amenity-rich places to live. Likewise, employers and economic development agencies have found that urban revitalization attracts employees and fosters the "creative class". The City of Gainesville, a mid-sized college town, is in the midst of such an urban renaissance. Examples of large redevelopment projects include the Innovation District, The Standard, Midtown, and Depot Park. The City and the University of Florida (UF) would like to further increase housing options near the campus and downtown to meet growing demand, and to increase the supply of higher-end housing in the urban core. As the Gainesville urban core and areas surrounding the University of Florida redevelop, interest will inevitably turn to nearby neighborhoods as places of residential and commercial reinvestment.

Pedestrian entrance to Porters off SW 6th Street

Typically, neighborhoods have a lifecycle that exists along a continuum of renewal and decline. Gentrification is a component of the neighborhood lifecycle and is indicative of growing market interest. However, gentrification can have negative social, economic, and cultural consequences if growth is not controlled, neighborhood character is not maintained, and resident and business displacement occurs. Older

neighborhoods, particularly those in decline, may be targeted for reinvestment without viewing them as assets in their own right, to the loss of the community as a whole. Fortunately, UF's Strategic Development Plan recognizes that central city neighborhoods are a source of community pride, and it outlines a major initiative for the protection and support of strong neighborhoods. Similarly, the City of Gainesville's new Strategic Plan, arising from the *Blue Ribbon Report* (City of Gainesville 2015), seeks to expand housing options and affordability while keeping the negative effects of gentrification at bay.

The Neighborhoods As Community Assets project was among seven faculty-designed proposals selected for funding by the UF-Gainesville Research Awards, which sprang from a recent partnership between the City and University to shape Gainesville into the "New American City". The project focused on supporting Gainesville's strong neighborhoods, and creating a transferrable model of neighborhood planning, using the principle that informed and engaged communities with clear priorities are better equipped to resiliently manage change.

Tree-lined road in Porters Neighborhood.

Purpose of Project

The one-year Neighborhoods as Community Assets Project aimed to assist the City and University with valuing and supporting existing neighborhoods, and to directly empower neighborhood residents and

stakeholders to pursue their goals. To that end, the project developed a "neighborhood narrative" participatory planning process, and piloted it in one Gainesville neighborhood. Neighborhood narratives are stories, developed by residents and stakeholders, which weave together the neighborhood's setting, characters, and events, often intentionally to give voice to their concerns and aspirations. The process created a consensus-based neighborhood narrative, and furthermore identified neighborhood assets that provided special community-wide services and values, and thus gave the narrative currency with outside groups. The process also sought to build resident and stakeholder capacity for using the narrative to guide future policies, programs, and projects. The process was intended to serve as a model for possibly engaging other neighborhoods in Gainesville, and beyond.

THE CITY OF GAINESVILLE, FLORIDA
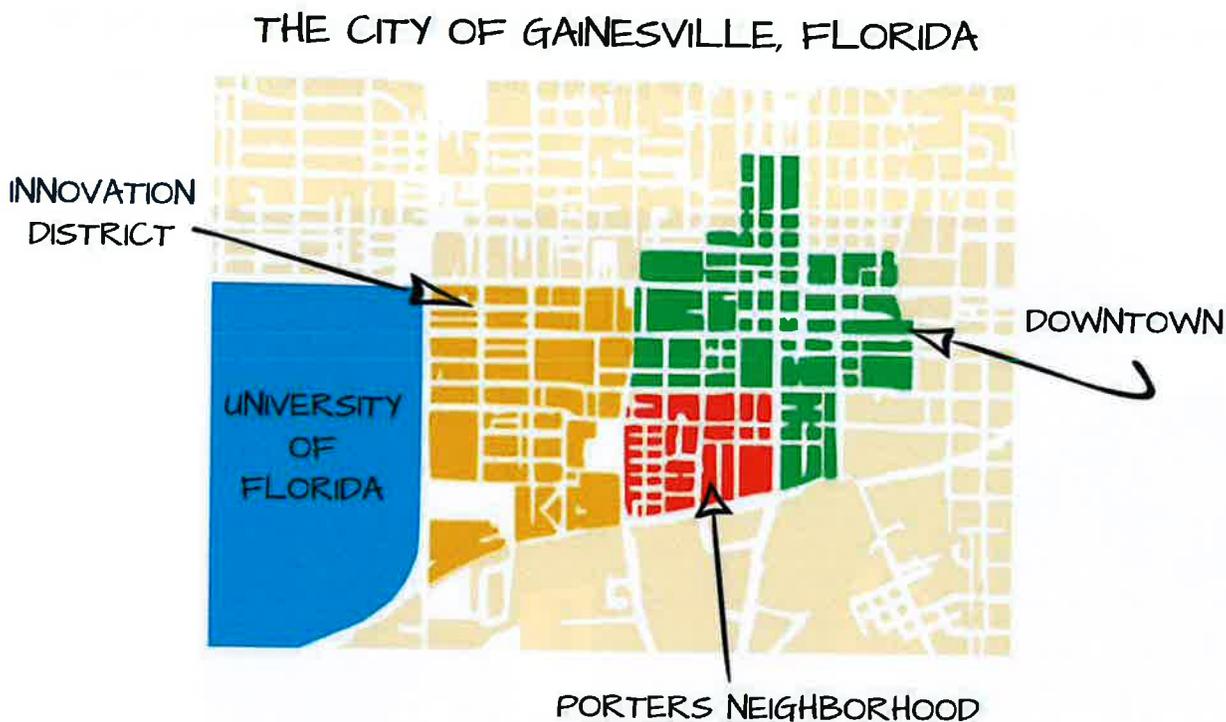
Figure 1. Map illustrating context of the Porters Neighborhood.

The neighborhood narrative process was piloted in the Porters Community, a historically African-American neighborhood located in the one-mile stretch between the University and downtown (see Figure 1). The neighborhood goes by several names, the Porters Community (which emphasizes the history and strong social connections), the Porters neighborhood, and Porters. The project worked collaboratively with residents and stakeholders of the neighborhood, building upon past community efforts, to create a narrative of Porters history, present, and future. The neighborhood narrative detailed Porters' social, cultural, economic, and physical assets, and their contributions to the larger urban fabric of Gainesville. The neighborhood narrative

also identified potential threats and opportunities. In short, the narrative was crafted to provide the context and priorities for future revitalization and redevelopment across all sectors: housing, businesses, infrastructure, transportation, recreation, human services, education, and civic engagement. Next, we provide a brief background of the Porters Community to establish the neighborhood's suitability for this project.

The Porters Community

"Porter's is a visual record of an incomparable story of black-white interactions of the nineteenth century and a part of the early history of Gainesville which has all too often either been ignored or repudiated."

(ERLA Associates, 1980, 133).

The Porters neighborhood is significant in the context of Gainesville history in that it is one of the original African-American neighborhoods. The original Porters neighborhood was platted in 1884 and recorded in 1894. The boundaries of the Porters neighborhood have expanded and contracted over the years. The current Porters neighborhood is bounded on the north by SW 4th Avenue; on the east by South Main Street; the south by Depot Avenue; and the west by SW 6th Street (see Figure 2). The total neighborhood area is 67.6 acres, or 0.11 square miles. In 2015, the population was estimated to be 929 persons. The neighborhood contains a mix of homes (289 dwelling units) and businesses. Office, retail, restaurants, and service uses are located primarily along SW 4th Avenue and South Main Street, but there are businesses and day care centers located inside the neighborhood. There are two urban gardens located on SW 3rd Avenue.
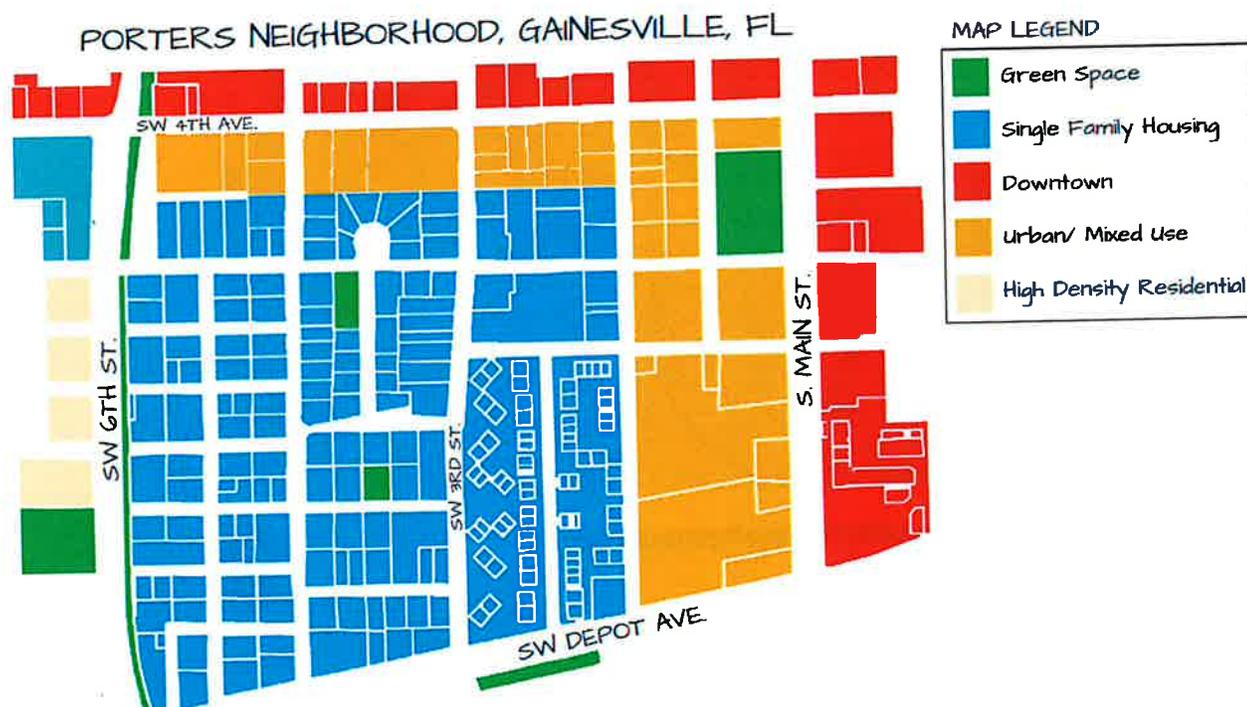
Figure 2. Map of Porters Neighborhood with current boundaries.

As stated in the quote above, during the 1980's the Porters community suffered from a crisis of identity that was recorded into media and city planning reports. The 1980's marked a time of disinvestment and higher crime rates in the neighborhood. The narrative of the "Forgotten Neighborhood" was established and still exists today. Development surrounding Porters has created an island of single-family detached and attached homes, and placed intense development pressure upon its residents. The "forgotten" narrative and surrounding development pressures are exacerbated by a lack of neighborhood and community planning at the City level since 1982. There have been focused projects directed by the Gainesville Community Redevelopment Agency (CRA), including Porters being a local target area for the Community Block Grant program, since the neighborhood lies in the agency's Downtown district (see Figure 3). But, there has been no effort at the City level to help the neighborhood define their future vision. This project builds on neighborhood efforts, led by resident Gigi Simmons and with CRA assistance, to identify resident demographics and community needs, and define a vision (see Appendix A).
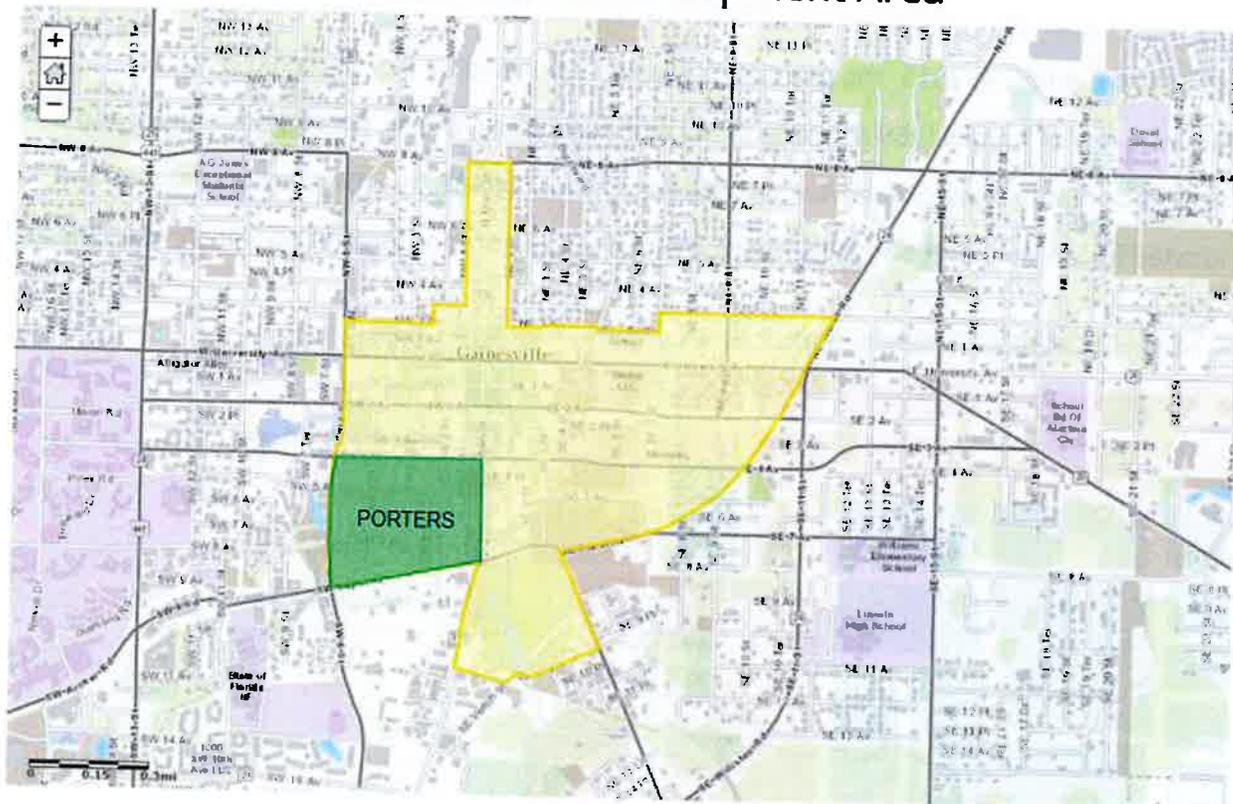
Figure 3. Map of Gainesville CRA Downtown district encompassing the Porters Neighborhood

The Porters Community is at the early stages of showing physical signs of gentrification. Adjacent to the neighborhood are a variety of multi-story residential, commercial, institutional, and infrastructure projects

that were recently built or are under construction. Within the neighborhood, there are new sidewalks and lighting. Abandoned homes have been removed over the years, leaving empty lots, and several commercial and institutional properties are vacant. A series of articles in the mid-2010s documented residents' feelings that they are being pushed out of their neighborhood by students and young, white couples. It is important to keep in mind that development plans are often put in place years prior to breaking ground. Unlike other gentrified or gentrifying downtown neighborhoods, such as the Duck Pond and Pleasant Street neighborhoods, the Porters neighborhood does not have historic district protections. Our project to define a new narrative comes at a crucial time in the neighborhood's history.

Overview of the Report

The main purpose of this report is to document the Porters neighborhood narrative and supporting information, for use by Porters residents and stakeholders, and other local interests, including the City and University. The report also serves as a record of the project's approach and methods. The next chapter, Literature Review, summarizes the general scholarly literature to support the project's concerns, methodology, and values. Then the Methodology chapter describes the diverse methods employed. The Findings chapter follows with results presented for each method, including the neighborhood narrative and its potential uses. The report wraps up with a short Conclusion chapter, a list of cited References, and six Appendices providing additional information.

Neighborly sign in Porters

LITERATURE REVIEW

This Literature Review chapter serves multiple purposes and covers several topics related to the Neighborhoods as Community Assets project. The scholarly literature represents accumulated knowledge of issues and developed practices, and wisdom about ethical choices and likely impacts. Supportive knowledge and wisdom are especially important when conducting planning and community engagement for neighborhood protection and social equity. Thus, the literature review provided a foundation upon which this project's aims and methodology were chosen, and it offered principles that guided the project's implementation.

The literature review topics presented in this chapter specifically relate to the project's focus on neighborhood narratives and the nexus of issues and opportunities faced by the Porters Community, however they overlap with common neighborhood concerns. The chapter begins with an organizing framework of resilience, which acknowledges that neighborhoods are dynamic, continuously maintaining and evolving their characteristics. Resilience concepts of threats, vulnerability, adaptive capacity, and adaptation align with the specific topics covered: gentrification, territorial stigma, neighborhoods as assets, neighborhood narratives, participatory planning, and case studies of neighborhood protection/resilience in university towns.

Resilience

Resilience is a popular term being applied to a wide variety of concerns, including neighborhoods, due to the prevalence of change in today's world (Smit and Wandel 2006). Behind resilience is the concept of complex, adaptive systems, which can respond to stressors through self-directed actions (Gallopín 2006, Engle 2011). When a system proactively or reactively responds to stressors in a way that maintains its identity and values, or positively transforms them, the system adapts and is seen as resilient (Adger 2000). When a system possesses assets and empowerment that make it resilient, the system is said to have adaptive capacity (Norris et al. 2008). Alternatively, when as system possesses sensitivities and
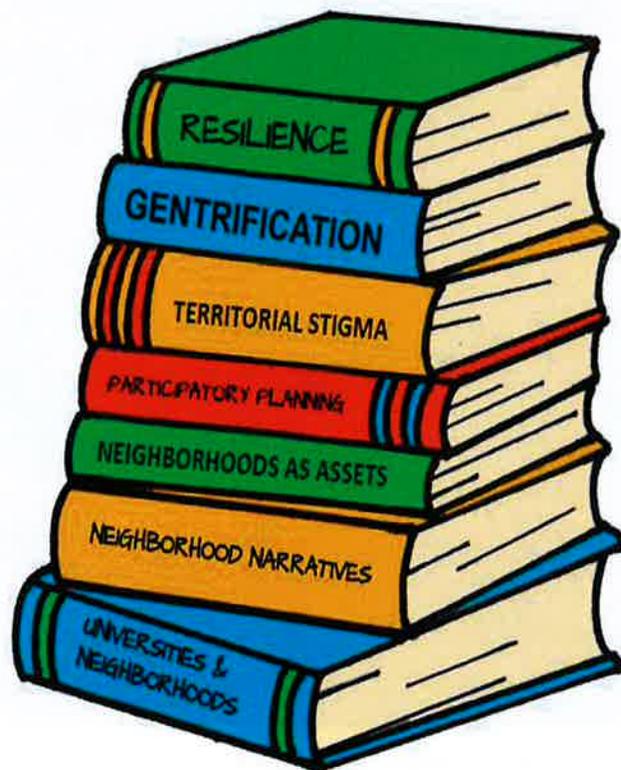
weaknesses that make recovery difficult, or it is exposed to substantial threats, the system is called vulnerable (Adger 2006). Activities that increase the assets, and reduce the vulnerabilities, are known as capacity building. This section reviews the literature to connect resilience concepts to neighborhoods, especially when the stressor is gentrification.

To lay the foundation, we first characterize neighborhoods as complex, adaptive systems, which gives insight into how they may respond to stressors. Neighborhoods have social, cultural, economic, political, and physical aspects, which are interactive within the neighborhood and outside of it. Neighborhood assets are present, and can be fostered, within all of these areas (Norris et al. 2008). The people managing and strengthening assets (i.e., capacity building) are neighborhood residents and business owners, as well as people outside the neighborhood (Chaskin 2008). Later sections in this chapter focus on neighborhoods as assets and the capacity building methods of neighborhood narratives and participatory planning.

Porters Community mural

Likewise, stressors to the neighborhood can come from within or outside. The reasons people take action within the neighborhood are myriad, from the personal, family, and business levels, to collective action. As such, not all forces shaping neighborhoods align, and tensions may ensue. Sometimes the tensions create a dynamic balance, while at other times they are destructive, or possibly they push towards creative transformation (Chaskin 2008). Judging actions and their potential outcomes is a challenge, and thus

neighborhood leadership for resilience requires wisdom, continuous effort, and adjustments as conditions change. Thus, neighborhood resilience means more than resistance to change (Pearsall 2012).

Community garden located in the Porters Neighborhood.

Having a goal of neighborhood resilience begs the question about what core values and identity are being maintained, or what is the vision of transformation. The literature on gentrification has matured to express a variety of views about what is potentially lost and should be protected, as well as some possible benefits of gentrification. From the viewpoint of long-time residents, who may be marginalized, and their neighborhoods stigmatized, due to lower income and race, the possible losses are undesired displacement from their home and community, which can be devastating for those who most vulnerable (Norris et al. 2008, Pendall et al. 2012), or staying in place but losing affordability and support due to others' displacement (Pearsall 2012, Anguelovski 2016). On the positive side, displaced residents and businesses who own may receive financial gain through property sale or rental, or they may enjoy the improved services (Pearsall 2012). Similarly, the perspectives of outside observers and actors can be positive or negative. The strongest positive perspectives are the ones driving the change, such as the conversion of land and housing to amenities for new

residents and the city as a whole. The literature also recognizes that when neighborhoods are lost or transformed for the highest bidder, the city as a whole become more inequitable and loses its historic sense of place and community fabric. On balance, the literature supports residents' right to stay in their homes and maintain their quality of life (Pearsall 2012). Gentrification is seen as something that should be kept in check, by residents and local businesses, as well as by public officials, city planners, and nonprofits. At the same time, neighborhoods should continually renew themselves to stay vital and resilient, with the primary leadership coming from within. Strong neighborhood-based leadership is essential to maintaining authenticity and avoiding the appropriation and ultimate undermining of the hard-won assets (Annunziata and Rivas-Alonso 2018). The topics of gentrification and neighborhood (territorial) stigma are critical to this project and thus discussed in more detail in the next section below.

We now turn to the question of what specifically can be done for neighborhoods to be build adaptive capacity and become resilient. The literature answering this question is large, so for brevity, here we discuss several of the strategies that most pertain to our current project and provide an overview of the others. And, later sections in this chapter go into more detail about strategies used in situations similar to those in Gainesville.

'Welcome to Porters Neighborhood' sign

The literature recognizes that an important resilience strategy is the neighborhood narrative (Norris et al. 2008), which is the focus of this project and discussed in more depth in another section of this chapter. The literature often emphasizes its creation by neighborhood residents and businesses, in contrast with the narratives put forth by the dominant forces (of gentrification and possibly oppression) (Annunziata and Rivas-Alonso 2018). A neighborhood narrative includes values and visions, which can be held by individuals, collectively within the neighborhood, and/or by outside persons and groups. The narrative empowers the neighborhood by communicating their strengths and ambitions. And, through the processes of neighborhood study and

narrative creation, narratives highlight common interests and thus unite those who share them (Annunziata and Rivas-Alonso 2018).

Neighborhood narratives focus on, and thus reinforce, sense of place and community ties (including with newcomers), which in turn enable neighborhood protection efforts (Brown et al. 2003, Manzo and Perkins 2006, Hamilton and Curran 2013). As stated by Annunziata and Rivas-Alonso (2018), all practices that counter gentrification are identity-based, whether collective or individualized. Additional strategies that have these functions include oral histories, neighborhood-based groups and events, such as block parties, formal and informal social networks, and media relations (Norris et al. 2008). Our project includes each of these.

Overt strategies for neighborhood empowerment, and hence resilience, can involve the interrelated realms of politics, land use, and asset control, and, most importantly, individual actions of self-preservation such as budgeting (Manzo and Perkins 2006, Chaskin 2008, Norris et al. 2008, Pearsall 2012, Marcuse 2015, Steele 2018). In the political realm, neighborhood leaders can participate in city policy making, and they can form strategic alliances. One such outcome may be modified land use regulations, such as zoning, as well as other beneficial city planning, social support, and affordability programs (Pearsall 2012). With regard to asset control, neighborhoods can be entrepreneurial and form partnerships, to generate/protect local ownership and wealth, improve infrastructure, and establish shared neighborhood amenities. Such programs can operate across different scales (e.g., individual, family, neighborhood, city, state, or national levels). For example, a statewide community land trust may invest in a neighborhood, or a local nonprofit could offer low-income families citywide free legal and estate planning advice.

The literature about resilience, much of which concerns adaptation to climate change, has identified vulnerabilities (Adger 2006) and barriers to implementing strategies (Eisenack et al. 2014). Translating to neighborhoods, vulnerabilities are often demographic, such as age and income (Pendall et al. 2012). Barriers to neighborhood resilience, which can generally be seen as the absence of, or challenges to, achieving the adaptive capacity and resilience strategies described above. Specifically, Simpson et al. (2003) noted that, to be successful, community development initiatives need inclusive local voice, adequate resources, and project specific expertise to be successful. Perkins and Long (2002) found that trust between community members, not necessarily social cohesion or place attachment, was the most powerful precursor to collective action. This leads us back to need for capacity building, which can occur at the individual/family/business, neighborhood, city, and societal levels.

Flowering vines at Porters home

Also borrowing from the climate change literature, mitigation is an approach to reducing the stressor. In the case of gentrification, the literature describes neighborhoods pursuing actions, such as obtaining Superfund listing or historic district designation, that reduces the development potential (Pearsall 2013). Another option in this vein, but not directly mentioned in the literature, is the institution of policies to redirect growth to less socially sensitive and historically vital areas of the city.

The remaining sections in this chapter focus on the specific topics of gentrification, territorial stigma, neighborhoods as assets, neighborhood narratives, participatory planning, and case studies of the interactions between neighborhoods and universities.

New business on Porters northern edge, SW 4th Avenue

Gentrification

The Neighborhood Change Continuum describes the five stages of change from "stable and viable" to "unhealthy and nonviable" (Downs 1981, 65; Keating and Smith 1996, 27). Changes can occur at any point along the continuum and movement back and forth along the linear continuum also correlates with an increase or decrease in property values. For example, proximate neighborhoods may be at different stages in the continuum. However, revitalization of one neighborhood does not mean that revitalization of an adjacent neighborhood will occur (Downs 1981). Gentrification is one type of neighborhood change. There are many types and variations of gentrification. This report focuses on three types of gentrification: traditional, new build, and studentification.

The term gentrification was first coined in 1964 by sociologist Ruth Glass as she witnessed middle and upper classes move into and rehabilitate working class London neighborhoods. From her definition, traditional gentrification is defined as the purchase and rehabilitation of deteriorating properties by new, affluent, white residents, which results in the displacement of existing, poor, and often minority, residents (Downs 1981; Keating and Smith 1986). Traditional

gentrification, perhaps the best known and most mythologized type of gentrification, is characterized by stages.

Gentrification stage models indicate that neighborhood change may be cyclical rather than linear (Lees, Slater, and Wyly 2008). The four phases of gentrification are as follows:

- Phase one is characterized by activity that is commonly associated with gentrification. Risk-oblivious homebuyers purchase an individual property, usually historic and in disrepair, and restore the home with sweat equity and private capital. First phase gentrifiers, or neighborhood pioneers, can be driven by an ideology or a need for creating place identity (Douglas 2012). The idea of neighborhood pioneers is a romantic notion. However, initial moves to declining neighborhoods by higher income households are primarily motivated by lower home prices rather than ideological reasons (Ellen, Horn, and O'Regan 2013).

- In phase two, the phase one restoration activity continues, and realtors notice the neighborhood. The neighborhood may begin to coalesce around a name and defined boundaries.

- Phase three is often categorized by outside investment from both lenders and local governments. Territories are defined.

- In phase four, the neighborhood may pursue historic district regulations or neighborhood protection standards. As a result of rapid rent and price increases, there may be neighborhood spillover as original gentrifiers become priced out of moving to a larger home in the neighborhood (Lees, Slater, and Wyly 2008).

While traditional gentrification models still exist, renewed interest in city living has sparked a new type of gentrification. The United States is in the era of a fifth migration, which is distinguished by the resettlement of urban neighborhoods (Fishman 2005). Lewis Mumford predicted the fourth migration of populations from the cities to the suburbs in the 1920s, and indeed that is the pattern that defined American development over the last century. Robert Fishman (2003, 357) identified four distinct trends that describe this new urban migration: "downtown reurbanism; immigrant reurbanism; Black reurbanism; and White middle-class reurbanism". It is also necessary to add a fifth indicator: the desire of the Creative Class to live in high-quality cities (Florida 2013). The back-to-the-city movement has sparked a new development trend in many urban cities and neighborhoods and thus, a new type of gentrification (Lees, Slater, and Wyly 2008). New build gentrification primarily consists of new construction of residential and commercial buildings. These sites may be former industrial sites on the edges of neighborhoods or around transformative public recreation projects,

such as the Atlanta BeltLine (Dedenbach 2016). Frequently, new build gentrification is characterized by high-rise, exclusive, expensive gated residential buildings, and therefore offer a very different version of urban living.

High rise development near Porters Neighborhood

Finally, a type of gentrification that embodies both traditional and new-build types of gentrification is studentification. Studentification is generally defined as the encroachment of high concentrations of students into neighborhoods surrounding institutions of higher learning (Smith 2002). Student residential patterns generally fall into two categories: houses of multiple occupancy and purpose-built student housing (Anderson 2013). As with all types of gentrification, there are social, physical, and cultural effects that accompany studentification. Of particular consequence is the highly transient nature of student populations.

Gentrification is a type of neighborhood change, which can be a disruptive force. Gentrification contributes to residential instability that may lead to short-term increases in crime (Kirk and Laub 2010) and weakened social cohesion (Mennis et al. 2013). Existing neighborhoods, particularly those in decline, are ripe for reinvestment and are not always viewed as distinct places. In neighborhoods experiencing change, the narratives that form the norms, beliefs, values, and future vision of the neighborhood may be lost.

The Glass definition of gentrification breaks the phenomenon into two parts: economic and socio-cultural. Gentrified neighborhoods can be identified by qualitative and quantitative methods. Most research on measuring gentrification takes place in retrospect, although several municipalities have developed early warning systems using real-time data, such as property sales or building permits to track neighborhood change (Chappel and Zuk 2016; LaFlore 2010). Quantitative methods generally use Census data to track demographic changes (Chapple 2009; Galster and Peacock 1986; Nesbitt 2005; Timberlake and Johns-Wolfe 2017). Like Glass, most existing neighborhood residents observe subtle changes that indicate potential beginnings of traditional gentrification or studentification. Qualitative methods provide a complex, nuanced picture of gentrification. The best studies use a mix of qualitative and quantitative methods (Barton 2016).
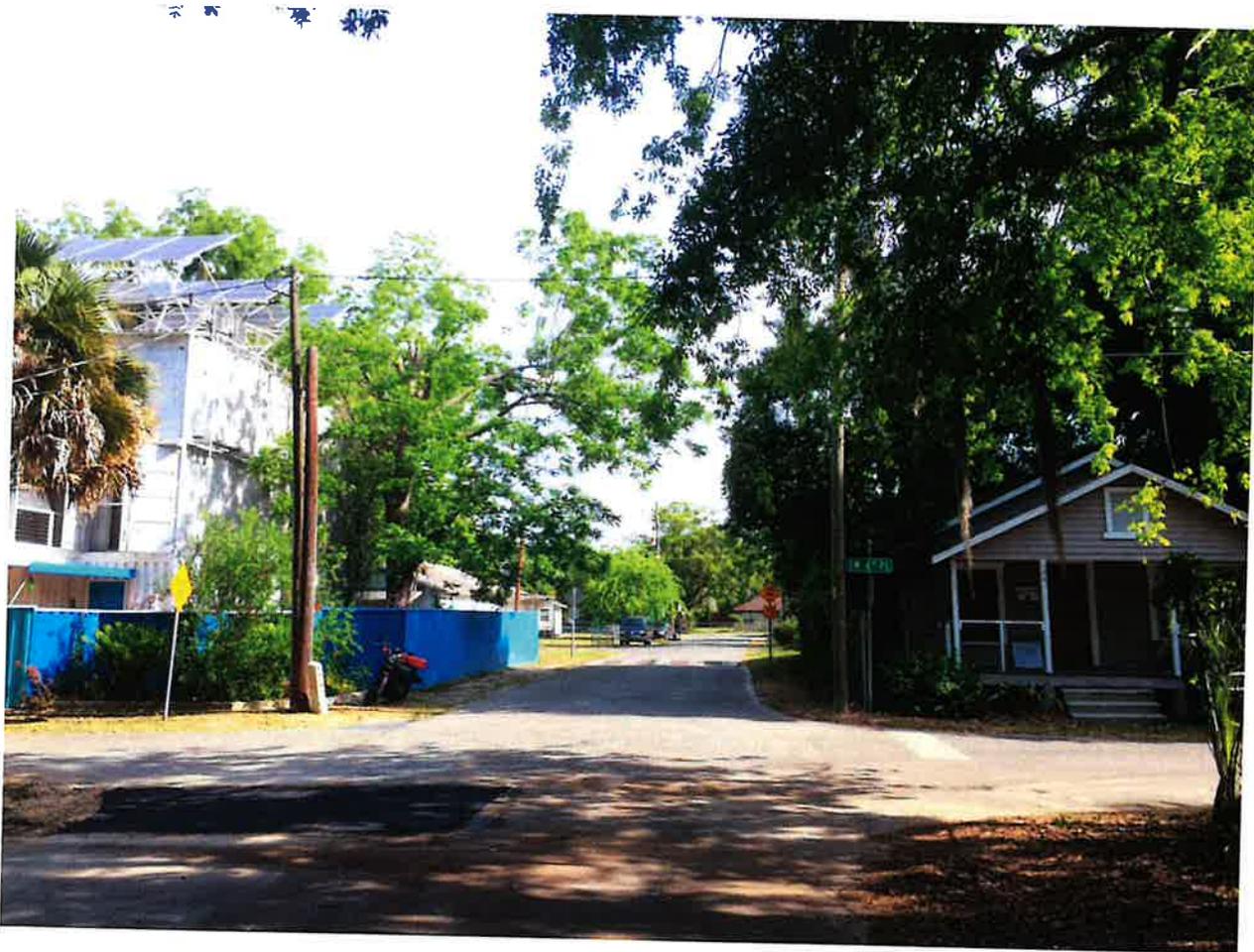
Contrasting development styles in Porters

Territorial Stigma

There is a well-established body of literature regarding localized stigma and its effect on neighborhood reputation and residential well-being. Early literature focuses on the place-based stigma itself and not the forces that perpetuate it or the resulting social impact on residents. Geographic stigma was largely attributed to high and persistent rates of crime and scholars sought to demystify the primary drivers for crime as a form

of social deviancy. Historically, two approaches have been employed to explain areas of stigma: place-based theories that examine the effects of built environment aesthetics and people-based theories that attempt to correlate the social behaviors of racial/ethnic populations to declining built environments. This literature review will historicize the trajectory of place-based stigma examination and detail recent scholarly discourse regarding territorial stigmatization and its implications for residents and development.

The human ecological approach as long asserted that the specific social behaviors such as crime, are the drivers for the stigmatization of geographic locales. Originating from the Chicago school, the argument suggests that the anti-social behavior of (particular racialized/ethnic) people is the basis for place-based stigma (Cohen, 2013; Park, Burgess, McKenzie, & Wirth, 1925). However, the human ecological approach did not account for why most people in marginalized communities do not engage in socially deviant behaviors, particularly crime (Stark, 1987). As a result, other scholars turned to social disorganization theory which argues that lack of communal cohesion is to blame for delinquency (Massey & Denton, 1993; Sampson & Groves, 1989; Shaw & McKay, 1942; Simcha-Fagan & Schwartz, 1986; Wilson W. , 1987).

More built environment-focused theory gave rise to the "broken windows" argument, that dilapidation and decaying infrastructure signaled that "no one cares" and deviant behavior was normalized (Wilson & Kelling, 1982, p. 32). Although the broken windows theory's influence on place-based rationale for geographic deviancy is greatly diminished, its introduction into the larger discourse spurred more study regarding place-based drivers for social deviancy. Later, Stark (1987) revised the human ecological approach and suggested that residents reacted with moral cynicism to physical indicators of decline and reasons this weakens social controls and motivates residents to engage in socially deviant practices.

Goffman (1963) is credited with identifying 'spoiled identity' or stigma as a discrediting attribute that essentializes the identities of those affected and creates an axis upon which all other individual attributes are measured. Goffman (1963) distinguishes three forms of stigma: the body, individual character, and tribal identities (Cohen, 2013). Wacquant (2007; 2008; 2008) weds Goffman's work with Bourdeiu's "theory of symbolic power as a 'performative nomination' by an authority capable of making its representations stick and come true" (Wacquant, Slater, & Pereira, Territorial stigmatization in action, 2014, p. 1272). Wacquant (2007; 2008; 2008) introduces "blemish of place" which describes the reputations attributed to poor neighborhoods, and argues that blemish of place ultimately leads to 'territorial stigma,' a construct that projects a social identity on individuals and families that reside in specific communities and denies them social acceptance. Thus, specific communities become tied to omnipresent narratives of "poverty, subaltern ethnicity

(encompassing national and regional 'minorities', recognized or not, and lower-class foreign migrants), degraded housing, imputed immorality, and street crime" (Wacquant, Slater, & Pereira, Territorial stigmatization in action, 2014, p. 1273). Territorial stigma results in a layered experience of marginality in which residents' existing poverty or racial/ethnic identities are compounded by blemish of place (Arthurson, 2013).

Tall fence at Porters home

An integral component of conceptualizing territorial stigma is neighborhood reputation which is perceived "as a collective social functioning and practice that is socially patterned and impacts on the availability of material resources and other important opportunities" (Arthurson, 2013, p. 4; Macintyre & Ellaway, 2000). The resulting stigma is democratized and nationalized with all voices perpetuating the narrative of taint. Wacquant, Slater, and Pereira (2014) suggest "in every country, a small set of urban boroughs have come to be universally renowned and reviled across class and space as redoubts in the discourses of journalism, politics, and scholarship, as well as in ordinary conversation as synonyms for social hell" (p. 1273). In this way, the stigma affects not only the stigmatized residents but also "the surrounding denizens and commercial operators, street-level public bureaucracies, specialists in cultural production (such

as journalists, scholars, and politicians..." (Wacquant, Slater, & Pereira, Territorial stigmatization in action, 2014, p. 1270).

The stigmatized narrative "percolates down and diffuses across the social and spatial structures of the city" (Wacquant, Slater, & Pereira, Territorial stigmatization in action, 2014, p. 1275). This has profound implications as neighborhood reputation can influence the resources and infrastructure that policy makers and the business sector are willing to invest in stigmatized communities and the quality of services that service providers are willing to offer. Atkinson and Kintrea (2001) add that companies may determine retail locations and employee hiring based on neighborhood reputation, impacting the amenities and economic opportunities available to residents. Other studies have demonstrated that employers discriminate during hiring processes based upon prospective employees' postal codes (Palmer, Ziersch, Arthurson, & Baum, 2005; Ziersch & Arthurson, 2005). Thus, "territorial stigmatization is not a static condition, or neutral process, but a consequential and injurious form of action through collective representation fastened on place" (Wacquant, Slater, & Pereira, Territorial stigmatization in action, 2014, p. 270). Rather, the stigma of specific communities can be "fueled, harnessed, and manipulated by private concerns (such as the media, employers, and real-estate firms) and public officials to promote their own agendas, such that spatial disgrace operates as a symbolic lynchpin" (Wacquant, Slater, & Pereira, Territorial stigmatization in action, 2014, p. 1276). Cohen (2013) suggests that the stigmatization processes are historic and perpetuated by three place- and people-related attributes: "planning, population, and everyday practices of behavior" (p. 113). Elaborating, Cohen explains the stigma associated with poor planning and infrastructure, ethnic stereotypes, and deviant social behavior (generally crime) coalesce to produce a neighborhood narrative that is far more impactful than the community's reality. This a reference to Wacquant's (2007) assertion that "...whether or not these places are dilapidated, dangerous, and declining matters little: the prejudicial belief that they are, suffices to set off socially detrimental consequences" (p. 68). Residents are reduced to an eternal 'other' that Wacquant (2007) describes as "disparaged, faceless crowd...the downstairs neighbors, the immigrant family dwelling in the adjacent building, the youths from across the street...engaged in street 'hustling', or the residents...illegally drawing unemployment" (p. 68). The "discourses of vilification" as termed by Wacquant (2007) influence subsequent public policies and decision-making that at best constrain residents' ability to access the social safety net, or at worst, "are instrumental in disciplining social precariousness and making room for projects of [urban] renewal and regeneration" (Cohen, 2013, p. 116; p. 67). The resulting narrative becomes "a self-fulfilling prophecy, one where negative representations produce "the very cultural anomie and social atomism that these representations claim were already there"" (Cohen, 2013, p. 116; Wacquant L. , 2008, p. 116).

Convenience store at the corner of Main Street and SW 4ᵗʰ Avenue

Territorial stigma as a phenomenon has close links to racialized social hierarchies and often reinforces white supremacist rhetoric globally. For instance, distant locales such as Argentina, France, and Australia have neighborhoods commonly known as "The Bronx", a reference to the multiracial and economically stressed borough of New York City (Auyero, 1999; Birdsall-Jones, 2013; Wacquant L. , 2008). Although the term 'ghetto' has other historical references, in stigmatization discourse it is frequently used evoke inflammatory images of Black American neighborhoods in the United States. Wacquant (2011) critiques this usage of 'ghetto' and asserts that scholars are ignorant of the sociological tenor and structural instrumentation of ghettos as a means to hinder integration in the city for racial minorities (Wacquant, Slater, & Pereira, 2014). The residents of stigmatized communities "are nearly always painted in darker and more exotic hues than their demography warrants" (Wacquant, Slater, & Pereira, 2014, p. 1274). Any cultural differences are exaggerated in the stigmatized narrative and framed as deviant, if not hostile, to the dominant cultural norms. Incidences of violence are sensationalized, presented as the norm for standards of conduct within the community and used to reinforce the aforementioned exaggerated sociocultural traits. This is used to stoke public fear and revulsion "which in turn foster the growth and glorification of the penal wing of the state to penalize urban marginality" (Beckett & Herbert, 2011; Clear, 2007; Muchielli, 2008; Peck & Theodore, 2008; Wacquant L. , 2009; Wacquant, Slater, & Pereira, 2014, p. 1274).

Territorial stigma is not limited to the restriction of structural opportunities but may also result in the internalization of stigma by residents that manifests in behavioral patterns (Macintyre & Ellaway, 2000, p. 343). Arthurson (2013) concurs that "outsiders' negative characterizations, the blemish of place and consequential territorial stigma may result in residents adopting self-defeating behaviors" (p. 4). The resulting internal stigmatization is demonstrated as lack of self-esteem, feelings of shame and exclusion from mainstream society, curtailed educational and professional ambitions, and negative health-related effects (Arthurson, 2013) (Murray, 1994) (Scrambler, 2009). Further, Arthurson's (2013) work suggests that territorial stigma operates internally with residents' views being influenced by their own forms of housing tenure. For instance, homeowners cited private renters' high rate of turnover as a source of diminished neighborhood pride (Arthurson, 2013). Arthurson (2013) notes that "private rental housing was often poorly maintained as its function was merely to obtain a rental income for absentee landlords (p. 14)." Some renters may view their tenure as long-term yet temporary condition and thus engage in social detachment from the larger community. Other renters may internalize the stigma associated with their lower status in the tenure hierarchy (Arthurson, 2013). Those with the means to leave the stigmatized area often do, leaving behind the most vulnerable residents with the least resources (Arthurson, 2013; Permentier, Van Ham, & Bolt, 2008).

Participatory Planning

In recent years, participatory planning has become a foundational principle of planning practice due to harsh critiques of top down planning initiatives and their tendency towards inequality and marginality. This section will detail the evolution of planning theory and practice regarding participatory planning and the role of citizenry in decision-making.

Friedmann (1973) categorizes planning practice in two broad schools of thought: societal guidance in which the state assumes a unitarian view of planning goals and societal transformation in which the transformed state is a vehicle for remedy inequalities. Early planners such as Howard and Geddes were master plan-oriented and produced the garden city concept and regional planning, respectively (Lane, 2005). Their approach, known as blueprint planning, did not include a role for public participation (Hall, Urban and regional planning, 1992). Instead, blueprint planners' "vision seems to have been that of the planner as the omniscient ruler, who should create new settlement forms...without interference or question" (Hall, Urban and regional planning, 1992, p. 61). Accordingly, blueprint planners faced frequent critique of their failure to consider pluralistic societal goals (Hall, 1983). Faludi (1973) cited the methods of blueprint planners as "gross-simplification and heavy-handedness" and challenged their assumption of the predictability of the world (p. 33).

In the late 1950s, synoptic, or systems planning, first introduced public participation in planning processes. The rise of the private automobile created significant changes in urban geography and planners were confronted with problems "at a previously unparalleled scale" (Hall, 1983, p. 42). Planners began examining "problems from a systems viewpoint, using conceptual or mathematical models relating ends (objectives) to means (resources and constraints), with heavy reliance on numbers and quantitative analysis" (Hudson, 1979, p. 389). Although consultation with the public became a systematic component of systems planning, the model still assumes 'holistic' homogenous societal interests (Faludi, 1973). The assumption of homogeneity relegates public participation to validating and legitimizing planning process, rather than influencing and critiquing them (Gariepy, 1991; Lane, 2005; Kiernan, 1983).

Basketball court at the Porters Community Center

By the 1960s, disillusionment with rational-scientific forms of planning gave way to a new paradigm in planning: theoretical pluralism (Freidmann & Kuester, 1994; Lane, 2005; McDonald, 1989). Friedmann (1973) developed transactive planning in response to the criticisms of synoptic planning, proposing "face-to-face contact with the planning community" (Lane, 2005, p. 293). Transactive planning differs from its blueprint and synoptic predecessors by emphasizing mutual learning and personal/institutional development (Friedmann, The utility of non-Euclidian planning, 1994). Transactive planning centers interpersonal dialogue and posits the

planner as a facilitator for information exchange, dissemination, and feedback. In this model, individuals and communities are empowered to direct the social planning processes that impact their welfare (Friedmann, 1992; Hudson, 1979).

Also developed in response to the failures of synoptic planning, advocacy planning assumed socio-political pluralism (Davidoff, 1965; Faludi, 1973; Lane, 2005; Mazziotti, 1982). Davidoff (1965) delivers his seminal call for advocacy in planning during the mid-1960s, but it is Mazziotti (1982) that creates a more refined notion of the method of practice. Advocacy planning is based upon three premises:

1. Inequality in bargaining power exists between groups
2. Access to the political structure is unequal
3. Significant populations of the marginalized are without representation (Mazziotti, 1982).

Advocacy planning completes the shift away from public participation as solely consultation and transcends the self-determination aim of transactive planning. Advocacy planning is radical social transformation planning in that it rejects "the notion of a unitary public interest" and advocates "the interests of less articulate actors in the cause of seeking social change to improve the conditions of the disenfranchised" (Lane, 2005, p. 293). In this model of planning practice, public participation becomes the objective rather than a marginal adjunctive method (Lane, 2005).

Children's chalk drawings on Porters street

Following Davidoff's (1965) call for advocacy and pluralism in planning, Arnstein (1969) produced a formative critique of participatory planning and argues that it easily falls prey to tokenism resulting in lack of impactful change. She reveals the routine involvement of marginalized groups and lack of meaningful influence because of unaddressed power inequalities. Arnstein (1969) argues "there is a critical difference between going through the empty ritual of participation and having the real power needed to affect the outcomes of the process" (p. 216). Sandercock (1994), among others, addresses power inequalities as a failing of participatory planning citing the dominance of the powerful 'haves' over the 'have nots' as demonstrating public participation as a "populist red herring" (Beatley, Brower, & Lucy, 1994; Robinson, 1993; p. 117).
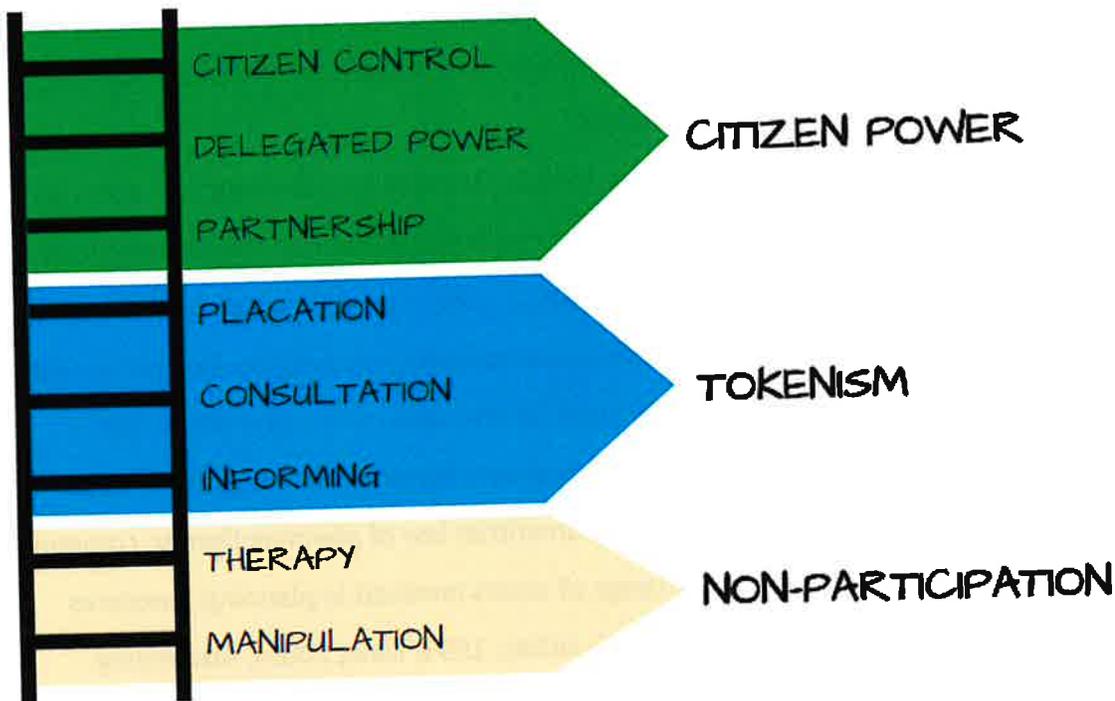
Figure 4. Arnstein's Ladder (1969).

Without a redistribution of power, Arnstein (1969) finds that public participation in planning processes amounts to nothing more than therapy for and manipulation of citizenry. For decades, 'consultation' was the dominant practice of government agencies in regard to public input, conferring little power, if any, to citizenry (Dennis, 1972; Pateman, 1970). The redistribution of power that Arnstein (1969) argues for finds common ground with Amy (1987) who asserts that the fairness of any participatory planning process can be measured by the distribution of power because imbalances of power create persistent patterns of unequal access. Arnstein (Arnstein, 1969, p. 217) envisioned public participation as a ladder or spectrum of involvement (see Figure 4). The first two rungs: manipulation and therapy are defined as "non-participation" (Arnstein, 1969, p. 217). The next three rungs: informing, consultation, and placation are defined as "degrees of tokenism"

(Arnstein, 1969, p. 217). The last three rungs: partnership, delegated power, and citizen control are defined as "degrees of citizen power" (Arnstein, 1969, p. 217). Those in charge of planning processes wield the power to decide the extent to which the public will participate, they set the terms and delegate (or not) the power (Arnstein, 1969).

However, Painter (1992) critiques Arnstein's (1969) assertions on two grounds: the dismissal of consultation as tokenism and a misunderstanding of the decision-making process. Painter (1992) argues that institution may indeed hold final decision-making power but that is weak ground upon which to dismiss the effective influence that can be had through consultation. Lane (2005) clarifies Painter's position stating, "that understanding power requires an assessment of outcomes, rather than simply resting on an analysis of relative power prior to the occurrence relevant interactions" (p. 286). Painter (1992) also disputes the notion that decision-making occurs at a single inflection point, this would dismiss the benefits afforded throughout the planning process including dialogue and information exchange.

By the early 1990s, the earlier emphasis on the rational-scientific methods had declined and given way to "reconsideration[s] of the nature and role of reason" (Healey, Planning through debate: the communicative turn in planning theory, 1992; Hillier, 1993; Giddens, 1994; Lane, 2005, p. 295). Converging conceptualizations formed communicative planning practice: Habermas' (1984; 1987) communicative rationality, Dryzek's (1990) discursive democracy, and Giddens' (1994) dialogic democracy. Healy (1992) seeks to expand the earlier methods concerned with rationality "to include all the ways in which people come to understand and know things and use that knowledge in acting" (1992, p. 150; Hillier, The unwritten law of planning theory: common sense, 1995). Communicative planning legitimizes a broader range of actors involved in planning processes and centers dialogue, argumentation, and discourse (Healey, 1996; Hillier, 1993; Lane, 2005). Addressing Arnstein's (1969) critiques of tokenism, communicative planning emphasizes negotiation, bargaining, and debate (Dryzek, 1990; Giddens, 1994; Healey, 1996; Lane, 2005). Superseding the tenets of advocacy planning, communicative planning demands that concerned actors be present for any planning process to proceed (Lane, 2005).

Participatory planning as a democratizing strategy has dominated planning discourse in recent years following a decade of "laments about limited opportunities for public involvement" (Lane, 2005, p. 283; Munroe-Clarke, 1992; Webber & Crooks, 1996). A shift has occurred and "the new political culture no longer places much faith in solutions imposed from above, increasingly relying instead on a network of decision-making relationships that link government and civil society across many scales" (Van Driesche & Lane, 2002, p. 137). This shift from government to governance has manifested in a multitude of forms including community governance, 'Third Way' approaches, decentralization of government to civil society, and public-private

partnerships (Edwards, 2001; Fischer, 2000; Giddens, The third way: the renewal of social democracy, 1998; Reddel, 2002; Rose, 2000; Teisman & Klijn, 2002). All of these approaches share a common cause of involving non-governmental personnel in the creation and implementation of public policy (Lane, 2005).

Contemporary planning practices have a shared recognition of the political nature planning and thus the need for representative input from concerned actors. Public participation in planning has shifted from a supplemental methodology to a centered and fundamental hallmark of planning and decision-making (Lane, 2005).

Neighborhoods as Assets

Neighborhoods are the building blocks of the city. The physical neighborhood is defined as a formally named, geographic area with defined boundaries that have been accepted and recognized by neighborhood residents, by the local government (through historical or planning documents), and by those outside the neighborhood (Chaskin 1997; Downs 1981; Rohe 1985; Rivlin 1987). In addition to a physical presence, neighborhoods serve to enable social cohesion, the establishment of norms, and response to threats to shared interests. Neighborhoods have traditionally been studied and valued for their economic and social capital (Bridge 2005). Physical capital includes housing stock and home values, roads, and public spaces (Bridge 2005; Arefi 2004). Social capital includes social bonds and networks (Bridge 2005; Arefi 2004). Measuring the value of neighborhoods through the traditional economic or social lens becomes problematic for marginalized populations.

Lower income urban neighborhoods are often viewed by elected officials as problems that take from the city rather than contribute to it (McKnight and Kretzmann 1996). These neighborhoods may lack the traditional resources and assets that could be assigned a value. For example, lower income neighborhoods may have homes that are assessed at a lower value than higher income or new suburban neighborhoods. Even identification of historic and cultural assets within marginalized populations may be difficult because resources may be more intangible than traditional landmarks (Buckly and Graves 2016). Therefore, neighborhood planning efforts must focus on documenting these intangible assets and human capital, such as events, people, local businesses, home based businesses, and organizational capacity (McKnight and Kretzmann 1996; Buckley and Graves 2016; Myerson 2004).

Neighborhood Narratives

In neighborhoods experiencing change, the narratives that form the norms, beliefs, values, and future vision of the neighborhood may be lost. Generally, the idea of narrative is related to storytelling. Neighborhood narratives can take many forms from informal gossip to written histories. Blokland's (2009)

study of gentrifying neighborhoods shows that meaning and knowledge is strengthened through the use of historical narratives. Neighborhood narratives are stories, developed by neighborhood residents, chosen from "past events and characters" that are "related to one another and to some overarching structure, often in the context of an opposition or struggle" (Ewick and Sibley 1995, 197). Developing narratives is a way in which one can locate oneself in a particular place or time (Sussman and Hollender 2015). Narratives can also help us create distance between how things should be and how things are (Certeau 1984). Inherent in all neighborhood narratives is the establishment of the neighborhood as a distinct place with fixed boundaries and appropriate behaviors. Placelessness may be linked to a lack of narrative (Sussman and Hollender 2015). Close examination of neighborhood narratives may show how neighborhood culture is developed and maintained over time. However, if neighborhoods have lost their narrative or are seeking to replace their existing narrative, how can a meaningful narrative be created that communicates the neighborhood's importance and necessity as an asset to the city at-large?

Historic 'shotgun style' homes in Porters.

Case Studies: Universities and Neighborhoods

Whether locating in the outskirts of existing communities or within cities, universities and colleges often precipitate growth in adjacent areas, through outright expansion and through development of businesses and housing catering to the campus. Yet, residents in these adjacent communities may find that ensuing redevelopment results in their displacement as well as the loss of businesses they frequent. Widely

circulated documentation of urban renewal, and its associated demolition and acquisition of properties, associated with university expansion at its most controversial and intensive occurred in the 1950s and 1960s at Columbia University in New York City and the University of Chicago in the south side Hyde Park and Kenwood neighborhoods (Carriere, 2005; Larsen, 1995). In both cases resistance from residents, church leaders, certain student and faculty groups resulted in national media attention (Dalton, Hajrasouliha, and Riggs, 2018). And while neighborhood change did occur, adaptations to address community needs, such as conservation districts in Chicago, also resulted (Larsen, 1995).
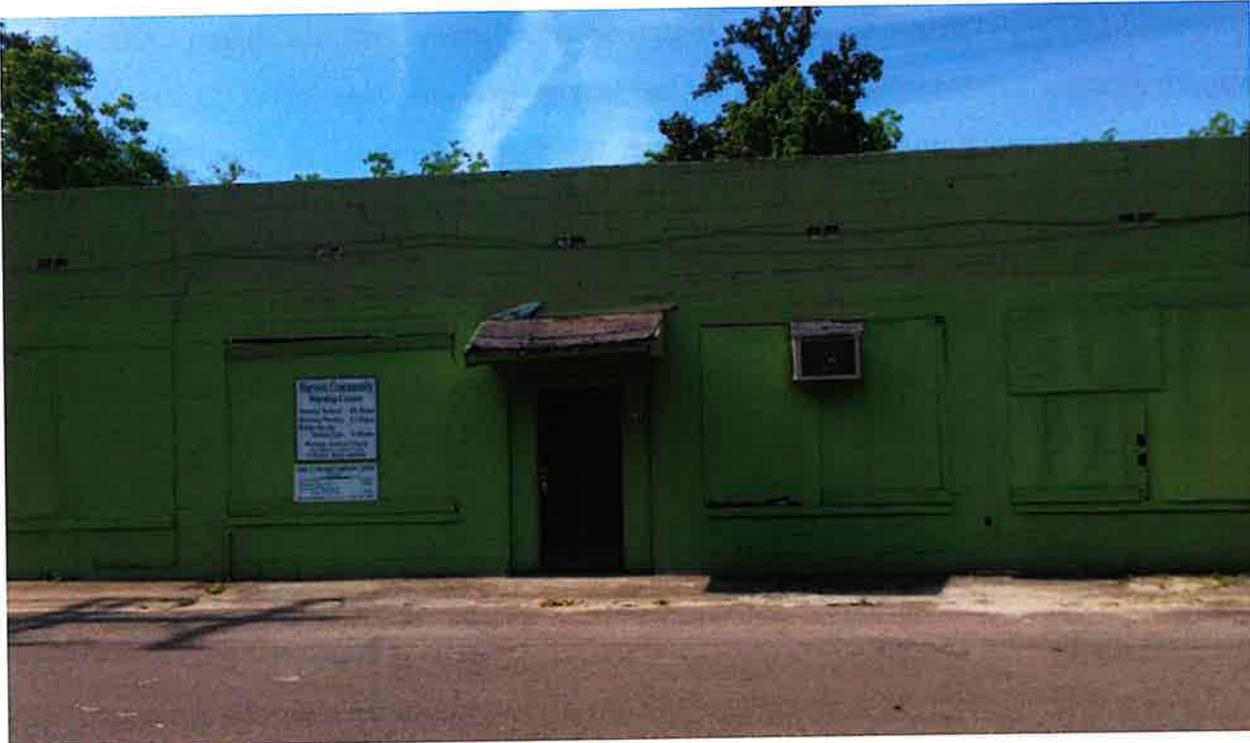
Harvest Community Worship Center in Porters

More recently, with examples at the University of Pennsylvania and the University of Central Florida, campus leaders are more effectively engaging with communities to shape the "campus-community interface" (Dalton, Hajrasouliha, and Riggs, 2018, 150). In both cases, community outreach in economically distressed and historically segregated communities of color where major university institutions are located as part of a broader development strategy intended to invest in the community, including the development of a public school, characterize these efforts. In West Philadelphia, this newest form of revitalization has been underway for over 20 years, and has elicited significant reflection and study. The results have been mixed from the residents' perspectives. In Orlando, where the University of Central Florida is located, development of the new downtown campus in the historically African-American Parramore neighborhood is too new to offer any conclusive lessons at this time. Still, both revitalization efforts provide insight on the dynamics of university-

community partnerships focused on community engagement as an ongoing aspect of the "campus-community interface".[1]

The West Philadelphia Initiatives (WPI) focused on revitalization of the University City neighborhoods, an economically distressed area that experienced cycles of abandonment and demolition as well as gentrification (Rodin, 2005; Ehlenz, 2016). As a long-standing (founded in 1749) and key institution in the city, the University of Pennsylvania had generated animosity among community stakeholders due to its lack of investment in community needs and ongoing development decisions that disenfranchised the community (Rodin, 2005). In the mid-1990s, the then-President of the University of Pennsylvania, Judith Rodin (2005), initiated a grass-roots effort to "rebuild West Philadelphia's social and economic capacity" (239). Among the initiatives were clean and safe neighborhoods, incentivizing rehabilitation and investment in owner and renter occupied housing for a range of income groups, accommodating neighborhood retail, economic development through direct investment in the community, and developing an "inclusive neighborhood public school" (Rodin, 2005, 246; Puckett, 2018). The story here though is more complex, "[a]s the blocks inside the [public] school's catchment grew wealthier, more homogenous, and more educated, these upward trends masked continued socioeconomic decline in the remainder of the neighborhood" (Ehlenz, 2016, 714).

Meanwhile, the University of Central Florida (UCF) is relocating a portion of its suburban campus in the northeast Orlando area to the downtown neighborhood of Parramore (City of Orlando, 2015). With efforts ongoing since the 1990s to revitalize the Parramore community, a 1.1 square mile area directly west of the central business district in Orlando, ongoing destruction of the neighborhood's historic African-American fabric distinguishes the public sector role in the community.[2] Not surprisingly, those residents, stakeholders, and business owners who remain question the motivations and impacts of this newest project. In locating the College of Health and Public Affairs and the Center for Community Partnerships in this downtown neighborhood, UCF has introduced "five strategic initiatives to engage and support the Parramore community" with a focus on employment and training, health and education resources, safety, and affordable

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[1] A term used by Dalton, Hajrasouliha, and Riggs (2018, 150) to describe university growth, economic development, sustainability through a transportation lens, and the partnerships designed to engage with these aspects of planning. Interestingly, while they offer a literature review of these elements as well as a focus on more insular campus master planning and a separate focus on campus district planning, representing the larger zone around the university and the public sector's role in shaping these areas in collaboration with the university.

[2] Interstate 4, the East-West Expressway, the Centroplex, federal building, Orange County School Board building, Orlando police station, a city parking garage, Bob Carr Performing Arts Center, and most recently the Amway Center, Florida A&M Law School, and new soccer stadium have all been built over the last six decades in the 1.1 square mile neighborhood, resulting in significant demolition within the oldest African-American community in the city of Orlando.

housing. The intent is to embed faculty and students in these fields within community to facilitate outreach efforts and engaged learning. In fact, with investments in this project and the adjacent new K-8 school, UCF, city leaders, and Parramore community partners envision revitalization of this community to stabilize housing, reintroduce a local school and businesses, and reconnect residents to established and new community amenities while accommodating regional institutional and public sector uses along the major corridors. Further, the site of the new campus is on the demolished Centroplex and Bob Carr Performing Arts Center properties and related parking areas, all of which reflect earlier redevelopment projects that demolished the close-grained residential and small business fabric that still characterizes some fragmented sections of the community.

Home in Porters Community

The "takeaway for practice" offered by Dalton, Hajrasouliha, and Riggs (2018) following their review of scholarship that examines campus site design, community interface, and campus district planning focuses on urban design, sustainability, and economic development with scant detail regarding collaborative processes, which they champion, and social justice issues, such as mitigating displacement and sustaining affordability while enhancing the existing community. Further, they rightly highlight the need for longer term studies to better understand the complex dynamics of neighborhood change in these areas. Understanding opportunities for capacity building is essential, and as Ehlenz (2016) documents, even sophisticated, multi-

pronged community engagement initiatives, such as the WPI, offer mixed outcomes. Though certainly an improvement over the top-down university- and private sector driven urban renewal of the past, current community revitalization initiatives whether directly driven by universities or associated private sector growth demand an ongoing commitment to community capacity building to allow residents to take the lead in resiliently responding to neighborhood change.
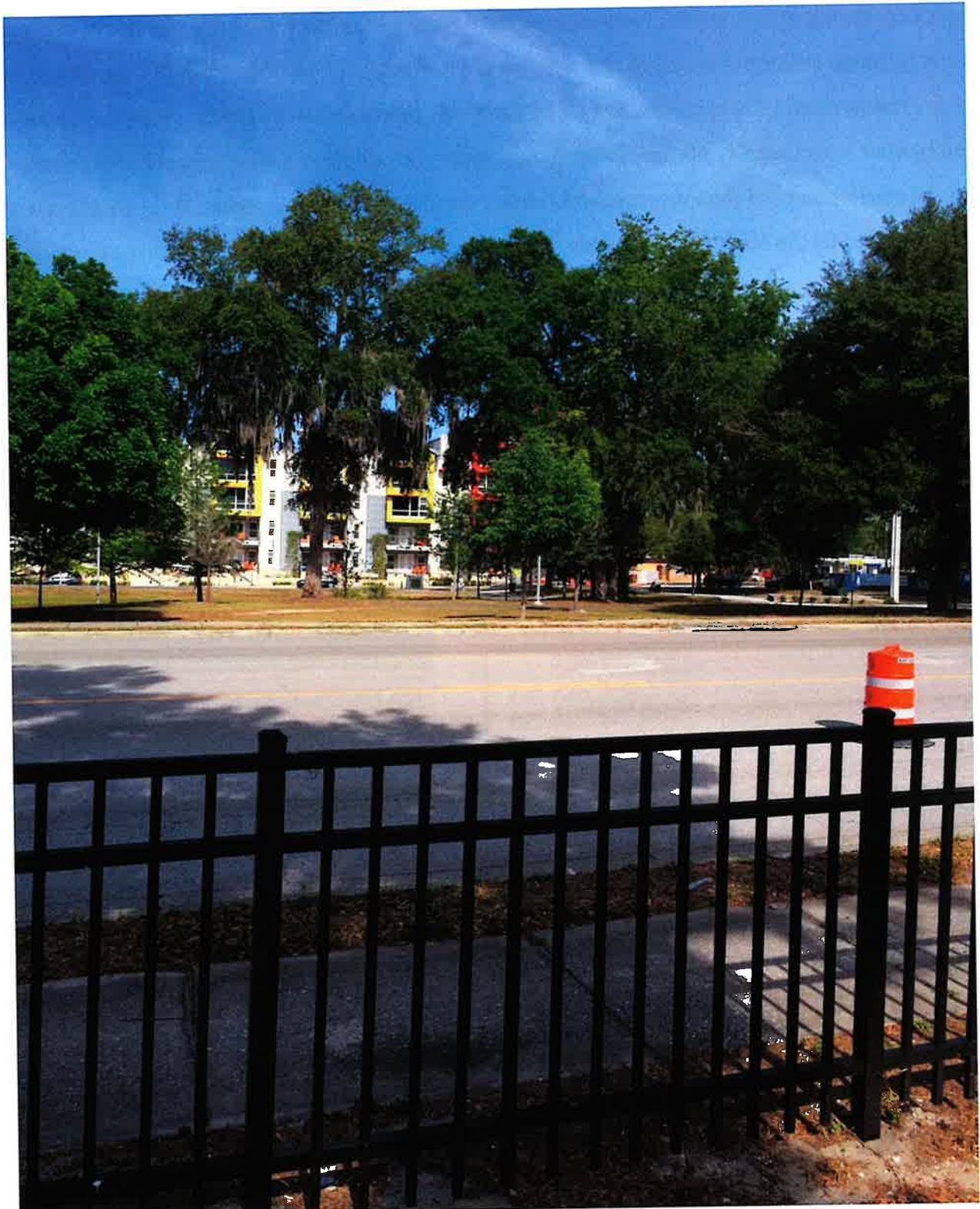
New apartments to the west of Porters near Tumblin Creek Park

METHODOLOGY

The Neighborhoods As Community Assets project piloted a model neighborhood narratives process in the Porters Community of Gainesville. The process used a variety of methods to engage persons and gather information (through desktop sources) to characterize the Porters neighborhood from two perspectives: (1) from Porters residents and stakeholders, and (2) by "outside" perspectives, including a synopsis of the views expressed by staff in various City of Gainesville departments and agencies. Each emergent perspective informed the development of the Porters neighborhood narrative, which culminated through a series of activities conducted by the Steering Committee. The process also identified counter narratives, which were present but not consensus-based. The last step was to identify potential uses of the neighborhood narrative, including to promote within the neighborhood, and to suggest actions by the City and University. Figure 5 shows the individual methods used for each part of the process, and each method is described below. The results from the methods are presented in the next chapter, Findings.

PORTERS PERSPECTIVE METHODS	METHOD TYPE
STEERING COMMITTEE	ENGAGEMENT
FIELDWORK	ENGAGEMENT
ORAL HISTORIES AND PHOTOS	ENGAGEMENT
BOX CITY	ENGAGEMENT
HISTORICAL RESEARCH	INFORMATION
CURRENT NEIGHBORHOOD PROFILE	INFORMATION
GENTRIFICATION INDICATORS	INFORMATION

OUTSIDE PERSPECTIVE METHODS	METHOD TYPE
PLAN AND POLICY ANALYSIS	INFORMATION
CITY INTERVIEWS	ENGAGEMENT
ART FESTIVAL	ENGAGEMENT
COLLABORATIONS	ENGAGEMENT

NARRATIVE DEVELOPMENT BY STEERING COMMITTEE
NEIGHBORHOOD BOUNDARIES
NEIGHBORHOOD ASSETS
NEIGHBORHOOD VISION
NEIGHBORHOOD NARRATIVE
COUNTER NARRATIVE
USE OF NEIGHBORHOOD NARRATIVE

Figure 5. Methodology flow chart

Engagement and Information from the Porters Perspective

Steering Committee

Informed communities with clear priorities are better-equipped to manage changes associated with development and growth. The project aims to assist in the protection and support of Gainesville's strong neighborhoods in their pursuit of resilience in the face of these changes. The project team chose the formation of a steering committee to begin the neighborhood planning efforts. The project Steering Committee would consist of residents and stakeholders of the historic Porters neighborhood, building upon past community efforts, to create a narrative of both the history and future of the community.

In addition to residents and stakeholders, potential partner organizations were identified to assist. Potential partner organizations include the Porters Community Center, neighborhood churches and civic organizations, neighborhood businesses and non-profits, city developers, the Santa Fe College Office of Outreach and East Gainesville Instruction, the Gainesville Community Redevelopment Agency (CRA), and city neighborhood planners. Potential steering committee members were recruited in consultation with City of Gainesville Planning, Recreation, and CRA staff.

The project team conducted an initial meeting to explain the project and solicit attendees to serve on the steering committee. At this meeting, attendees agreed to serve gave contact information, which the project team used to form the steering committee. The team received UF Institutional Review Board (IRB) approval to draw research lessons from the Steering Committee (as a transferable planning process model), and members signed informed consent forms.

The steering committee consisted of 9 members representing broad interests in the Porters neighborhood. The project steering committee approximately once every two months to guide the project, and review findings and project deliverables (see Table 1). Meetings occurred at a public facility in close proximity or within the neighborhood.

The Steering Committee members included:

- o Gigi Simmons
- o Beverly King
- o Sheena Larry
- o JoeAnn Johnson
- o Angela Wright

- o   John Davidson
- o   Andy Coffey
- o   Michael Leath
- o   Stephanie Seawright

Table 1. Steering Committee meeting dates and activities

06/29/17	07/20/17	10/05/17	12/07/17	02/01/18	03/15/18	04/12/18
Information and Recruitment	Mapping exercise to determine neighborhood boundaries and area of influence Community engagement plan	Asset Inventory and Mapping Exercise Visioning Exercise	Narrative Exercise	Review results of Narrative Exercise City interviews Oral histories	Review and comment on Narrative Draft Land use and zoning discussion	Oral histories update Community outreach discussion Review of graphics and logos

Fieldwork

The project team took every opportunity to visit the Porters neighborhood, to get to know residents and community leaders (and vice versa), and to understand their concerns firsthand. We captured our observations and thoughts via notes, and sometimes photos. The fieldwork visits fell into three categories: a neighborhood walking tour, attending regular neighborhood meetings, and participating in special neighborhood events. To support all our fieldwork and other engagement activities, we produced a two-page project brief (see Appendix B).

Walking Tour

The team conducted a walking tour of the neighborhood at the beginning of the project in May 2017. The tour was two hours on a weekday morning. We followed a pre-planned route that covered all parts of the neighborhood, including its interior and periphery, and that showed its variety (see Figure 6).
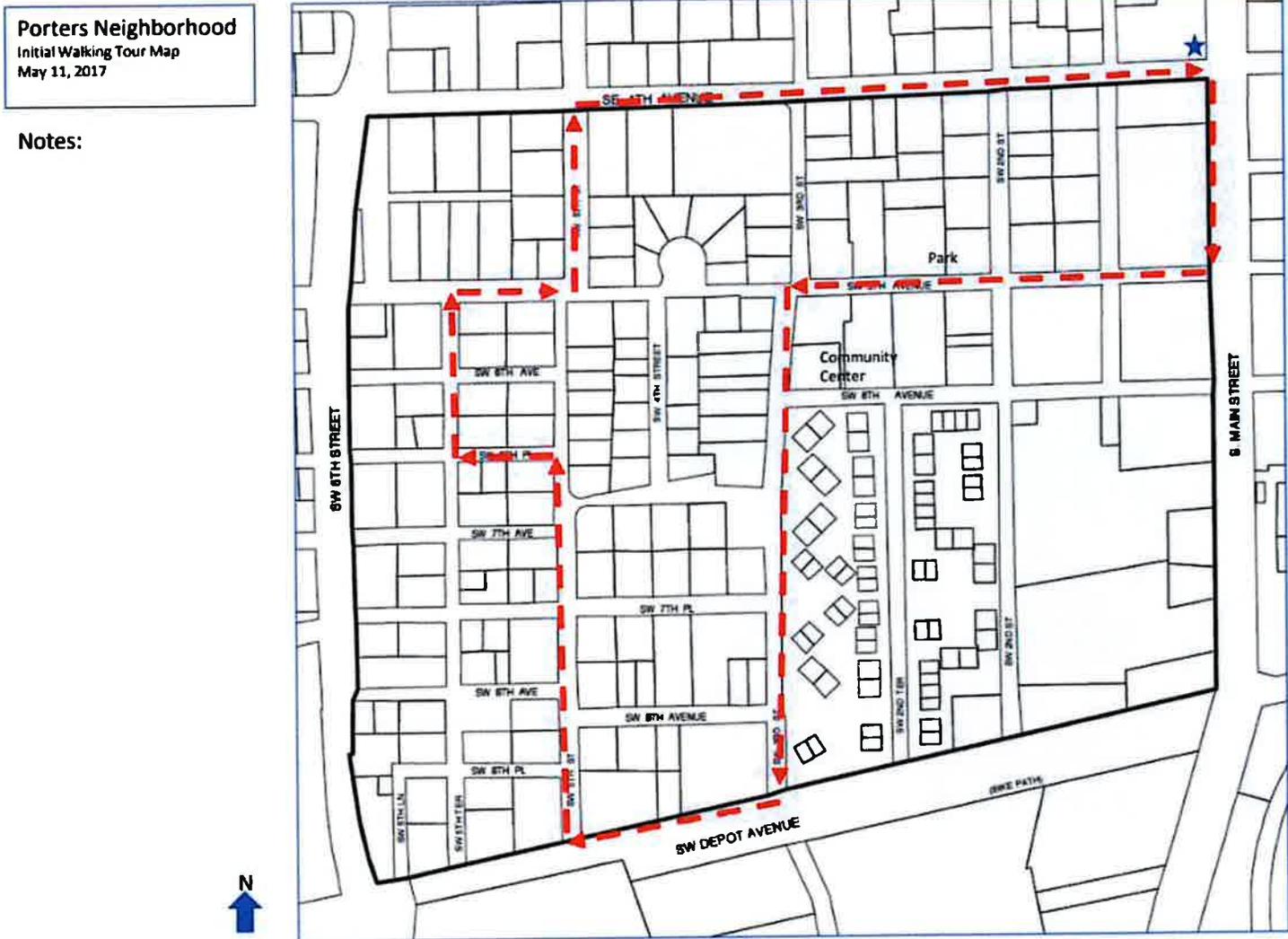
Figure 6. Route of walking tour

Neighborhood Meetings

We attended the monthly Porters Neighborhood Watch meetings. The meetings were about 90 minutes and attended by residents, guest speakers, and other interested persons. The guest speakers covered a wide range of topics of use to residents, and there was always time for discussion among attendees. For example, the first of these was a July 17th Porters Community Crime Watch Neighborhood meeting where, among other items, Betsy Waite of the Gainesville Public Works Department discussed infrastructure upgrades along SW 6th Street, most notably a traffic circle planned for the intersection of SW 6th Street and SW 4th Avenue, and Gigi Simmons discussed plans for the upcoming 6th Annual Porters Back to School Block Party. At a few of the meetings we informed the group about our project. We also attended one monthly meeting of the Porters Oaks Homeowners Association (HOA) for the same purposes, at the invitation of the HOA president.

Special Events

Figure 7. Porters Block Party Event, August 2017

The main special neighborhood event in which we participated was the 6th Annual Summer Block Party in August 2017, held at the Porters Community Center and attended by over 300 people, citywide organizations, and public officials (see Figure 7). The team and several graduate students volunteered at the event, helping to give the donated backpacks and school supplies to neighborhood children, and assisting other activities and set-up/cleanup. Other special events we attended were a neighborhood cleanup day and a resident's yard party open to the neighborhood.

Oral Histories and Photos

Porters Community residents have a robust communal memory and countless stories to tell about the daily life of the neighborhood for almost a century. The project team wanted to capture that history in the scope of this project and allow residents' narratives of the past provide a context for their vision of the future. The Samuel Proctor Center at UF had previously conducted oral narrative interviews in the Porters Community but some residents were not able to participate. The project team consulted with steering committee member, Gigi Simmons, and compiled list of Porters residents and stakeholders who would be potentially interested in being interviewed for oral narratives.

Over the course of a week, oral narrative interviews were conducted with long-time Porters residents and affiliates of the community. The interviews, five in total were conducted face-to-face and documented via a voice recorder. The interview guide consisted of 15 closed- and opened-ended questions aimed at gathering both demographic information and personal accounts of neighborhood life and change since the 1920s. Interviewees consisted of:

- Lynn Fox
- Mamie Lee Leath
- Gail Simmons

- Gene Crawford
- Walter "Buddy" Bernard

To supplement the oral histories, the project team also searched for historic photographs of the physical community, residents, and pre-existing businesses. This proved to be challenging as photographs were not readily available from the local periodicals such as the *Gainesville Sun* newspaper. The project team soon found that resources such as the Matheson History Museum and the private collections of Porters residents would be the best sources for such photographs.

Box City

The Porters Community Center runs a robust after-school program for approximately 30 elementary and middle school-aged children of the Porters neighborhood. The project team wanted to develop a program to engage the children in learning about neighborhood planning. The Box City teaching tool was development by the Center for Understanding the Built Environment. The purpose of Box City is to teach children about planning, city design, and local government. It involves the planning, design, and construction of a 1/8th scale model of a built environment. For this event, a 1/8th scale grid of the Porters neighborhood was created. Also, 1/8th scale model buildings were assembled to represent residential, commercial, and institutional structures (see Figure 8).

Figure 8. One-eighth scale grid of Porters used for Box City activity

Over a two-day period, an undergraduate planning class led the Porters children in planning and constructing their ideal neighborhood. The planning students were divided into teams: planners, construction materials experts, and building officials. The planners worked with the children to help design, build, and place

buildings on the grid and to construct trees and people. Planners were also provided with a lesson plan to give instruction about scale, regulations, and "good city" composition. Construction materials experts assisted with design ideas and "construction materials" selection for buildings, people, trees, and public spaces. The building officials helped select a building type, monitored the quantity of buildings to ensure a diverse city, and approved the building permit.

In addition, members of the community and City of Gainesville officials were invited to the event. The involvement from the City of Gainesville professional staff provided a real-world connection to the Box City activities.

Historical Research

A critical part of the early stages of the project involved identifying and reviewing a range of archival sources that documented the history of the Porters neighborhood within the broader context of the African-American community's history in Gainesville. The historical research also informed our characterization of past citywide perspectives (i.e., narratives) of the neighborhood, as part of the "outside" perspective discussed in the next section.

Historic Sanborn Maps that detail land uses and the configuration of structures on lots for fire insurance purposes, city directories, subdivision plats, newspaper articles, student theses, city histories, earlier city plans, and oral histories all contributed to our understanding of the community. The Sanborn maps were on multiple pages. We aligned the maps, put them together, and conducted research through the City Directory of 1922, going street by street to add the information showing residences of African-American and White households (see Appendix C).

The Smather's Library on the University of Florida campus as well as the Matheson Museum, which houses the city's historical resources and functions as a museum and lecture venue, house archives that provide insight on socio-demographic and development transitions in Porters.

Current Neighborhood Profile

In developing the current neighborhood profile, data was collected from several sources. Current and historic neighborhood maps and plans were obtained from the City of Gainesville Department of Doing and the Community Redevelopment Agency. In 2013, a neighborhood resident, Gigi Simmons, gathered demographic, land use, and housing data for a portion of the Porters neighborhood bounded on the north by SW 4th Avenue; the east by SW 6th Street; the south by Depot Avenue; and the east by SW 3rd Avenue (the

results are provided in Appendix A). Finally, historic and current Census and American Community Survey data was obtained from the GeoPlan Center at the University of Florida.

Gentrification Indicators

Understanding the gentrification pressures of a neighborhood – in this case the Porters Community – establishes the planning context and the importance of creating a neighborhood narrative. As discussed in the literature review, neighborhoods experience cycles of decline and renewal. Neighborhoods can renew without triggering gentrification. However, with the growing back-to-the-city movement, affluent suburban residents and millennials are driving the demand for new, high-amenity residential and commercial development in urban cores. That same desire for urban living is driving demand in student housing choices in close proximity to institutions of higher learning.

In order to understand the effects of development pressures, including the potential for gentrification, in the Porters neighborhood, the project team utilized a mixed-methods approach to assess the extent of neighborhood change. At various points throughout the research timeframe, the project team and undergraduate planning students conducted walking tours of the Porters neighborhood. The purpose of the walking tours was to become oriented with the physical neighborhood and its land uses; to assess edge conditions; to assess housing types; to assess institutional uses; to assess overall condition of the built environment; and to assess the presence/absence of people and patterns in the neighborhood.

Looking north toward Lynch Park along Main Street

Next, the project team assessed the relative extent and pace of change in the Porters Community using a ranking system comprised of gentrification indicators assembled from the literature and tailored to Gainesville. Indicators were selected based on the availability of prior studies and available statistical and observational information, including demographic data and property information. Desirable indicators, such as building permits, were not used because of the lack of publicly available geospatial data. In order to compare the extent of change occurring in the Porters neighborhood, data sets from other downtown neighborhoods were collected and analyzed.

To complete the assessment of neighborhood change, the project team asked members of the steering committee, neighborhood residents, and city officials about activities, such as property sales, new residents, and experiences in the Porters neighborhood. The project team also reviewed available newspaper and local magazine articles related to the Porters neighborhoods for themes of gentrification and change.

Engagement and Information from Outside Perspectives

Plan and Policy Analysis

To better understand regulatory and policy decisions that shape the built environment in the Porters Community, we reviewed the city's current planning documents, specifically the Gainesville Comprehensive Plan (GCP) as well as the current zoning designations that directly guide development. The GCP includes goals and objectives within elements. These elements are categorized to reflect key planning areas such as transportation and land use. We reviewed all the elements, and re-reviewed those that the City Commission updated during the course of this study. The relevant elements are: Capital Improvements (dealing with plans for all forms of infrastructure improvements, including roads, sidewalks, sewer lines, and water lines), conservation, open space and groundwater recharge; future land use (which provides broader land use categories that guide zoning decisions); historic preservation; housing; public schools facilities; recreation; and transportation mobility (see Appendix D). Porters is also located in the broader Downtown Redevelopment Area and is a designated as one of five Local Target Areas for investment of federal Housing and Urban Development funded programs, such as community development block grant and housing funding. Thus, the Community Redevelopment Plan for the Downtown Redevelopment Area and the 2013/2014 – 2017/2018 Consolidated Plan, to direct federal funding, were also reviewed.

Finally, in 2015 the University of Florida Board of Trustees directed the Chief Operating Officer to embark on a strategic planning process to establish a vision to guide future development for the next 40 to 50 years, including partnerships with the City of Gainesville and Alachua County to address development impacts that

extend beyond the campus boundaries. Campus community partnerships were a key component of the plan, which was drafted in three phases in 2016. Given that the Porters Community is between the downtown and the UF campus and that this project, funded in May 2017, is a direct outcome of these planning activities, the three phases of the UF/Gainesville Strategic Development Plan were also reviewed for relevance to the Porters Community. In addition to providing context for community outreach and development of the narrative, review of these key planning documents also offered insight on the perspectives of key stakeholders outside the community, notably UF and City officials, the tools available to realize the community narrative, and the challenges and opportunities embedded in the planning context.

In addition, the project team reviewed news articles and City websites to identify existing citywide narratives about the Porters neighborhood. This method and its results are reported in the sections for Historical Research.
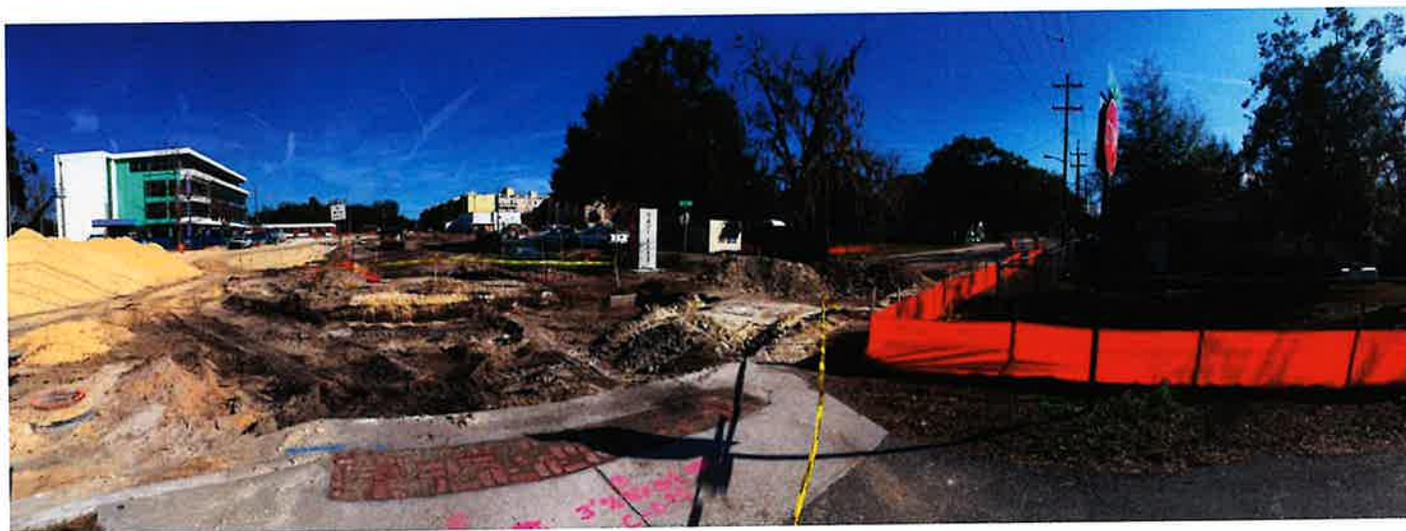
Construction on SW 6th Street

City Interviews

In order to test perceptions of the Porters neighborhood, the project team identified several City of Gainesville officials for open-ended interviews. These officials were chosen based on their professional involvement with the Porters neighborhood and Porters residents. We interviewed six City officials from public works, code enforcement, planning, Community Redevelopment Agency, and police departments. We received UF Institutional Review Board (IRB) approval, and interviewees signed informed consent forms.

Because the project team was interested in collecting information on the perceptions held by these officials, an open-ended interview format was chosen. Interviews were conducted over the phone or at City offices

over an hour-long timeframe. Interviewers also asked questions related to opportunities and challenges faced by the Porters neighborhood. Finally, we asked about the specific points contained within the draft narrative.

Art Festival

The project team hosted a neighborhood narratives map activity to promote the project at the Downtown Festival and Art Show in Gainesville on November 11-12, 2017. We held the activity for several hours each day adjacent to the booth of the San Felasco Section of the Florida Chapter of the American Planning Association.

Art Festival booth

The engaged passersby by asking them to draw or write on an index card about the aspects of their own neighborhoods that were meaningful to them. We then asked them to place the card on a large satellite map of the greater Gainesville area. If the person's neighborhood was outside of the map area, we placed the card on the edge with a note about where it was. Some people did not want to draw or write on the card, so we wrote what they said and placed it on the map in their presence.

The accumulated cards gave visitors a sense of people's relationship with, and the importance of, neighborhoods, and this information was of interest to us as we were developing the Porters neighborhood narrative. We also talked with visitors about the project and handed out the project briefs (see Appendix B).

Collaborations

The team collaborated with a variety of individuals and groups in relation to the project. This section describes the collaborations not covered by the other project methods. Documentation of the collaborations ranged from notes to emails. The collaborations occurred with three main groups: the University of Florida, the City of Gainesville, and the Florida Community Land Trust.
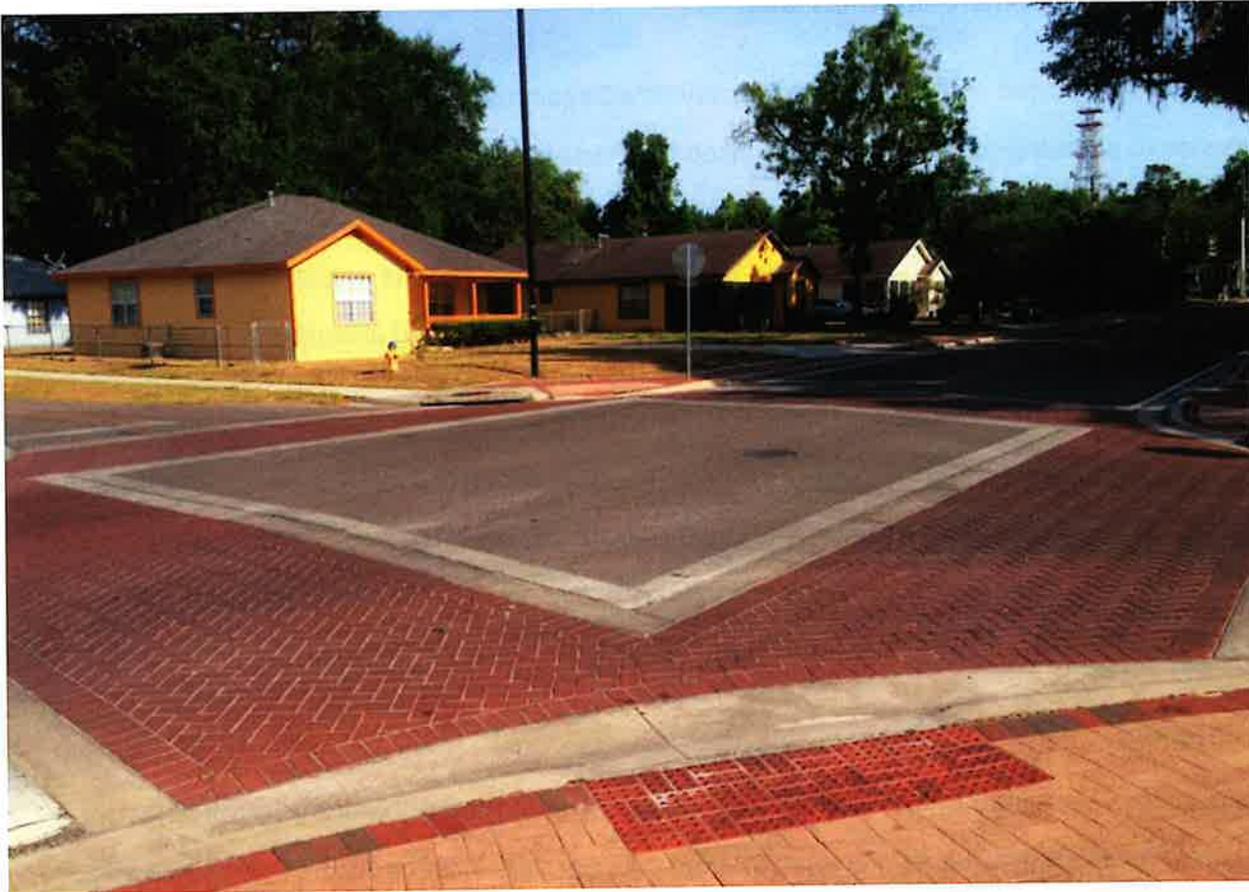
Intersection with new crosswalks in Porters

The team collaborated with both the University and the City due to the project's funding by the UF-Gainesville Research Award, which was led by Dr. Charlie Lane, Senior Vice President and Chief Operating Officer, in association with the Strategic Development Plan. The team attended two meetings convened by Dr. Lane on 11/17/17 and 3/15/18, which brought together all of the project teams funded by the award. The team also met with Dr. Lane on 1/12/18 to update him on the project. Team members also participated in a more broadly attended meeting coordinated by Dr. Lane on 8/24/17, which invited all teams that applied for the award to share their experiences with, and interests in, conducting projects based in Gainesville. The other projects funded by the UF-Gainesville Research Award were:

- Gainesville Entrepreneurship and Adversity Program

- Public Acceptance of Autonomous Vehicle Technology
- Community Resource Paramedic
- Data-centric Modeling and Support of the Lifecycle of the Gainesville Businesses
- Building a Partnership Between Early Head Start and the Anita Zucker Center for Excellence in Early Childhood Studies
- Urban Energy Model for Smart City Informatics

The team directly collaborated with the City of Gainesville's Department of Doing (Director Wendy Thomas and staff) in response to planning-related questions raised the Porters project Steering Committee, and also because of the City's interest in engaging the Porters neighborhood in regards to the Land Development Code. The project team met with Department staff on several occasions to help plan the engagement. During the project, Department of Doing staff spoke at a Porters neighborhood meeting and attended two project Steering Committee meetings.

Toward the end of the project, a staff member from the Florida Housing Coalition, a nonprofit based in Tallahassee, contacted a team member to discuss the organization's launch of a community land trust for affordable housing. The project team met with representatives of the organization to learn about the initiative and its possible usefulness for the Porters neighborhood.

Narrative Development

The development of a neighborhood narrative for the Porters Community was a primary objective of the project. We aimed for the narrative, as a communication and capacity building tool, to give voice and cohesion to the values, strengths, and visions of the Porters Community, while also incorporating messaging that would resonate with other groups in the City. Such a neighborhood narrative would thus empower the residents and identify compatible opportunities with external partners. At the most basic level, the narrative is a response to "Porters is _____." We expected the narrative to have text and graphic components, but the exact form was not pre-determined; it was instead allowed to emerge from the project.

The Porters neighborhood narrative represented the culmination of research, collaboration, and public engagement led by the project Steering Committee and project team. We also incorporated previous neighborhood studies (by Gigi Simmons and the City of Gainesville) and graphic design (such as the Porters sign created by the CRA). The Steering Committee developed the narrative through a series of individual reflections (homework) and group activities during its meetings, which were designed and facilitated by the project team. The major steps in developing the narrative were the following: identification of neighborhood

boundaries, assets, vision; creation of narrative themes and graphics; and translation of the narrative into possible policy actions, including the collection of photos representing the style of development desired for the neighborhood. In addition, the project team identified counter narratives, which were not promoted by the Steering Committee or considered to be predominant, but they nonetheless indicate the diversity of perspectives and forces shaping the neighborhood.

The Ballpark located next to the Porters Community Center

Neighborhood Boundaries

 Among the issues recognized through this preliminary research is that the boundaries of the Porters Community have changed over time and that residents recognize the strong connections between the neighborhood and adjacent landmarks, such as the now-demolished Alachua General Hospital as well as the new Depot Park. Thus, the base maps prepared for the mapping exercise extended beyond the current boundaries of the Porters Community. At the July 2017 Steering Committee meeting, the project team asked the committee members to consider their fondest memory of Porters – what does Porters mean to them? The committee members then broke into separate groups to conduct a mapping exercise on these base maps to determine a consensus definition of today's neighborhood boundaries and the community planning area. The committee divided into small groups, each with a base map, and considered the following questions:

- What were the historic Porters neighborhood boundaries?
- What are the boundaries of the Porters neighborhood today?
- What is the Porters community planning area?

The community planning area is an area outside of the neighborhood boundaries. This area is influenced by and influences the neighborhood. Residents engage with the community planning area on a regular basis.

Depot Avenue is the southern boundary of the Porters Neighborhood

Each group then reported to the larger group on their maps and rationale for boundary locations. Based on the ensuing discussion, a consensus definition of neighborhood boundaries was established to guide subsequent maps depicting the current neighborhood boundaries and community planning area.

Neighborhood Assets

A key component of the early phase of community engagement with the Porters Community involved identifying Neighborhood Assets – those place based institutions and cultural elements, both existing and long-gone, that shaped and currently define and distinguish the community. As a first step, the project team gathered previous plans, newspaper articles, and materials on the area and conducted a site visit in May 2017, which involved walking through the community and documenting what we saw street by street. Identifying neighborhood assets involved initial discussions at the June 2017 Steering Committee Recruitment meeting, where residents in attendance highlighted positive attributes of Porters as well as concerns and priorities.

As a follow-up to the boundary mapping exercise discussed above, each member of the Steering Committee was asked to prepare for the October 2017 meeting by doing an individual asset inventory using the adopted base map (see Figure 9) and bring it to that meeting. To guide these efforts, each Steering Committee member received a worksheet that outlined the following:

- Assets are defined as a critical, defining characteristic of the community, and a condition that meets or exceeds the standards of the participants.
- Examples of assets can include, but not be limited to, places, people, sites of significance (past or present), natural resources, etc.
- Locate assets within the boundaries of the Porters neighborhood.
- Locate assets within the community planning area.
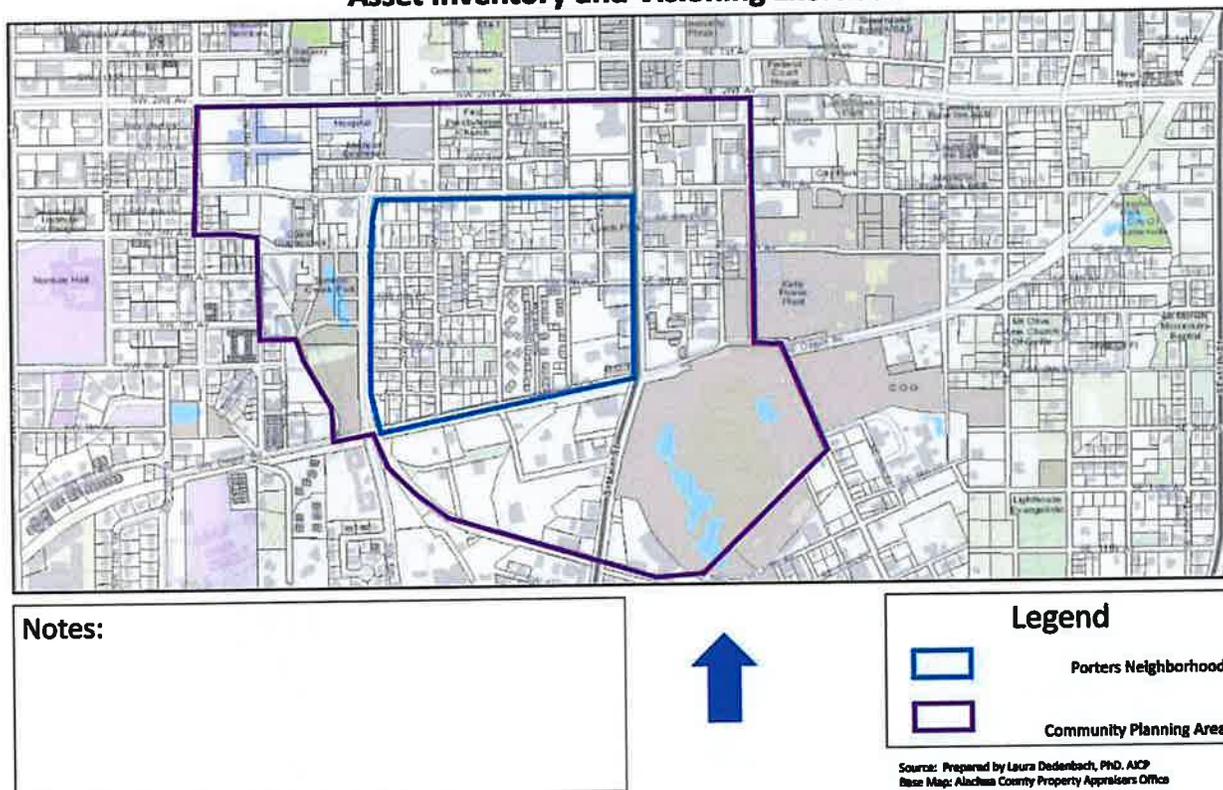
Figure 9. Base map used for asset inventory and neighborhood vision development

Neighborhood Vision

At the October Porters Steering Committee meeting, the committee membership identified and discussed the assets as well as their vision and concerns for the community. These were among the key elements used to develop the neighborhood narrative at the next meeting. The visioning exercise had the following guidance:

- Imagine the future – 10 or 20 years from now. Imagine the neighborhood and planning area with land uses, activities, and facilities that would provide an appropriate quality of life.
- Describe the pieces currently missing and suggest a location in the neighborhood and/or community planning area.

Neighborhood Narrative

After the Steering Committee identified the neighborhood boundaries, assets, and vision (see above), the meetings in December 2017, and February and March 2018, were focused on development of the narrative themes.
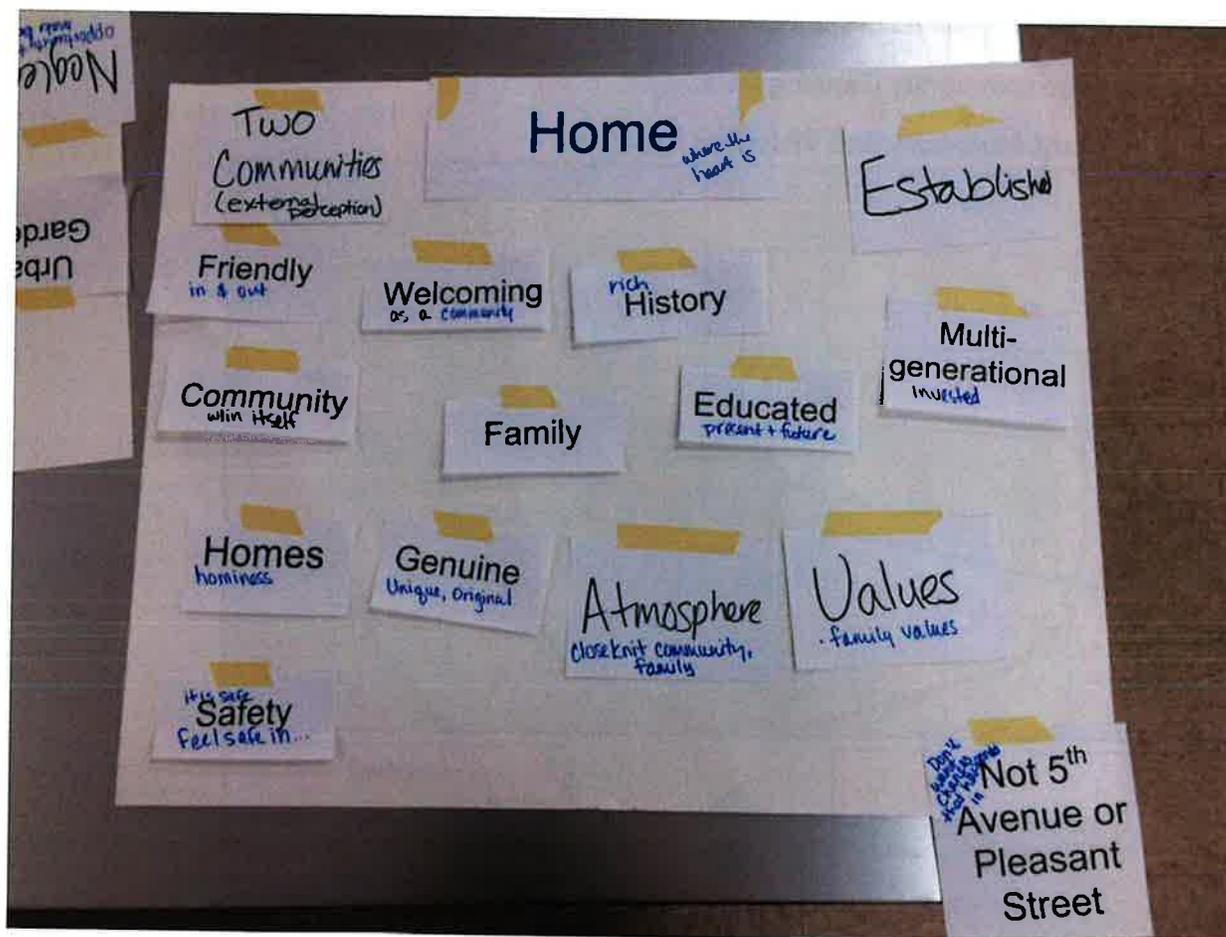
Figure 10. Visualization method used to organize key words by narrative theme

Prior to the December meeting, the team sent Steering Committee members a homework assignment to review and contribute to a list of key words and phrases compiled by the team from Steering Committee discussions, historical documents, newspaper articles, and events. The key words and phrases reflected positive and negative aspects of past and present narratives about the neighborhood. The positive aspects could be carried forward to the future narrative, and the negative aspects need resolution so they do not undermine the future narrative. At this meeting, the Steering Committee discussed and finalized the list of key words and phrases, then placed the key words and phrases into themes proposed by the team, and lastly began to draft text for each theme (see Figure 10).

At the February meeting, the Steering Committee reviewed the draft narrative text that the team synthesized from the previous meeting's work, and they identified overarching icons that could unify the

individual themes. The March meeting gathered feedback on the narrative themes and text from members who did not attend the previous meeting.

From the narrative themes, the project team began to develop graphic designs that would help communicate the community narrative. Photographs from the team site visit were used as visual references for preliminary sketches and also provided inspiration for proposed color pallets. Each design element was illustrated by hand and Adobe Photoshop was used to add color and edit the draft designs for each narrative theme, as well as an all-encompassing neighborhood "logo." The initial designs were reviewed by the project team, then placed in a presentation to share with the Steering Committee for additional feedback.

Figure 11. The Porters entrance marker

At the final project meeting in April 2018, the potential graphic designs were shared with the Steering Committee. Following the design proposal, the committee selected a font and color pallet from several alternatives and provided suggestions for the overall design. Ultimately, the committee felt that the color pallet should be vibrant and the font should match the Porters entrance signs (Figure 11) to help create a cohesive image.

The project team revised the text and graphic narratives one last time at the end of the project, to incorporate research conducted in the last few months, including the Porters oral histories and citywide interviews. The final narratives were reviewed and approved by the Steering Committee at the start of the summer project (discussed in the Findings).

Counter Narratives

In addition to the creation of a consensus-based neighborhood-wide narrative, the process remained open to the identification of significant counter narratives. By recognizing the counter narratives, the process provided a fuller picture of resident and stakeholder sentiments, and the forces shaping the neighborhood. Identification of the counter narratives occurred alongside the creation of the main neighborhood narrative, using information from multiple sources and methods, including the Steering Committee.

Use of the Neighborhood Narrative

Within Porters

The primary objective of the pilot process was to create the Porters neighbor narrative. Although this was the conclusion of the project, the project team and Steering Committee planned post-project activities to promote the narrative within the neighborhood. The tentative plans are reported in Findings.

By Outside Organizations

As discussed in the Collaborations section above, the project connected the Porters Community with the City's Department of Doing, and the University and other community oriented organizations. The project team synthesized the information about the outside perspectives, interests, and resources to suggest the potential of the Porters neighborhood narrative to shape these larger policies and programs for mutual gain, by recognizing the Porters neighborhood as a community asset.

In support of the City's initiative to engage the neighborhood in updates of the City's Land Development Code, the project team solicited the Steering Committee to submit photos of development types desirable for the Porters neighborhood. The photos could be from Gainesville or anywhere.

S & S Cleaners in Porters

FINDINGS

This chapter presents the findings from each method of the process, which culminates with the Porters neighborhood narrative and its potential uses. As with the Methodology chapter, the findings are first organized according to two perspectives of the Porters neighborhood: (1) by Porters residents and stakeholders, and (2) from the "outside", including the City. Following this, we report the neighborhood narrative, counter narratives, and possible next steps by the Steering Committee and all Porters residents and stakeholders, the City, the University, and other organizations. The detailed findings for each method substantiate the neighborhood narrative, and the information may be valuable for initiatives beyond this project.
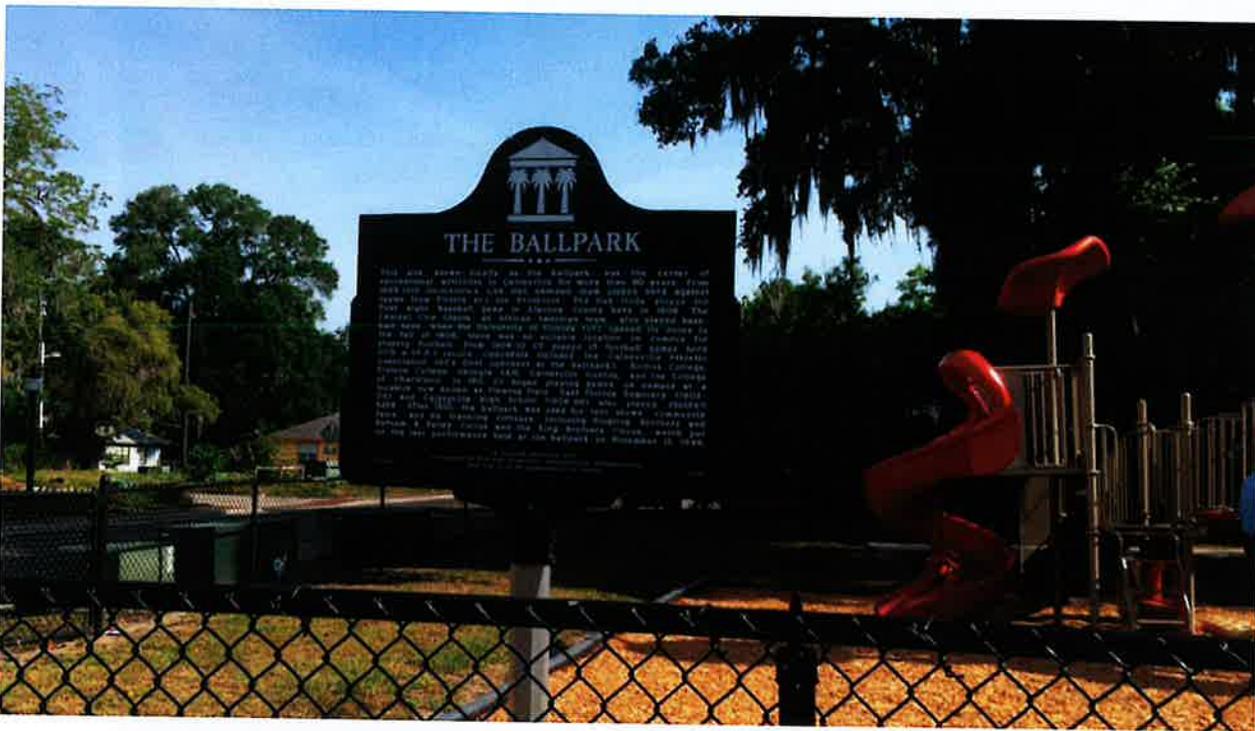
Historic marker for the University's first ballpark at the Porters Community Center

Engagement and Information from the Porters Perspective

Steering Committee

The Steering Committee engaged in a year-long participatory planning process in order to develop a narrative about the present and future vision of the Porters neighborhood. The nine-member committee met seven times from June 2017 to April 2018. During those meeting, the committee defined the scope and influence of the neighborhood, identified and mapped neighborhood assets, envisioned the future, and articulated a narrative that describes the present and future Porters.

Fieldwork

Walking Tour

The Porters walking tour the team conducted at the start of the project was an invaluable orientation to the neighborhood's physical attributes and uses, and adjacent development. We gained a sense of the scale of the neighborhood, its amenities and walkability, and its proximities to downtown (Main Street is the western border), the University, since we could see Century Tower in the distance, and adjacent areas of active construction, including new multi-story apartment complexes and road improvements.

Within the neighborhood, we were struck by the diversity of buildings, which represented different periods, from the late 1800s to present time. Diversity was also seen in the income levels and types of housing, which ranged from historic wooden shotgun style homes, to affordable two-story two-unit single-family attached homes (similar to duplexes) built in the 1980s (Porters Oaks), to a large shipping container house, to modern bungalows. In terms of non-residential sites, we observed the Porters Community Center and playground, historic churches, two community gardens, and several businesses, including S & S Cleaners (established in 1948), and daycare facilities.

While the neighborhood was quiet on a weekday morning, we saw several runners and a skateboarder, and we noticed signs children and families, of the care residents took of their homes and yards, and of the social life of the neighborhood. We also noted evidence of change and future potential in the extensive new brick sidewalks, a few boarded up houses, and several vacant lots and underused pocket parks.

Colorful homes and big trees in Porters
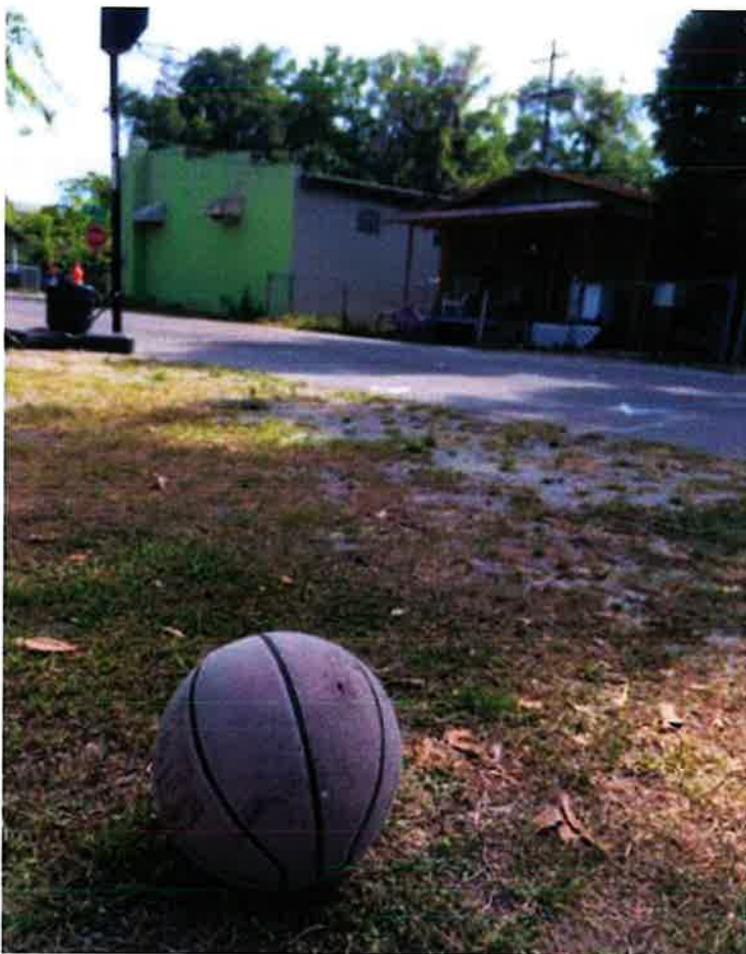
Sample of walking tour images

Neighborhood Meetings

Each monthly meeting of the Porters Neighborhood Crime Watch group was highly informative from multiple perspectives. We were amazed at the quality and diversity of the guest speakers. One speaker, for example, was the General Manager of the Gainesville Regional Utilities, who discussed the agency's response to Hurricane Irma (which passed over Gainesville in September 2017). The topics covered at the meetings directly related to neighborhood concerns, including crime incidents (reported by a community police office), construction projects adjacent to the neighborhood (with updates provided by the City's Public Works staff), how the construction affected traffic in the neighborhood, energy efficiency measures residents could apply, the Community Redevelopment Agency's programs for painting and façade improvements, and potential impacts of Depot Park's proposed amphitheater.

Attending the monthly meetings also gave the team a window into neighborhood leadership, cohesion, and decision-making. We were impressed with the effective organization and facilitation of the meetings, led by resident Gigi Simmons, participants' respectful exchanges, and their sophistication and fairness in

considering the issues and options. We appreciated that we were always greeted and felt welcome to attend the meetings.

Special Events

The first special event we attended, the Porters Block Party, occurred in the first few months of the project. The event was attended by over 300 people, which demonstrated the neighborhood's strong community spirit and service, as well as its partnerships with city organizations, businesses, the media, and elected officials. The participating and sponsoring groups were numerous, including the City of Gainesville, including the Police, the CRA, and GRU, Santa Fe College, the Gainesville Area Chamber, Florida Organic Growers, the Cade Museum, the Florida Museum of Natural History, UF's HealthStreet, and Healthy Families Florida, among others (see Figure 12).

Figure 12. The Summer Block Party event illustrated Porters' community spirit and strength of local partnerships

As volunteers, we saw the professionalism neighborhood leaders possessed in hosting such a large event, which was well organized, entertaining, and productive. The event gave free backpacks and supplies to many children and youth, which not only reduced personal expenses, it symbolized the value of education and presence of community support to those in need.

The other special events we attended – the Porters neighborhood cleanup day and a large yard party – also represented residents' own initiative to make things happen for the good of the neighborhood. The

Saturday cleanup illustrated their sweat equity investments in neighborhood maintenance. Both the cleanup day and yard party were celebrations that reinforced positive relationships. The yard party, which occurred towards the end of the project, allowed us to celebrate as well, and get to know residents on a more personal level.

Oral Histories and Photos

Oral History Interviews

The interviews provided rich, intergenerational accounts of Porters that detailed a range of topics from summer days spent at the local watering hole to the city-wide prestige of Little Foxes Day School during its peak enrollment.

Ms. Lynn Fox gave her account of growing up in Porters as a child and her work and success in Little Fox Daycare Center. She was quite descriptive about the recreational activities and spatial realm of children in Porters. She also attributed most of Porters' neighborhood change to the selling of property to white residents by the absentee children of Porters residents. She notes that the community has consistently been vocal about infrastructure investment and suggests that the sporadic physical improvements the neighborhood has experienced have been the result of UF development interests.

Mrs. Mamie Lee Leath describes her experience as a member of one of Porters oldest families. She spent her childhood there and as a young adult worked as a cook for UF (then all-white, all-male) fraternity houses. She remembers Porters as a large forested neighborhood that held traditional communal and family values. For several years, she lived and worked in New York City but returned to Porters to raise her children, particularly her sons, due to the neighborhood violence they faced. Mrs. Leath has extensive knowledge of daily routines and interaction between Porters residents and She has strong political and social beliefs as espoused by her support of Gigi Simmons's political campaign and what she suggested was the lack of physical discipline in the public education system.

Gail Simmons is a lifelong resident of Porters and a member of one of its original family members. This interview is quite short and brusque, providing little more than confirmation of the Porters Reunion weekend as an annual community event.

Gene Crawford and Walter "Buddy" Bernard provide complementary accounts of life in the Porters community, as a lifelong resident and the neighborhood mailman, respectively. Both confirmed the spatial segregation of the community and provided information as to the economic and racial cleavages that shaped the neighborhood. Both also confirmed the communal solidarity and accountability, specifically led by Black

women in the neighborhood. Their accounts also provided information as to how Porters was impacted by the crack epidemic and the challenges faced by residents in the 1990s due to increased crime and lack of municipal investment. Buddy was especially forthcoming about how he was accepted in the community as a protected outsider by the Black matriarchs amid the drug epidemic and increased crime in the neighborhood.

Historic Photos

Several historic photos of Porters Neighborhood and residents were found, such as Figure 13. A collection captured a card party during the mid-twentieth century (Figure 14). Card parties have long served as vehicles for social interaction among friends, families, and neighbors. Guests would participate in card games and often music, food, and cocktails were present. The photographs above document a card party at the Red Top Café, a local social establishment located in during the 1950s and 1960s Porters Neighborhood. Card parties were just one of many ways that residents strengthened their sense of community and celebrated their way of life.

Figure 13. Historic photo in the Porters Community, unknown date

CARD PARTY AT RED TOP CAFE
IN THE LATE 1950S

DORA NORMAN AT RED TOP CAFE

Figure 14. Pictures documenting a card party at the Red Top Café in the late 1950s. Dora Norman is pictured in the party dress with the slits in the sleeves.

Box City

During a two-day Box City event, the children of the Porters neighborhood built a 1/8" scale version of their ideal neighborhood out of cardboard. The process taught city planning concepts and an understanding of neighborhoods and citizenship roles. They learned about infrastructure, parks, planning, building, the permitting process, and what uses make up a neighborhood. The project team also developed a better understanding of how children see their neighborhood and what they want for the future. The event was reported to the larger Gainesville community via social media and an article and video in the *Gainesville Sun*.

Results from Box City activity

Through the Box City event, the project team found that the Porters neighborhood children were very in-tune with the opportunities and challenges of living in an urban neighborhood. Over the two-day period, approximately 40 children created a neighborhood with a diversity of uses. In addition to residential uses, they created a full array of retail and service uses, including shops, doctor and veterinary offices, and restaurants (see Appendix E for full list of buildings). Several children sited the lack of these uses in close proximity to their

neighborhood as reasons for location. The children also focused heavily on "places that help people". They provided a hospital, a homeless shelter, a police station, a fire station, community centers, and many religious facilities. Many of the undergraduate planning students commented on how generous, thoughtful, and open-minded the children were for their age (mostly elementary school age children).

In addition to the educational opportunity, the children were also able to meet and interact with the many city officials that attended the event. City Commissioners, City Planners, Building Inspectors, the Building Official, Code Enforcement Officers, and many staff members from the Parks and Recreation Department came to celebrate the children's work. Their involvement and encourage was important to show the children that they can have a say in their neighborhood and in local government.

1/8" scale map of Porters used for Box City activity
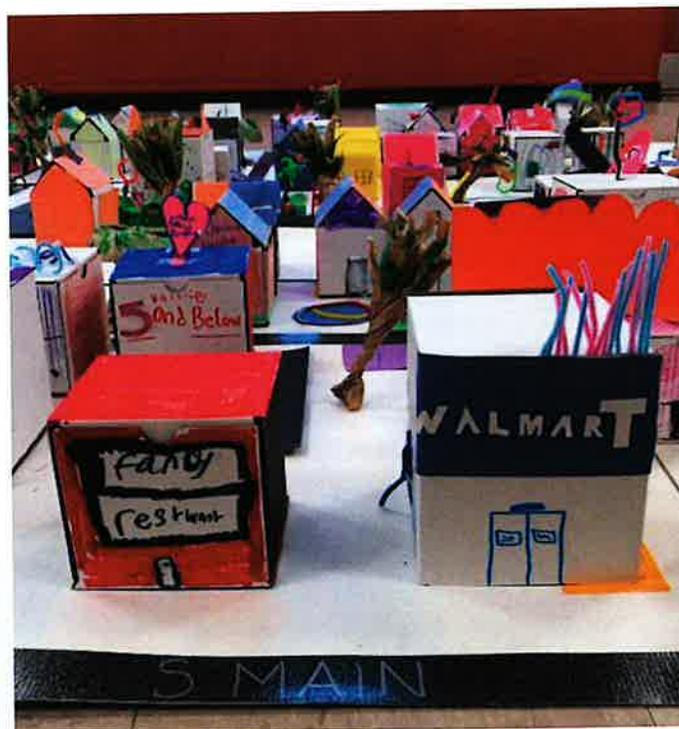
Historical Research

The Porters Community today is bounded by Depot Avenue on the south, SW 6th Street on the west, SW 4th Avenue on the north, and Main Street on the east. The community has a rich history. Like Eatonville, Florida, made famous by Zora Neale Hurston, the land around the historic Porter's St. (today SW 5th St.) just east of the rail line that is now SW 6th St. was purchased as a larger tract in the late 19th century by Olivia A. and Watson Porter following the Civil War. Olivia Porter than subdivided the land for sale to African-American residents, making settlement possible near job centers while also reinforcing segregation.

The earliest plat recorded by Olivia Porter in Gainesville, was in 1873. Her husband Watson Porter, was from Nova Scotia and served in the Union Army during the Civil War as a surgeon with the Third U.S. Colored Troops (Evergreen Cemetery). Following the war, they settled in Gainesville, where he served as an alderman beginning in 1869 (Hildreth and Cox, 1980). An early date for the subdivision of the community is 1884 (ERLA Associates, 1980), but the first recognizable subdivision was recorded in 1894. By this time, Pleasant Street and the 5th Avenue neighborhoods had already been established by the Black community with the Union Academy, a school founded in 1865 by the Freedman's Bureau, one of only two in the state at the time. Dr. Watson Porter was an early principal of the school (Miller, 1938).

The oldest documented church in the community, Shady Grove Primitive Baptist Church, organized as a congregation in 1894 and in 1900 purchased from Porter the corner lot where the current church stands (see Figure 15).

Figure 15. Shady Groves Primitive Baptist Church today

Given the adjacent downtown and industrial districts and rail lines, community development was well underway in Porters with residences and businesses as early as 1909, when the first Sanborn maps show sections of the neighborhood with modest homes. By the 1920's, Porters was thriving with schools and churches serving the African-American community in the western half of today's neighborhood, and the white community settled nearer to Main Street in the eastern half (Figure 16; see also Appendix C). Gardens were an important part of the community pattern. As an early study of the history of the neighborhood states, "The Porters' developmental intentions were similar in each quadrant: build small, low cost, single-family dwellings, sell them to local blacks, and encourage a neighborhood through home ownership and gardening" (ERLA Associates, 1980, 132-133).

During the 1930s, the "Porter section" was described as follows, "located east of the T and J trac[k]s [along today's SW 6th Street], south of Arlington Street [today's SW 4th Avenue], and is distributed on the east and west sides of Porter Street [today's SW 5th St.]" (Miller, 1938, p.20). Yet this author speculated, the

Porters Community "is distinctly a section in transition, due to the fact that the white race has been steadily invading it. In all probability it will eventually disappear as a colored neighborhood. This shifting of racial boundaries has taken place not by force of intimidation but has progressed slowly by rising land values and hence of tax assessments as well as paving liens" (Miller, 1938, pg. 20). According to a socio-demographic map of the period, the western half of the community was mostly African-American and the eastern half White, and in fact our independent research using the 1922 Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps and the 1922 Gainesville City Directory found this split to be in place at that time.
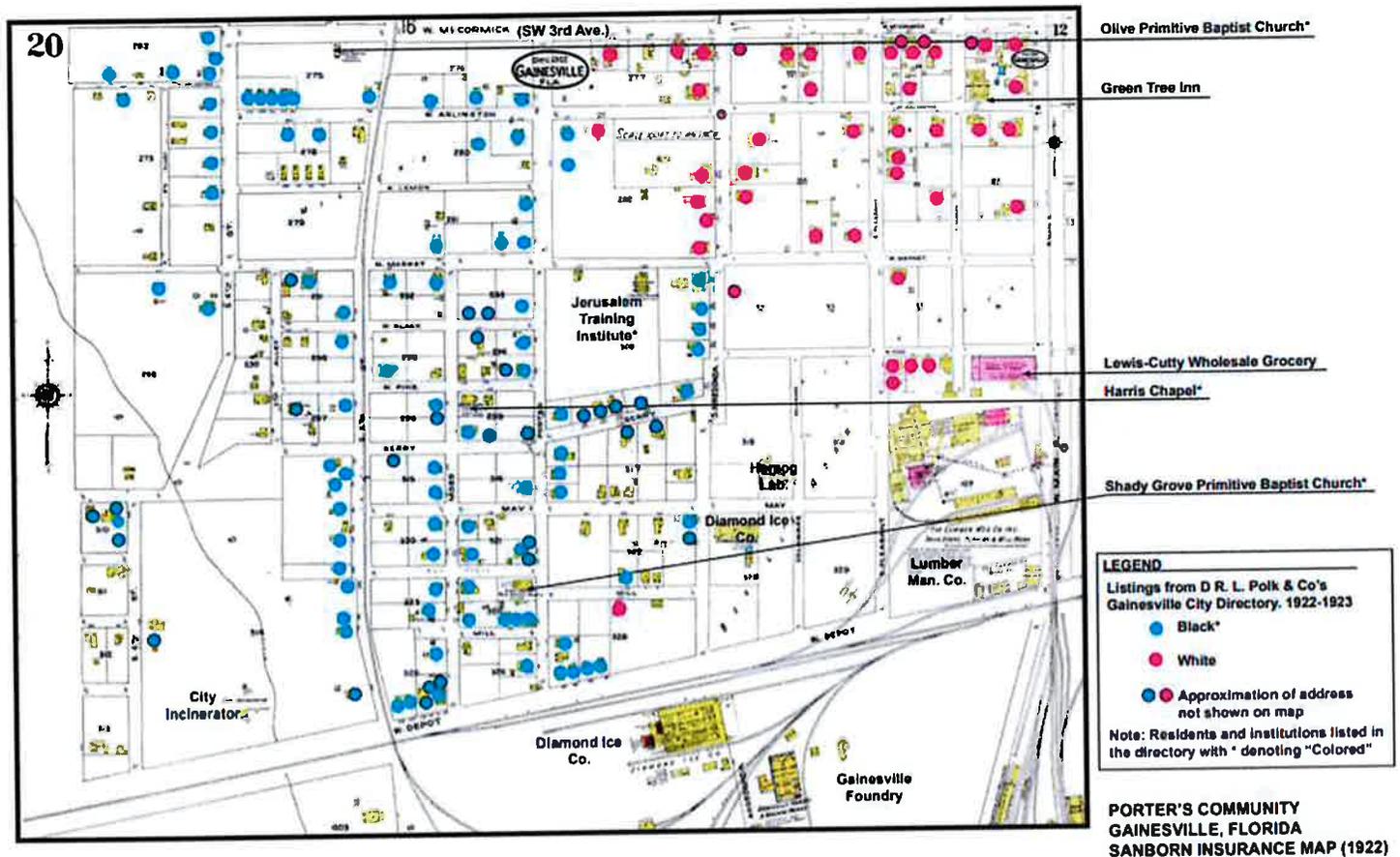
Figure 16. Map of Porters depicting black and white households in the 1920s (Also see Appendix C)

The connection between the University of Florida and Porters dates to when UF's first football games were held on land near the current Porters Community Center. The university and nearby county hospital as well as the rail line and adjacent industrial areas were also major employment centers for neighborhood residents. As UF grew, the areas directly adjacent to the east side of campus, which were originally predominantly African-American, were pushed eastward as whites settled in the area and segregation forced the African-American community to the east of SW 6th Street. In fact, based on the existing housing stock reviewed as part of a historic preservation study in 1980 (ERLA Associates, 1980), much of the initial

residential development in the community occurred between the world wars. By the time of the post-World War II era, the community had transitioned to predominantly African-American.

Following desegregation, many businesses closed, the train tracks were removed, and ongoing disinvestment by the city occurred in the Porters Community during a period of significant private sector growth that predominantly favored the west side of town. As a result, Porters was dubbed by the local press the "Forgotten Neighborhood", a characterization that also appeared in a neighborhood plan in 1982.[3] A historic analysis of the community in 1980 did not lead to historic designation.

By the mid-1980s, discussions regarding community revitalization were underway (Hilliard 1986) to respond to the lack of public investment amid infrastructure needs, dilapidated housing, and crime. In 1988, United Gainesville Community Development Corporation (UGCD), a non-profit, began construction of Porters Oaks consisting of 32 attached owner occupied units on approximately three acres.[4] The project represented a partnership between the non-profit, the City of Gainesville, and the University of Florida. That same year, Avis Butler, who served as Director of UGCD, spearheaded construction of the Porters Community Center in partnership with long-time residents Rosa and Janie Williams and the City of Gainesville. During the first nine years, UGDC managed the center, overseeing improved recreation options for area children. In 1997, the City assumed responsibility for the center (see http://test.cityofgainesville.org/Portals/0/rec/docs/rc_PortersCommunity.pdf). In 2001, the city expanded the downtown redevelopment district to include the Porters Community, and in 2009, the city invested in building 5 "green homes" across the street from Porters Oaks.

Development pressures related to downtown development from the north and east, and university related growth from the north and west with new student housing, have intensified. The industrial uses to the south have a negative impact on the community as trucks carrying materials were observed running through the neighborhood. Pressure for more intensive zoning, particularly in the two blocks directly east and running along Main Street has occurred in the past year. Renters are concentrated on the east side of the neighborhood, where attached housing is located.

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[3] See, Maryfran Johnson, Porter's Quarters, "Forgotten Neighborhood", *Gainesville Sun* 22 June 1980, 11A and City of Gainesville, *Porter's Neighborhood Plan* January 1982.

[4] Approximately 40 homes, some vacant, were demolished to make way for the project. The city paid approximately $280,000 to buy the land.

Porters Oaks

Current Neighborhood Profile

Our findings show that Porters, and its surrounding area, has changed significantly since 1980. Changes to mapped neighborhood boundaries over time makes it difficult to accurately track demographic and socio-economic data.

Neighborhood Boundaries and Size

The current extent of the neighborhood boundaries is depicted on a map prepared in 2003 by the Neighborhood Planning section of the City of Gainesville Housing & Community Development Department (see Figure 17). The neighborhood description provided with the map discusses the Porters neighborhood as follows: "Located adjacent to downtown, projects planned for within walking distance of this neighborhood include two waterfront parks, a skatepark, two rail-trails, and the beautification of both Main Street and Sixth Street (the neighborhood's eastern and western boundaries, respectively)." The map defines the extent of the neighborhood as bounded by SW 4th Avenue to the north; South Main Street to the east; Depot Avenue to the south; and SW 6th Street to the west. This neighborhood area is approximately 67.6 acres.

In contrast, the neighborhood extent depicted by the City of Gainesville in a 1982 Neighborhood Plan (see Figure 18) defined the neighborhood boundaries as bounded on the north by SW 2nd Avenue; on the east by SW 2nd Street; on the south by Depot Avenue; and on the west by SW 7th Terrace. This area encompassed some, but not all, of the original O.A. Porters Addition and included Tumblin' Creek Park. This area also includes area from SW 4th Avenue to SW 2nd Avenue, and excludes the area from SW 2nd Street to South Main Street. This neighborhood area is approximately 73.7 acres, or 6.1 acres larger than the current neighborhood boundaries.

The reason for neighborhood boundary changes are unclear. The project team was unable to find historical records documenting the change, and there was no knowledge of the change expressed by City of Gainesville planning staff.

Rental homes in Porters
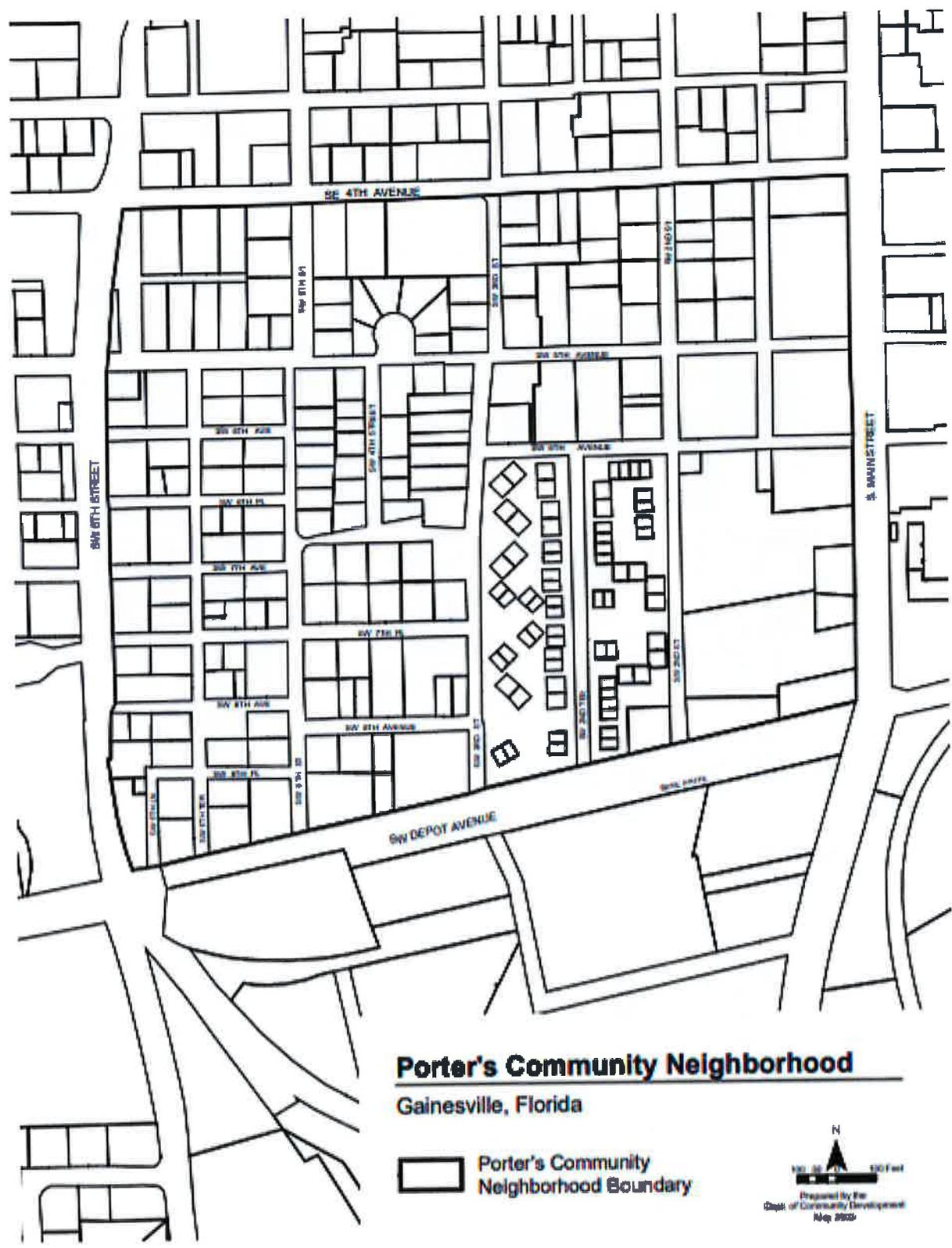
Figure 17. Porters Neighborhood boundaries as defined by the City of Gainesville (2003)
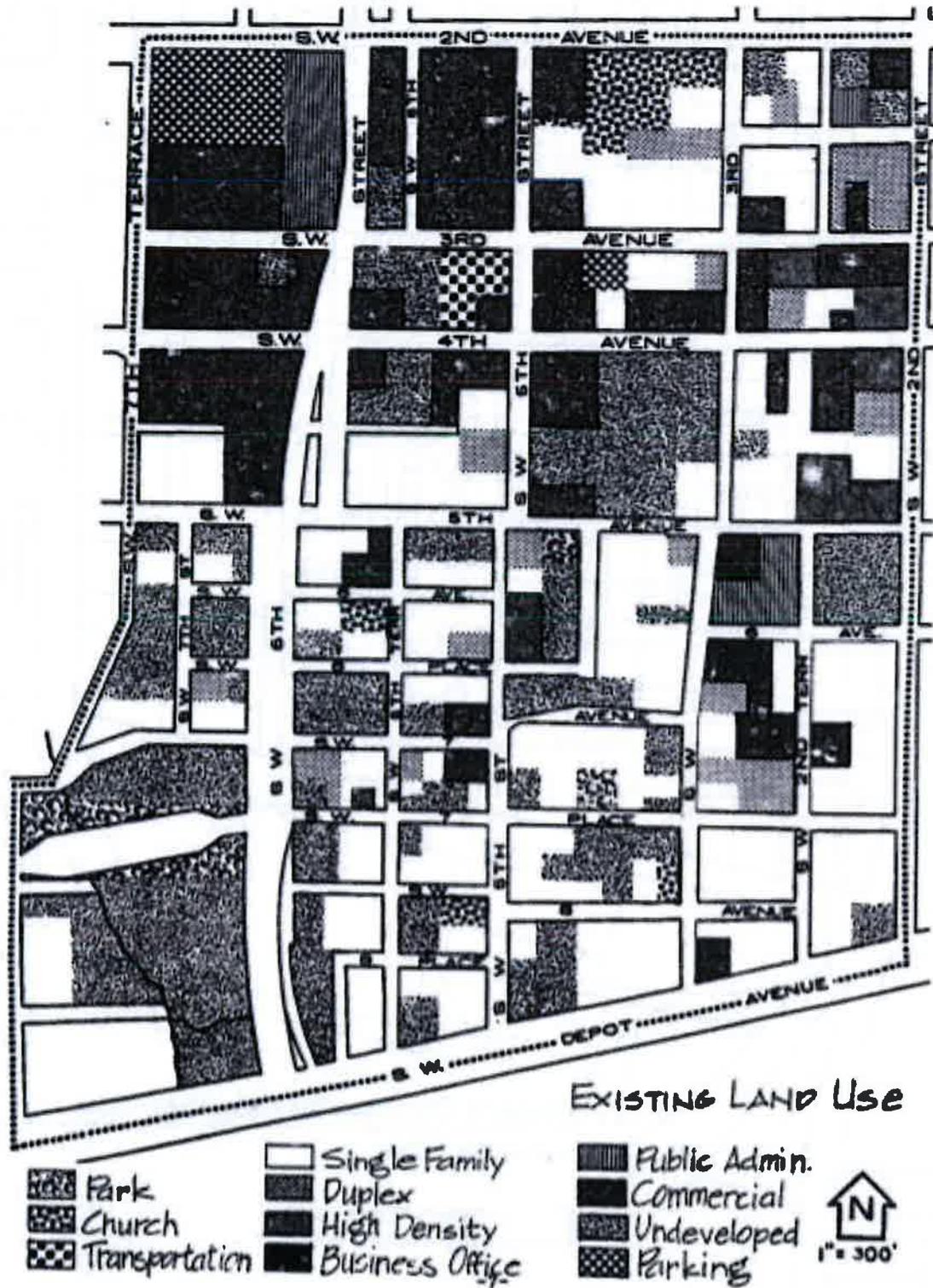
Figure 18. Porters land use map (City of Gainesville, 1982)

In 2013, resident Gigi Simmons and staff from the Gainesville Community Redevelopment Agency (CRA) collected demographic and housing data for a portion of the Porters neighborhood described as the single-family portion of the neighborhood (see Appendix A). This area is bounded on the north by SW 4th Avenue; on the east by SW 3rd Street; on the south by Depot Avenue; and on the west by SW 6th Street. This area is approximately 34.4 acres.

Demographic, Housing, and Socio-economic Data

Demographic, housing, and socio-economic data was obtained from the City of Gainesville, the U.S. Census, the American Community Survey, and locally produced sources. Because of the moving neighborhood boundaries and variable data subsets, our findings focus on trends rather than numerical data, except for population. After reviewing the U.S. Census and American Community Survey data, it is likely that some data from outside the Porters neighborhood has been pulled into the Porters information as the Porters neighborhood represents portions of Census tracts.

The current population profile of the Porters neighborhood, which is approximately 929 persons, is predominately white (65.34%) and female (541). The median age of residents is 24, which is much lower than the Alachua County median age of 31. The median household income for the Porters neighborhood is $29,827, with 40% of the population living below the poverty level. The Porters neighborhood residents are well-educated, with 93% having graduated high school or higher.

Housing units in Porters are fairly evenly distributed between single-family units (143) and multi-family units (146). Despite the number of single-family homes, the neighborhood is predominately rental (70%). However, the percentage of rental units versus owner-occupied units depend on location in the neighborhood. The 34-acre area surveyed by Gigi Simmons and the CRA is predominately owner-occupied single-family housing.

Gentrification Indicators

Our findings conclude that the Porters neighborhood is gentrifying. Although it is not gentrifying through traditional models, there is evidence that Porters is experiencing new build gentrification and studentification. Unlike other gentrified or gentrifying downtown neighborhoods, such as the Duck Pond and Pleasant Street neighborhoods, the Porters neighborhood does not have historic district protections, which makes it more susceptible to the potential of new construction. Porters is on the cusp of neighborhood change.

Observations

During several points throughout the research period, the project team and students conducted neighborhood observations through walking tours to become oriented with the physical neighborhood and its land uses. External to the neighborhood, there exists a variety of new residential, commercial, institutional, and infrastructure projects. It is important to note that many of these projects have been in the planning stages for many years. For example, plans for Depot Park and the redesign of Depot Avenue began in the late 1990s. Plans for the Innovation District and the redesign of SW 6th Street were initiated over 10 years ago. The construction of these projects and the rise of the SoMa (South Main) Arts District arrives at a critical confluence for the Porters neighborhood bringing to bear anecdotal evidence of gentrification that has lingered for years.

"For Sale" sign for a high density development project in Porters changes to "sale pending" during study

Within the neighborhood, SW 3rd Street and SW 5th Avenue have been improved with sidewalk, lighting, and beautification projects. Many of the vacant and abandoned homes have been removed over the years; however, our walking tour revealed that several vacant or abandoned commercial and institutional properties.

The majority of the housing stock is single-family detached in character. Porters Oaks is single family attached (like duplexes) in character. There are no apartment complexes within the neighborhood, although student large apartment buildings border the neighborhood on SW 6th Street and SW 4th Avenue. From outside appearances, there is no evidence of gentrification or studentification. We did not see evidence of construction or remodeling, which might indicate rehabilitation or new owners. We also did not see evidence of multiple-occupancy student homes that are prevalent in neighborhoods in the University Heights neighborhood or University Park neighborhood. Multiple-occupancy student homes are usually identified with multiple cars parked at the home.

Single-family home in historic part of Porters

Gentrification Indicators

Initially, we anticipated that the demographic data would confirm media and citizen reports of gentrification. However, neighborhood change in Porters is a relatively recent phenomenon. Also, the reported data seems to include the adjacent student apartments. Despite the inconclusiveness of the data, it is reported here because it shows the trend for Porters and its adjacent area (see Table 2). Porters data are compared to Pleasant Street neighborhood data (see Table 3). The Pleasant Street neighborhood is used for comparison because it is also an historically African-American neighborhood founded in the late 1880s located in downtown Gainesville.

Table 2. Gentrification Indicators – Porters Neighborhood

INDICATORS	1990	2000	2015	Change 1990 – 2015
% White Alone	16.94%	33.51%	65.34%	+ 48.40%
% African American Alone	83.06%	62.63%	26.91%	-56.15%
% with Bachelor's Degree or Higher	17.06%	16.96%	23.30%	+6.24%

Source: U.S. Census; American Community Survey

Table 3. Gentrification Indicators – Pleasant Street Neighborhood

INDICATORS	1990	2000	2015	Change 1990 – 2015
% White Alone	32.64%	42.48%	62.19%	+ 29.55%
% African American Alone	64.99%	56.21%	32.44%	-32.55%
% with Bachelor's Degree or Higher	17.93%	32.82%	41.29%	+23.36%

Source: U.S. Census; American Community Survey

Three indicators were selected from the literature as reliable indicators of neighborhood change. In both neighborhoods, the percentage of African-American residents has declined significantly since 1990. Also, the percentage of residents with college degrees has increased in both neighborhoods. Large increases in the percentage of white residents in historically African-American neighborhoods is generally associated with gentrification and displacement of minority residents (Freeman, 2005; Freeman & Braconi, 2004; Kennedy & Leonard, 2001; Levy et al., 2006; Wyly & Hammel, 1999). Also, increases in educational attainment may be associated with gentrification and cultural shifts within a neighborhood (Freeman, 2005; Ley, 1996; Wyly & Hammel, 1999).
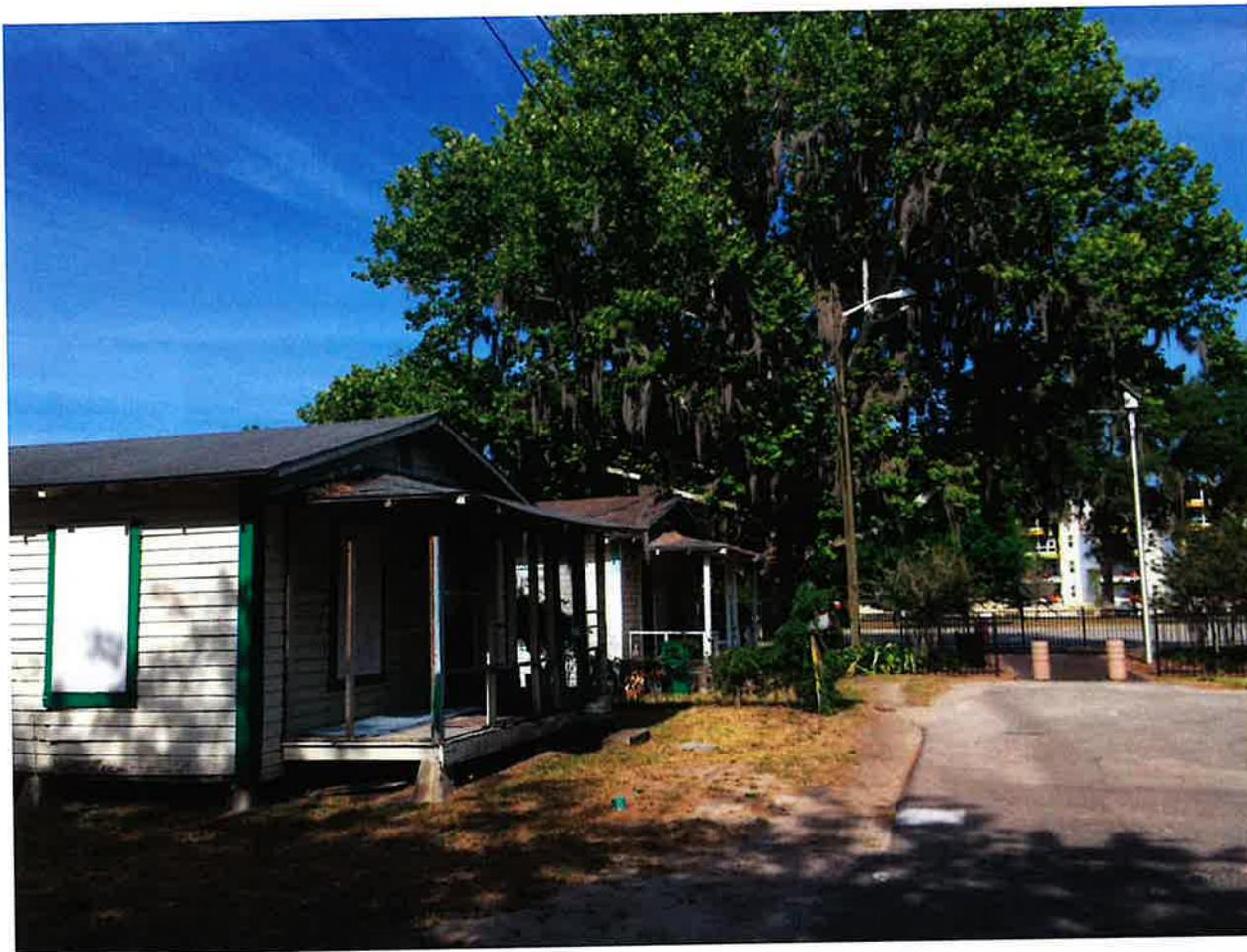
Looking west from inside Porters

Local Knowledge

As discussed in the literature review, neighborhood change can be slow and subtle. This change can be witnessed by residents before it shows up in the data. One indicator of change in the Porters neighborhood is the purchase and consolidation of properties by developers, speculators, and real estate interests. In 2016, 46 properties were owned by developers, speculators, and real estate interests. Residents and members of the project Steering Committee report receiving letters of interest regarding home and property sales. The project team was presented with an example of the real estate letters, and they seem to be predatory in nature rather than serious offers. However, city officials offered anecdotal reports of long-term purchase options being taken on properties for future purchase. Since those transactions are informal, they are difficult to track and assess the impacts.

Media reports documented neighborhood change and resident perceptions of gentrification. Some residents report the first neighborhood change as occurring in the 1960s as people moved out of their homes and into public housing (Guevara-Castro 2000). Some residents cite the demolition of single-family residences for the construction of Porters Oaks (Guevara-Castro 2000). Other residents cite the plans for Depot Park and

the redesign of Depot Avenue as signaling the demise of Porters (Guevara-Castro 2000). Then, a series of articles beginning in 2015 document residents' feelings that they are being pushed out of their neighborhood by students and young, white couples and lamenting a loss of family and neighborliness (Yo 2015; Janata 2015; Schuyler 2016). An analysis of land ownership patterns within Porters would be informative, however this was beyond the scope of this project.
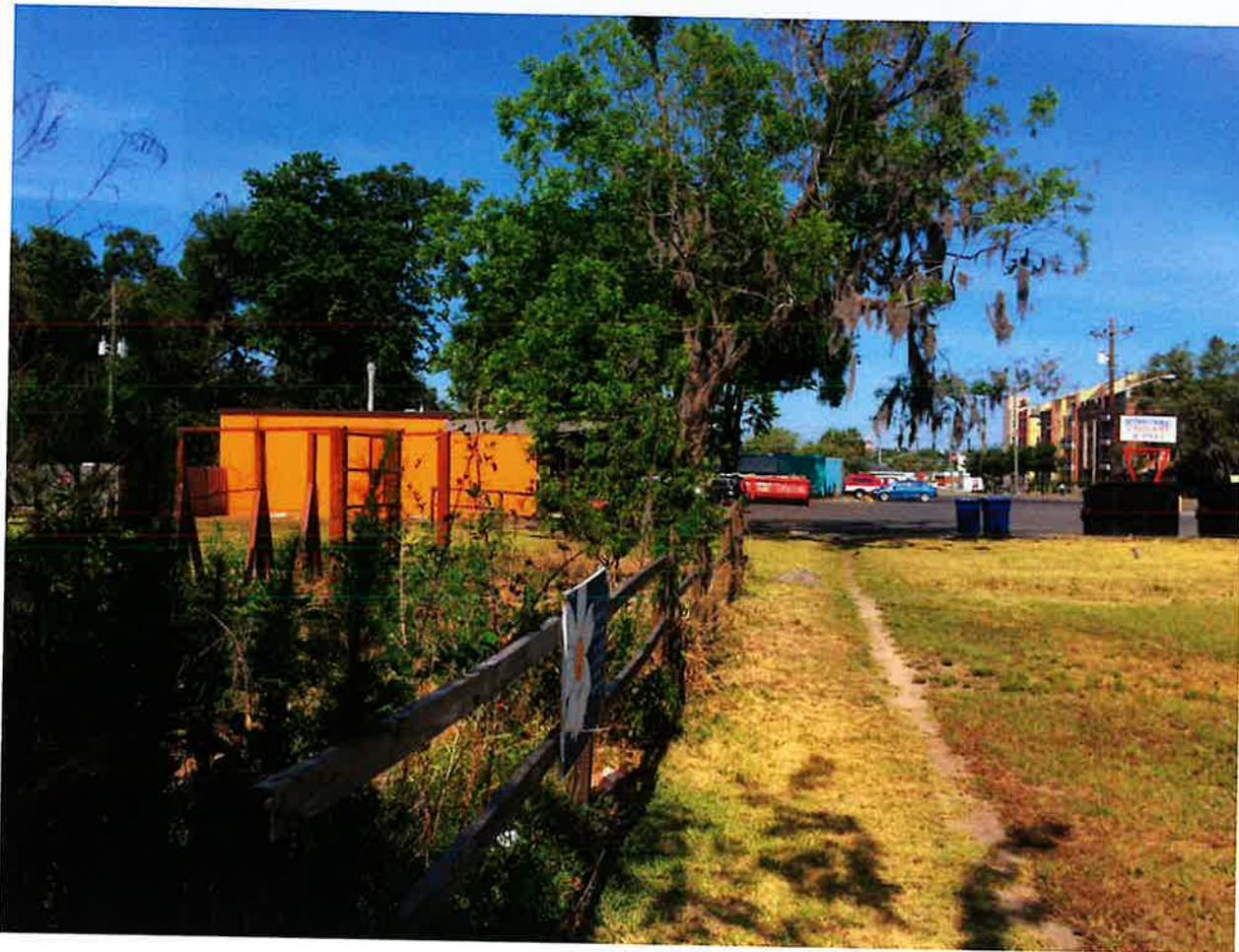
Looking west on SW 4th Avenue, the University's Century Tower is visible on the horizon

During the time of transitioning the results of the narrative project, the *Gainesville Sun* ran an article in June 2018, entitled "The New American City", stating that the university was "exploring building housing in the Porters Community, one of the city's poorest neighborhoods, to entice faculty to live there." This statement was incorrect, according to a July 2018 letter by Dr. Charlie Lane, UF Senior Vice President and Chief Operating Officer, addressed to the Porters residents. The letter said that the University was interested in housing for faculty and staff closer to campus, but has no plans to build faculty housing in the Porters neighborhood. Unfortunately, the error in the news article stirred pre-existing rumors that the University had such plans for Porters. This episode reinforced the need for continuous dialog and transparency between the University and

the Porters residents and stakeholders, and including the City, regarding not only existing plans and policies, but also emerging initiatives and research, in the districts and zones encompassing the neighborhood.

Engagement and Information from Outside Perspectives

Plan and Policy Analysis

Appendix D presents City policies and zoning relevant to the Porters Community, and our analysis is summarized in this and later sections of this chapter. In recent years, the city has refocused from targeted neighborhood planning to broader land use policies that address impacts on close-in neighborhoods, reflecting growth pressures associated with the University of Florida, downtown Gainesville, and Depot Park along South Main Street. Proposals for more intensive zoning along the area's eastern side adjacent to Main Street have been recently blocked. Today, Porters is located within the City of Gainesville's University Context Area and Innovation Zone, reflecting revitalization of the former county hospital into a technology zone (Innovation Square) just to the west of the neighborhood. Further, the University of Florida's Strategic Development Plan (SDP) and partnership with the City of Gainesville to fund outreach initiatives addressing key needs and issues in the city, reinforces this new phase of directing redevelopment and intensification into the broader area between the university and downtown. Embracing the campus, nearby neighborhoods, and the downtown with the city partnering in the outreach and planning efforts, the SDP (2016) acknowledges these pressures and recommends "preserving existing cohesive neighborhoods" (pg. 183). This dedication is echoed in the university focus on Strong Neighborhoods, as one of four key themes of this plan. In its current land use policies, the City promotes protection of lower density residential areas from higher intensity land uses (see Objective 4.2 of the Future Land Use Element excerpt in Appendix D). Within this context of renewed interest and imminent growth and issuance of significant public documents testifying to the value and protection of nearby neighborhoods, the time is ripe for the Porters Community to assert its vision for the community.

While city officials maintain their dedication to compact development and redevelopment, as outlined in Goal 4 of the Land Use Element, this goal also establishes a commitment to neighborhood protection and stabilization. Most of the Porters Community is zoned Residential Single/Multi-Family (RMF-5), which is within the land use category of Residential Low-Density (up to 15 units per acre). The area along 4th Ave. is designated Mixed-Use Low-Intensity (MU-1) (8-30 units per acre), and the area along Main St. is Urban 6 (U6) (up to 50 to 60 units per acre). A historic analysis of the community in 1980 (ERLA Associates) did not lead to historic designation, though one of the city planners recently suggested that a Heritage District designation be considered (although the current land development code does not allow this under existing zoning in Porters), and possibly the new Urban 1 (U1) transect zone (however U1 is restricted to single-family detached homes).

Though not yet applied in Gainesville, the Heritage District concept is similar to that of a conservation district, recognizing historic fabric without the restrictive regulations typical of local historic districts.

Current redevelopment project in the Porters Neighborhood area

Infrastructure improvements continue to be needed in the community including upgrades to water and sewer lines. Road improvements are underway adjacent to the community particularly along SW 6th Street and Depot Avenue with a roundabout under construction at the intersection of SW 4th Avenue and Depot Avenue and narrowing of South Main Street south of Porters; a 2011 CRA project funding sidewalk, street, and utility improvements occurred within the community along SW 3rd Street. The CRA continues to be active in the Porters Community, though its focus on economic development, commercial and business activity, housing, urban form, sustainability, sense of community, and funding and management to implement these objectives covers a broader 490-acre downtown area, so the resources generated through tax increment financing are partitioned among many stakeholders, notably the downtown business district. Other resources are available through federal funding designated from the Department of Housing and Urban Development through the local Consolidated Plan. While Porters is one of five Local Target Areas within the city, the amount of federal funding has been diminishing over the years. Housing officials and planners in Gainesville also recognize, "[i]n

Porters neighborhood, it was clear that recent investment in downtown Gainesville could easily spread into this area. Improving the connectivity to and from, as well as within, this neighborhood was seen as vital to bringing the investment back into the community. Furthermore, it was made clear that, for both communities, new economic opportunities must be balanced with maintaining the historic fabric of the community so that the existing population is benefitted rather than displaced.

Similarly, the University of Florida recognizes the impacts and pressures associated with the large population of students, faculty, and staff, including residences and businesses. "The area north of Depot Avenue has strong residential neighborhoods, but lacks housing choice. This market should diversify by developing underutilized lots while preserving existing cohesive neighborhoods. Planning should include strategies on where to provide student residences, in and out of this precinct, in order to promote other types of housing market supply" (Phase 1, 2016, pg. 183). More specifically, in its section on Redevelopment Potential, a new neighborhood south of Porters is proposed with "multi-family homes and condominiums" (Phase 2 & 3, 2016, pg. 58). The potential for Porters is specifically addressed, along with University Heights, as follows, "Infill of the vacant lots with complementary housing types of better quality and variety that might attract young professionals and empty-nesters would enhance cohesion in these established neighborhoods" (Phase 2 & 3, 2016, pg. 28). Further, all along SW 4th Avenue from downtown to campus, the recommendation is to "emphasize 4th Avenue as a pedestrian-oriented automobile connection to campus" (Phase 2 & 3, 2016, pg. 71).

One of four key pillars of the UF-Gainesville Strategic Development Plan is "strong neighborhoods" and a commitment to preserve these areas. Amid this renewed interest from major public agencies with significant resources amid pressures for increased development, the independent GNV4All is currently in an implementation phase based on community outreach efforts through the local paper, the *Gainesville Sun*, and the Community Foundation of North Central Florida "to address racial and economic inequities that hurt people and hinder our community from achieving its potential" (http://gnv4all.com/about/). The tools available to address community needs may be relevant and applicable to Porters.

In its Land Use Element, the City asserts it "shall partner with neighborhoods to facilitate effective communication between the neighborhood residents and the City and develop specific actions to address neighborhood identified goals and improvements" (Objective 5.4). Key representatives from the Gainesville's Department of Doing, which is responsible for planning within the city limits, expressed interest in working in partnership with community residents and stakeholders after learning about the Porters neighborhood

narrative to assist in connecting vision with policies and tools to realize that vision. The Historical Research section also contains information about past neighborhood narratives as expressed in policies and the media.

City Interviews

During the final months of the project, the project team conducted interviews with several key city officials. The purpose of these interviews was to talk in depth with those city officials that have a deep working knowledge of the neighborhood and its residents coupled with knowledge of projects surrounding the Porters neighborhood. The city officials represent a diversity of city functions – planning, code enforcement, public works, law enforcement, and urban redevelopment. During the interviews, we learned about perceptions of the Porters neighborhood, challenges facing the neighborhood, and opportunities for the future.

With unanimous agreement, the Porters neighborhood is viewed as a culturally-significant neighborhood. Residents and business owners are considered an asset to both the neighborhood and city at-large. City officials also think that active residents, such as Steering Committee member Gigi Simmons, are a positive role model and contribute to the benefit of the neighborhood. Activities such as neighborhood clean ups and the Summer Block Party backpack give-away show how the neighborhood can work together.

When asked about challenges in the neighborhood, many officials discussed the crime problems. While all acknowledged that the crime problem has been significantly reduced through the elimination of local bars, abandoned homes, and increased community policing, there remains a cluster of crime that extends from Porters Oaks to Lynch Park. The majority of crime incidents are related to drugs. Police and code enforcement officials cited Porters Oaks as the center of the neighborhood's crime and property maintenance problems. The City is limited in the amount of assistance it can give Porters Oaks because of the homeowner's association (HOA) structure. The HOA structure prevents Porters Oaks from being eligible for many property maintenance grants and assistance.
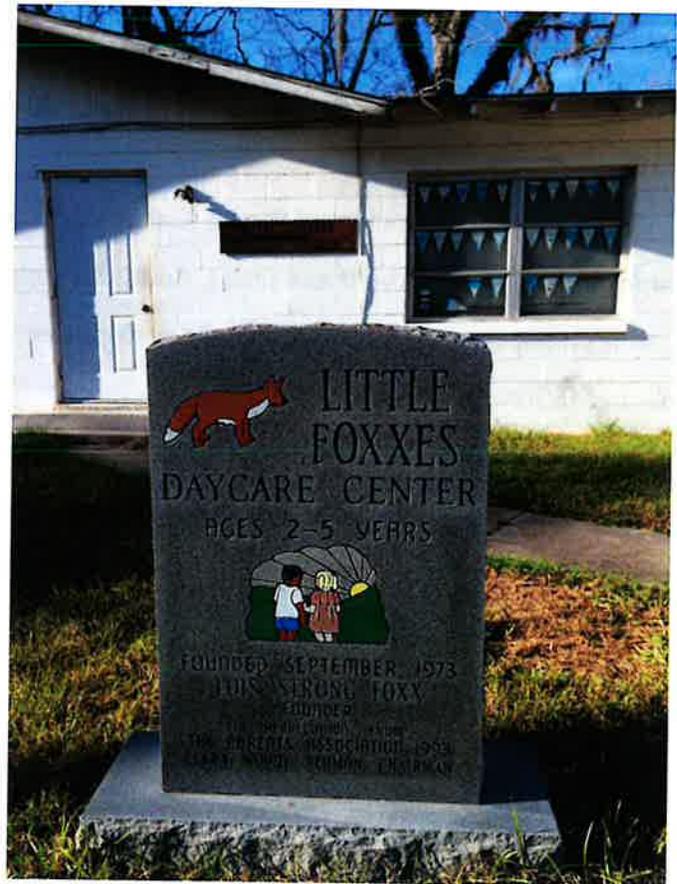
Little Foxxes Daycare Center.

Additionally, challenges arise from a lack of organization within the neighborhood. The City is aware of the many factions within the neighborhood, which makes it difficult to obtain community consensus on city-sponsored infrastructure projects. Because of the contentious nature of relations within the neighborhood, the City is reluctant to engage the neighborhood in discussions. It was hoped by all interviewed that the process of creating a neighborhood narrative would assist the City's ability to engage the neighborhood in meaningful planning efforts.

Finally, City officials see the development of Depot Park and the improvements to SW 6th Street, South Depot Avenue, and South Main Street as opportunities for the neighborhood. Although, interviewees are aware that these new projects place development pressure on Porters, it is perceived that the benefits from better infrastructure and new development outweighs the risks of gentrification.

Child participating in art festival activity

Art Festival

The neighborhood narratives map activity engaged approximately 40 people of all ages, reflecting the demographics of the festival attendees. Most participants' neighborhoods were in the Gainesville area (on the map), with concentrations near downtown and in the northwest part of the city.

When we described the activity, some people knew the name of their neighborhood, whereas others did not. One person who lived in an apartment complex said that it was not a neighborhood. A child with parents who live separately divided the card and placed each half in the neighborhood of a parent.

When asked to draw or write about an aspect of their neighborhood that was meaningful to them, most people had to think about what to answer, and it seemed that some had not considered this before.

Most responses described positive aspects of the neighborhoods. The positive aspects related to aesthetics (e.g., "beautiful area" and "nice"), scenery and nature, location relative to urban and campus amenities, social

activity level (e.g., "quiet" and "low-key"), social character and culture (e.g., "eclectic and awesome hippies"), presence of friends and family (including multi-generational), and type of housing (e.g., "graduate school apartment"). On the negative side, the person who lived in an apartment and declined to describe it as a neighborhood said that she did not feel connected to her neighbors. While this was an informal study meant to engage the public about the project, the findings in comparison highlight the exceptional sense of place and community ties, and other distinguishing aspects, in the Porters neighborhood (see Figure 19).

Figure 19. Map results at the end of day one

Collaborations

The primary outcomes of the various collaborations between the project team, the University, the City of Gainesville, and other organizations, were to raise awareness of the project and Porters neighborhood, learn about and partner with other groups and initiatives that may be helpful to the Porters neighborhood, and identify post-project activities, such transfer of the planning model to other neighborhoods, and future projects.

Specifically, the collaborations led to stronger engagement and voice of the Porters neighborhood by the City for the Land Development Code updates, and by the University for the implementation of its Strategic Development Plan. The collaboration with the Florida Housing Coalition led the organization to consider the Porters neighborhood for its new community land trust for affordable housing.

Depot Avenue road construction

Narrative Development

This section reports the main deliverable of the neighborhood narrative, which is divided into four themes, three overarching icons, and associated graphics. Before these, we describe the results of the steps leading up to the narrative, including the neighborhood boundaries, assets, and vision. We include a short discussion of counter narratives. The chapter concludes with planning and potential actions to apply the neighborhood narrative.

Neighborhood Boundaries

The Steering Committee established the boundaries of the Porters neighborhood today as well as the broader community planning area as a prelude to identifying and addressing the neighborhood assets. The committee members recognized that the neighborhood boundaries had fluctuated over the years with the community being much larger in the early decades of the 20th century. Today, there is broad agreement that the boundaries are SW 4th Avenue to the north, S. Main Street to the east, Depot Avenue on the south, and

SW 6th Street on the west. The community planning area includes a larger area that is influenced by and influences the neighborhood on a regular basis. These include Depot Park, sections of the Downtown Business District, and the Innovation Hub (see Map of Asset Inventory and Visioning Exercise).

Neighborhood Assets

The Steering Committee identified a range of neighborhood assets from the built environment to cultural and intangible resources that establish the area's distinct sense of place. These include the neighborhood's proximity to downtown, restaurants, Depot Park, transit, trails, employment, and P.K. Yonge. Recreational and community resources such as the bike trails on Depot Avenue and SW 6th Street, the Porters Community Center, the basketball courts, nearby Depot Park and Tumblin Creek Park. Lynch Park was also mentioned. The Shady Grove Primitive Baptist Church and the other churches in the community. The friendly, welcoming, and genuine spirit evident on the streets and in the opening of people's homes to their neighbors. Key residents such as Mr. Tom Pitt and Mr. James (now deceased) who reflect this community spirit. Pending infrastructure projects on South Main Street and SW 5th Avenue as well as the nearby fire station. The underutilized or vacant lands for their development potential, and the Innovation Square as an employment hub.
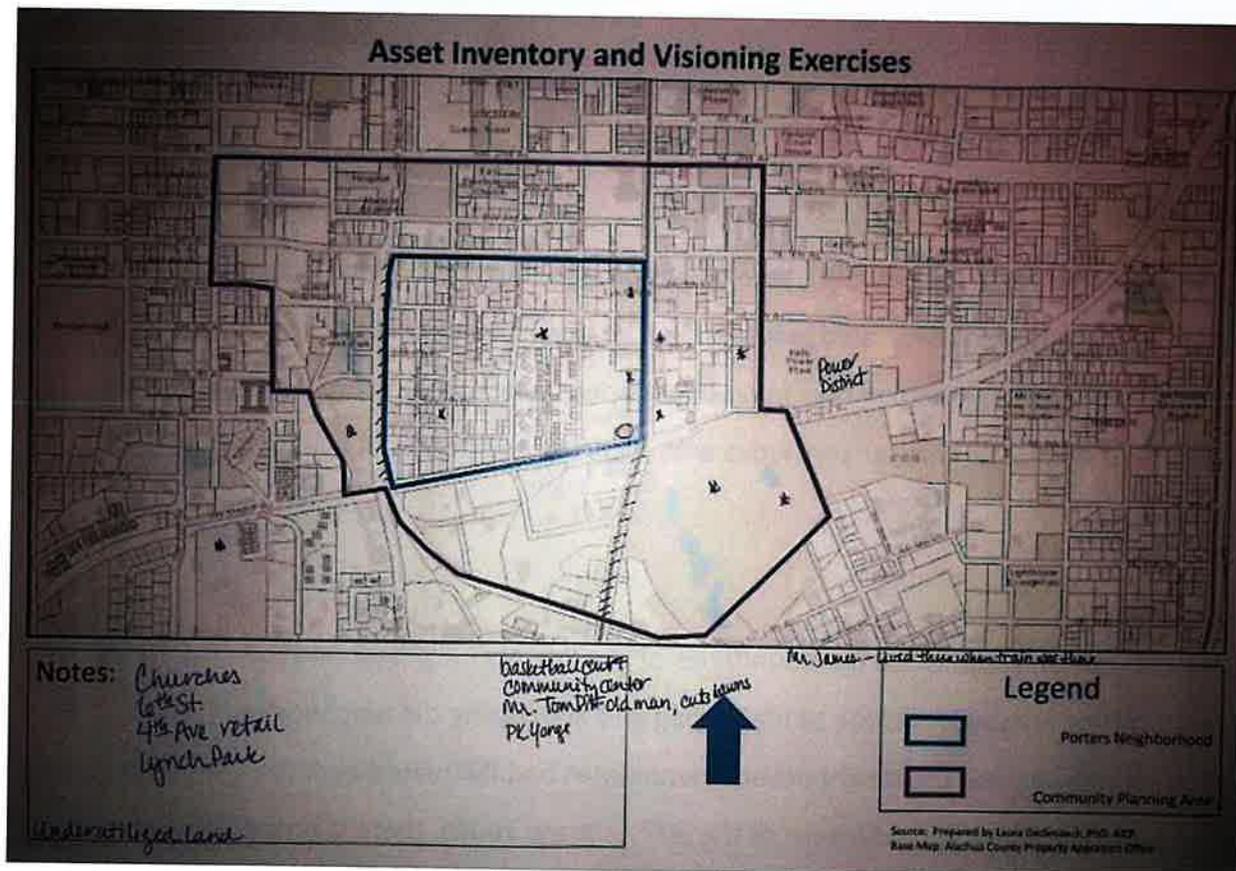
Example of completed asset inventory mapping exercise

Neighborhood Vision

The Visioning Exercise then allowed the Steering Committee to describe elements that are missing and suggest a location in the neighborhood and/or community planning area. These included relatively minor improvements such as cleaning up lots to infrastructure additions such as sidewalks to guidance for new development. More specifically, introducing quality green spaces and elimination of little-used tot lots that are poorly designed were noted as a means to improve the area's open spaces. Other proposed community improvements included rehabilitating the Porters Community Center so it is a symbol of civic pride, cleaning lots and spaces, improvements and ongoing maintenance to the outside spaces in Porters Oaks, more sidewalks with pedestrian-scale street lights, and enhancements and lighting for the SW 2nd Street bike path. As to the preferred types of new development, the steering committee membership identified a diversity of quality, single-family infill housing without displacement; quality commercial businesses along SW 4th Avenue and South Main Street that are committed to the neighborhood; commercial uses along Depot Avenue; some small business internal to the neighborhood that reflect the family-oriented focus; and sustainable single-family residential. The need for community input on residential and business uses is essential. Concerns were expressed about condos and rental apartments; package stores; present-day conditions that could prevent or delay implementing the vision; Section 8/Housing Choice Vouchers – specifically bad tenants and landlords and poor property maintenance; housing deterioration, especially as resulting in the demolition of historic homes; and housing transitions from elderly to less responsible family members or foreclosures. Concerns were also raised about factions of residents who could prevent unity and participation in the vision.

Neighborhood Narrative

The Porters neighborhood narrative is a descriptive communication and capacity building tool that embodies the values, strengths, and visions of the Porters Community, as well as common interests with citywide partners. The narrative produced by the Steering Committee is organized by four themes, each of which is presented in paragraph form below:

- Porters is Home.
- Porters is Engaged & Inclusive.
- Porters is Resilient.
- Porters is Opportunity.

To unify the individual themes, three additional overarching icons were identified:

- Front porch – for welcoming, home, history, and house style.
- Heart – for community, family, spirit, and central location.
- Tree – for roots, established, strength, resilience, and actual trees.
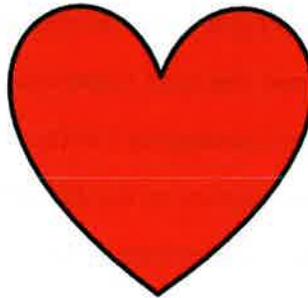
FRONT PORCH   HEART   TREE

The project team created graphics for the neighborhood, the themes, and the overarching icons, to help communicate the results of the neighborhood narrative. The Steering Committee selected a vibrant color palette to reflect the neighborhood best, and they specifically requested that the design incorporate the reddish orange color from the Porters Neighborhood entrance signs. In the final palette, each color is found in the neighborhood (see Figure 20).

Image: Google Street View (2018)   Image: Local Harvest (2015)
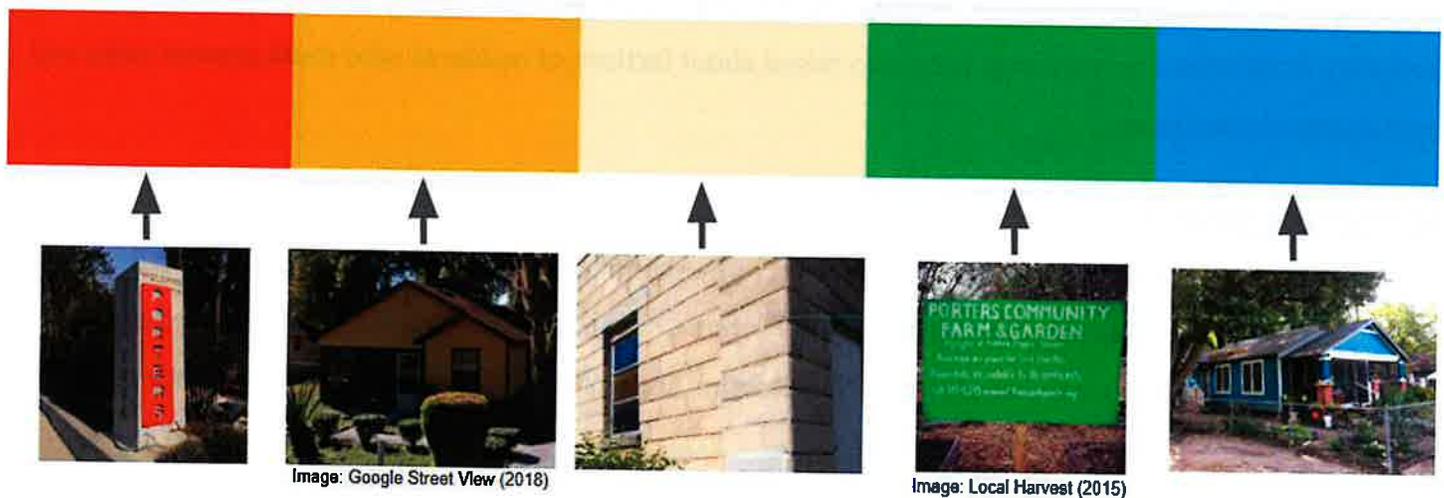
Figure 20. Color pallet used to create designs

This section presents each theme's text and corresponding graphic. Additionally, the neighborhood narrative has the following overall graphic:

PORTERS

Est. 1884

Overall neighborhood narrative design

HOME

Home is a place. Home is family. Home is an enduring spirit. Since its establishment in 1884, the Porters neighborhood has been home to generations of families, many of whom still reside in Porters. Although Porters is rich in history and sense of place, the residents are conscious of the ever-approaching future. Many residents cite the oft refrained "Everything grows in Porters" when describing their community. For those intimately acquainted with the neighborhood, it is soon revealed that the diverse flora and fauna indigenous to Porters is but one meaning of this phrase. Porters' strong roots have resulted in a close-knit community that has retained its ability to welcome new residents into the fold, into the family. As such, families and children are the key to Porters retaining its stability as a neighborhood and an ideal locale for family life in Gainesville.

ENGAGED & INCLUSIVE

The Porters Community is engaged, inclusive, and residents understand their strength lies with their people. Networks of solidarity are key to the Porters' "front porch" way of life, with residents helping each other during stressful times and prioritizing each other's wellbeing. Porters members don't take the strong community spirit for granted; they know it needs maintenance and protection, just as homes and infrastructure do. They have seen the strength wax and wane as community leaders come and go, and times change. The community has had amazing leadership and maximized available resources, such as the Community Center, yet current urban development threats to the community require even more attention and accountability. Despite encroaching gentrification, the Porters Community is surprisingly inclusive, welcoming newcomers and external partners. In part due to their historical marginalization, Porters residents believe that the community spirit is what makes a neighbor, not their demographic profile, and they nurture compassion for others in the same way they cultivate the many gardens scattered among their homes. Additional challenges including mending internal divisions and aligning their empowered voices to navigate the changes ahead.

RESILIENT

    Established many decades ago as an African-American neighborhood between downtown and the university, the Porters Community has proven its resilience, surviving racism and maintaining a strong communal spirit to this day. The community's strengths have stemmed from its residents, whose hard work and creativity manifested in thriving businesses and nurturing households. Porters families have passed on the virtue of perseverance to future generations. Porters has endured despite chronic marginalization; the government's neglect and fellow metropolitan residents' indifference making it vulnerable to criminal activity. The Porters Community has not forgotten these misdeeds, yet they remain open to new residents and city partnerships with those who seek genuine and meaningful connections. The Porters Community resilience is now being tested by gentrification eroding physical and social boundaries and adding new physical and social boundaries, and undermined by internal tensions spurred by differences in housing types and tenures. As in the past, Porters residents are the facing recent threats with a commitment to resilience, openness, and capturing the imagination as a community asset.

OPPORTUNITY

The Porters Community reflects the best features that Gainesville has to offer: a central location; intimate connections reinforced by a neighborhood of front porches and single-family homes; diversity in age, income, and race; and rich soil, which connects the neighborhood to a founding principle of homes among gardens.

The neighborhood is located directly west of the thriving downtown and private and public reinvestment occurring along South Main Street (evident in projects such as Depot Park and the new Power District). Residents are southeast of Innovation Square and in close proximity to the largest employer in Gainesville (the University of Florida, including Shands and P.K. Yonge School). Zoned for A and B rated public schools, the neighborhood is also within walking and biking distance of recreational facilities (such as the Depot Park, the bike trail, and the Porters Community Center within the neighborhood), public institutions (such as the library, city and county buildings), major employers and emerging technology innovators, restaurants, and a weekly farmer's market.

Historically a neighborhood of single-family residences, businesses, and churches, Porters continues to recreate and reinforce the genial interactions associated with its human scaled setbacks and design. The front porches on many of the homes accommodate this familiarity, creating a setting that connects residents to each other along the neighborhood streets. The diversity of the community creates liveliness – a generational support network and sense of place – that distinguishes the area. Porters' strengths – its proximity between a

thriving downtown and a growing university district, its design and human-scaled connectedness, its diversity, and its abundance – provide an opportunity to shore up critical foundational elements and proactively plan for future growth. In fact, the Porters Community could become a model of how this is done.

Counter Narratives

The neighborhood narrative described above was the result of a series of activities conducted by the diverse residents and stakeholders on the project Steering Committee. This neighborhood narrative aligns with narratives portrayed in recent media quotes from other Porters residents, and by persons we had casual conversations with during the project (as part of the fieldwork). In contrast, we encountered the counter narratives second-hand. We heard about them from Steering Committee members, other Porters residents and stakeholders we met, and the City staff interviews, and we saw them represented in the media and online. In other words, the counter narratives were not the main views of the people who directly contributed to the neighborhood narrative, but they were the views of some persons they knew.

We found that the counter narratives have a basis in neighborhood history, social dynamics, and individual choice, and they likely resonate to some degree with many people. They also matched lessons from the literature reviews in the earlier chapter. The counter narratives can thus be considered as influential for personal decision-making and neighborhood relations. Understanding the counter narratives can help explain the forces at play, which may be at odds with the neighborhood narrative above. But, by incorporating the counter narratives, local leaders will be better equipped to design realistic, robust policies and programs.

The counter narratives we discovered dealt with three interrelated issues: distrust of outside institutions and the dominant social group (Whites); power dynamics and factions within the neighborhood; and opportunities for financial gain. These counter narratives added to the older narratives discussed in the Historical Research findings, which either focused on negative characteristics (such as crime and drug use) or the neglected neighborhood (e.g., "forgotten").

First, the issue of distrust is not only related to the overall race and class struggles in the United States, it had a specific history in the Porters neighborhood. Longtime Porters residents recalled when City and University promises were broken, and institutionally sanctioned marginalization, and even harassment and predatory practices, occurred. As late as 2018, these issues remained pervasive across Gainesville and Alachua County, as shown by the statistics in *Understanding Racial Inequity in Alachua County* (BEBR 2018). The lack of trust is thus legitimate and can be used constructively in the future, by requiring that agreements and policies

for the neighborhood be truly beneficial and desired by residents, be firm (i.e., difficult to reverse by external actors), and include mechanisms for enforcement and ongoing civic capacity building to even the playing field.

Second, the issue of power dynamics and factions within the neighborhood was not unusual, especially in high-stakes situations such as gentrification, which can create tensions between groups and individuals. Even under normal circumstances, demographic differences can fragment residents by race, age, income, and housing tenure (i.e., homeowners and renters). Neighborhood power dynamics can also arise in communities having long histories within places, thus contrasting newcomers with longtime residents, whose generational ties to the neighborhood may span generations. On an individual level, strong personalities and interpersonal histories within the neighborhood can create conflicts. When multiple leaders simultaneously arise to respond to, or take advantage of, concerns and fears, neighborhood factions may form. We witnessed all of the above in the Porters neighborhood. While complete consensus and conformity is not a desirable or achievable goal, the most internally divisive approaches can be counterproductive to neighborhood resilience. Ideally, neighborhoods such as Porters can find ways to respectfully represent diverse perspectives, and come together when needed for the common good.

Third, the issue of opportunities for financial gain, by individual homeowners, developers, and the City (higher property taxes), is a powerful driver of gentrification. The same can be said for university expansions in college towns, which the literature called studentification. For persons and families with low incomes and little savings, the prospect of financial gain may be a lifeline. Or, when a homeowner passes away, the heirs may prefer to liquidate the property. In a redeveloping low-income neighborhood, the real estate speculators and house flippers may aggressively proposition homeowners and grieving relatives, thus greasing the transactions. Yet, for many poor, minority, and longtime residents, their wealth lies in the intangibles of community connections, sense of place, and the same locational amenities that draw new residents. Staying in the home can be a rational decision; regardless of the money someone would receive for selling their house, they must pay for a new home, while losing the hard-won, and often irreplaceable, connections of the former neighborhood.

Since these gentrification factors are at play in the Porters Community, the strategy for neighborhood resilience will be to manage the mechanisms of land speculation, redevelopment, and City and University planning, to shape them toward strong neighborhoods, without the unintended consequence of making the neighborhood more attractive for incompatible development. The goals of protective policies, programs, and projects should be to maintain a critical mass of longtime residents (who want to stay), to preserve the well-

established sense of community and connection to place, and to simultaneously allow individual choice, community revitalization, and the emergence of new neighborhood residents, assets, and traditions.

The three counter narratives contrasted with the Porters neighborhood narrative in several important ways. The neighborhood narrative themes of home, engaged and inclusive, resilient, and opportunity represent trust, cohesion, and community longevity, which are the opposites of the counter narrative issues. Yet, the discussion above shows how the counter narratives can inform actions that support the main neighborhood narrative. The next, final section of the chapter focuses on the ways in which the neighborhood narrative can be applied, while keeping the counter narratives in mind.

Vacant lot in Porters

Use of the Neighborhood Narrative

The neighborhood narrative is not an end in itself; it is meant to enhance community spirit and sense of place, and to empower the neighborhood in dealing with external forces, especially gentrification. The Porters narrative can thus be (1) promoted within the neighborhood, and (2) serve as an engagement and information resource to outside organizations that may impact or be concerned with the neighborhood.

This section reports the specific actions for using the Porters neighborhood narrative, which have been planned for the Summer and Fall of 2018 by the project team, Steering Committee, and the City and University. We also mention a few ideas that we have discussed with the Steering Committee, which could be further considered at a later date. Importantly, the discussion of (2) references the Steering Committee's photos of examples of desired development (also see Appendix F), and it synthesizes all the findings to articulate how the Porters neighborhood is a city-wide asset.

The Neighborhoods As Community Assets project ended in May 2018, at which time it met the original objectives and drafted this report. Just prior to the project's end, the team requested and received additional funds from the University (from same source as the original grant, the Office of Senior Vice President Dr. Charlie Lane and the UF Strategic Development Plan) for Summer 2018 to assist with the transition toward using the neighborhood narrative, and to evaluate the pilot process for its potential use by other neighborhoods in Gainesville and beyond. The planned actions below reflect the team's continued involvement with the Porters Community.

Within Porters

Development of the Porters neighborhood narrative was a participatory process, but as of May 2018, the final results of the narrative themes and graphics still needed to be shared with residents and stakeholders. Over Summer 2018 the project team is assisting the Steering Committee in communicating and promoting the narrative within the Porters Community in a variety of ways:

- Continue engagement with the Steering Committee, especially as a liaison between the neighborhood and the City and University.
- Print copies of this report to give to the Steering Committee members and other key persons, and disseminate the electronic version.
- Share useful project files, including the narrative graphics and oral histories/photos, with the Steering Committee and other key persons.
- Present to neighborhood-based community groups, such as churches.
- Produce and share neighborhood narrative promotional materials, such as a project results brief, a narrative-themed children's picture book, stickers, fans, bracelets, coloring pages, and crafts.
- Participate in the annual Porters Block Party and Backpack Giveaway in August 2018. This includes hosting activities focused on the neighborhood narrative, and sharing the promotional materials.
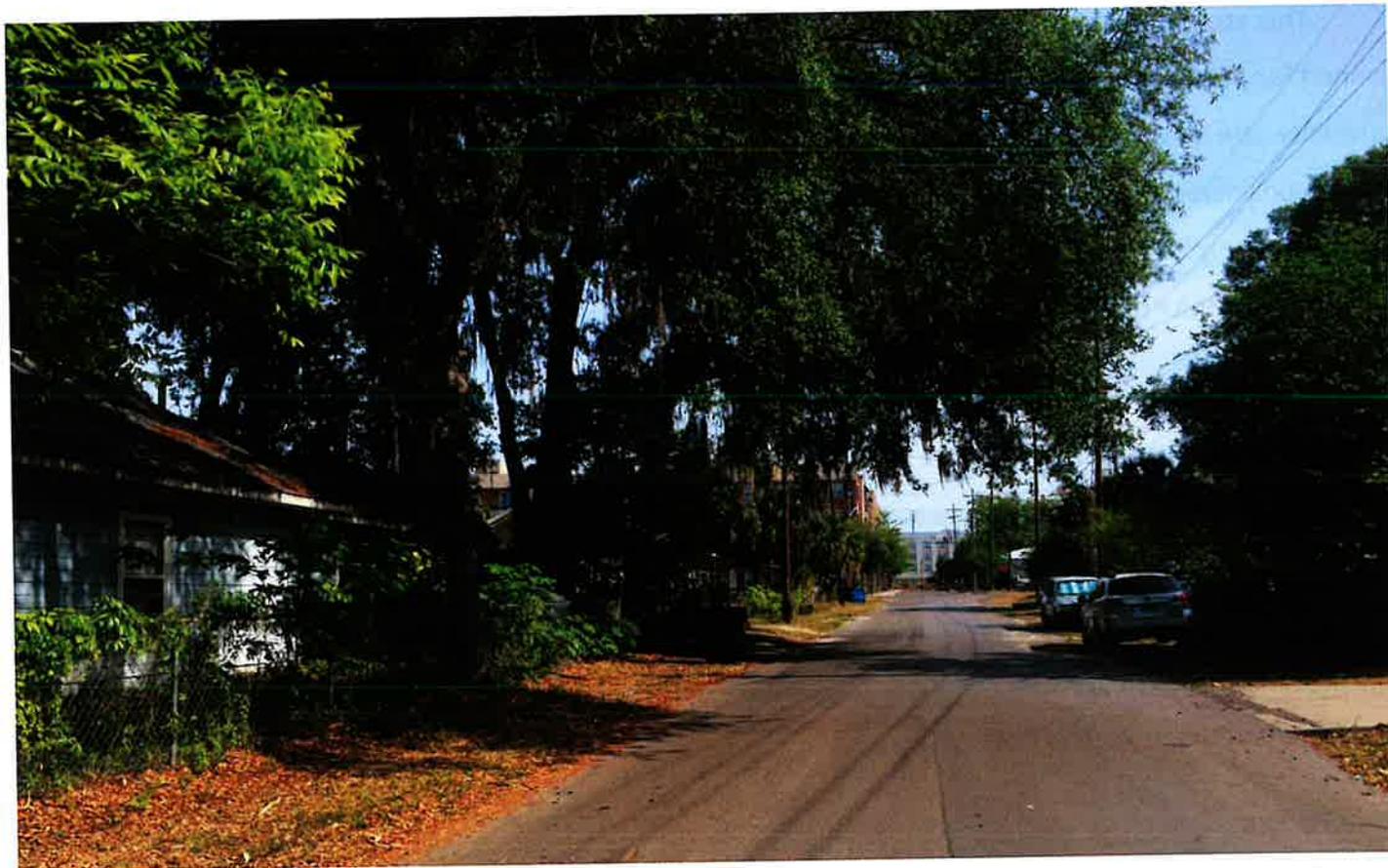
Street scene in Porters

By Outside Organizations

The Porters neighborhood narrative may be a useful guide to outside organizations, including private developers and businesses, nonprofits, future residents, and the City and University. We synthesized the project's findings to create an outside perspective that emphasizes "the Porters neighborhood as a community asset". We found that this perspective is compatible with the Porters neighborhood narrative themes of home, engaged and inclusive, resilient, and opportunity. The Porters neighborhood as a community asset has three elements:

Porters as neighborhood-based assets. The Porters neighborhood has historic, cultural, and social assets, which are tied to, and thus enrich, those of the City and University. The neighborhood narrative affirms the same assets. Due to the neighborhood's proximity, its assets can continue to be associated and promoted with other citywide assets, namely Downtown, Depot Park, and Innovation Square. The diversity and sense of place afforded by Porters is demonstrative of the New American City vision of the City and University, and the tenets and objectives in their strategic plans (e.g., strong neighborhoods). Furthermore, UF's attainment of top-10 public university status and overall goal of preeminence would be enhanced by initiatives to support a

resilient Porters neighborhood, as has been shown in the town-gown case studies in the Literature Review chapter.

Modest house in Porters

Porters as social equity opportunity. As a historically African-American neighborhood with low-income residents, and memory of past discrimination and harassment, local leaders and institutions have an opportunity to rectify these injustices by enacting policies and programs for social equity, and to apply them to Porters. Moreover, coming to terms with past actions in Porters would be a crucial step towards improving race relations, which was the point made almost four decades ago in relation to the neighborhood planning of the time (ERLA Associates 1980, see quote from page 133). Protection and advancement of the Porters Community would serve the City's current GNV4All and affordable housing initiatives. Fortunately, the City has already made some investments in the neighborhood, such as with the Porters Community Center and selected road and water infrastructure improvements.

Porters as innovation. The Porters neighborhood narrative themes of engaged and inclusive, resilient, and opportunity, show that the residents and stakeholders, rather than being insular and static, are open to

innovation. The diversity and proximity of the Porters Community lend themselves to innovative policies, programs, projects, and practices for neighborhood resilience, and to serve as a model of the "new American neighborhood". We coined this term while writing this report, but we then found it in similar usage: a 2011 *Washington Post* article described such neighborhoods as "defined by their diversity, not their lack of it."[5] The narrative and graphics developed by this project can be a tool to distinguish the neighborhood and its unique features, and help the innovations gain traction and recognition. The Porters narrative themes of resilience and opportunity represent the potential of revitalization and redevelopment efforts that are guided by resident and stakeholder values, and the "neighborhood as community asset" perspective. The goals for new development would be to promote community spirit and sense of place, and to be compatible with existing residents, development style, and culture. An emphasis on innovation, in this case community and policy innovation, would reinforce the City and University's joint vision of an innovative New American City.

New bungalow homes in Porters

[5] https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/the-new-american-neighborhood/2011/10/27/gIQAuxj5SM_gallery.html?noredirect=on&utm_term=.cfffc8f1d0b1

Desired Development Patterns

To assist in translating the Porters neighborhood narrative into policies, programs, and projects, the Steering Committee submitted photographs of example desired development for the neighborhood, which were taken from within and outside the neighborhood (see Appendix F). We summarize, the results here: The Steering Committee's inclusion of photos of residential and commercial buildings suggested that diverse uses are welcome. The urban design in the photos was intimate and pedestrian oriented, with buildings close together and near the street, and having sidewalks, natural greenery, and vibrant common spaces with street furniture (e.g., café tables). The buildings were small, affordable one- and two-story businesses and homes, with a mix of detached and zero-lot-line structures. Accessory dwelling units (ADU) were not represented, and later conversations with the steering committee indicated that they do not favor them. The examples from outside the neighborhood had similar architectural style to the Porters vernacular, such as front porches, wood siding, and a range of colors. Some business buildings in the photos had corner entrances, similar to S & S Cleaners in the neighborhood. The example photos also showed on-street parking. The photos taken from inside the neighborhood suggested the importance of maintaining existing homes, and the potential for adaptive reuse of non-residential buildings. Overall, the development and activities in the example photos corresponded to the neighborhood narrative themes and graphics.

Cottages at Oak Park, Mississippi (Cottages at Oak Park, 2011)

Katrina Cottages, Mississippi (Seaside Academic Village, 2011)

Cabbage Town, Atlanta (Strong Towns, 2015)

Samples of desired development in Porters (also see Appendix F). Images provided by the Steering Committee from various online sources.

Neighborhood Protection and Revitalization Strategies

In the near future, the City and University have planned specific activities to engage the Porters Community and use the neighborhood narrative. The City's Department of Doing will hold a land use planning workshop with Porters residents and stakeholders during Summer 2018, to assist the update of the Land Development Code. The Department will also participate in the Porters Block Party and Backpack Giveaway in August 2018. At the University, the Office of Dr. Charlie Lane financially supported the continued involvement of the project team with the Porters neighborhood during Summer 2018. More broadly, the Office is considering how to celebrate the accomplishments of all the projects funded by the UF-Gainesville Research Awards. As discussed in the Local Knowledge section above, ongoing communication and transparency are critical to building trust and coordinating efforts, since the Porters neighborhood lies within larger districts and zones being actively planning for and developed by the University and City, and their partners.

As we discussed with the Steering Committee, achieving neighborhood resilience in keeping with the narrative may require addressing several internal neighborhood challenges: crime, social factions, and the constraints of the Porters Oaks common property and HOA. These challenges are complex and persistent, and thus they may be worthy of focus and be the impetuses for future neighborhood initiatives. For example, the Steering Committee had an idea of using the Porters Community Center during the day for senior activities (as has been done in the past). Such a community development program could bridge social factions and bring more activity to the Center and adjacent streets where crime is higher. As highlighted by the case studies at the end of the Literature Review chapter, neighborhood resilience is likely to need substantial investments of all kinds.

Porters Oaks common spaces are managed by a homeowners association

As the Porters neighborhood residents and stakeholders decide next steps to promote the vision expressed in the narrative, Appendix D provides a Porters-focused analysis of current zoning, including a discussion of 2017 changes to the City's Land Development Code, a map showing the neighborhood's current zoning (also shown below in Figure 21), and detailed tables of requirements in each of the zoning districts.

Figure 21. Porters Neighborhood Zoning Map. Source: City of Gainesville

Since the Porters neighborhood includes a mix of zone districts and land use types, from low-density residential to mixed-use urban, the city policies for the neighborhood should allow for and coordinate this diversity in keeping with the neighborhood's vision and desired development patterns (as discussed in the preceding sub-section). Although the City removed the Traditional City overlay from the Land Development Code (LDC), the Porters neighborhood is distinct enough to warrant targeted policies, and a Porters overlay would not be as unwieldy as the previous large overlay district. Appendix D discusses several promising land use policy options, which we summarize here:

- Development compatibility standards may be applied to all areas of a potential "Porters District".

- A neighborhood-wide overlay district could eliminate a few objectionable commercial uses in the Mixed-Use Low-Intensity (MU-1) and Urban 6 transect (U6) zoning districts, and reduce the highest densities allowed in U6 (50 to 60 units per acre). U6 is the lowest intensity transect used to implement Urban Mixed Use, and MU-1 is the lowest intensity district for Mixed-Use Low-Intensity land use.

- The Urban 2 (U2) transect zoning district may replace the Residential Single/Multi-Family (RMF-5) zoning district to allow traditional low-density neighborhood form. In Gainesville, the U2 district is currently in place on the west side of the Springhill neighborhood, the south end of the Duck Pond neighborhood, and in the Grove Street/Oakview neighborhoods. The Urban 1 (U1) district also came to our attention as a possible RMF-5 replacement, but it allows only single-family homes, and it may not be allowed in the Residential Low-Density land use category, and thus appears too restrictive for the Porters neighborhood.

To consolidate and compare the diverse neighborhood protection and revitalization strategies under consideration, they are listed in Table 4, along with brief descriptions, benefits, and challenges. Many strategies involve actions to be taken by Porters residents and stakeholders, in order to assert the neighborhood vision for future policies and investments. A combination of strategies may be appropriate, since they each provide distinct benefits and challenges. Not all strategies may be readily applied, but we included them because they have been mentioned during this project. Ongoing communications and transparency among Porters residents and stakeholders, and other major players in the city, are necessary no matter what strategies are chosen.

The strategies are grouped into three categories: organizational, planning policy, and city policy. Organizational strategies are a wide range of non-regulatory options, ranging from programs for individual resident support for affordability, to neighborhood-wide organizations (such as a Porters Community Land Trust), to neighborhood representation in larger initiatives and governing bodies. The planning policy category covers a variety of land use planning tools available (or potentially available) through the City's land development code (LDC) and district/zone plans. The city policy category highlights opportunities found in citywide (and possibly countywide) initiatives for citizen-centered governance, and affordable housing and social equity.

Given the growing interest in the Community Land Trust option, an expanded definition is quoted from the Institute for Community Economics (now Grounded Solutions Network): "A community land trust is a private non-profit corporation created to acquire and hold land for the benefit of a community and provide secure affordable access to land and housing for community residents. In particular, CLTs attempt to meet the needs of residents least served by the prevailing market. Community land trusts help communities to:

- Gain control over local land use and reduce absentee ownership
- Provide affordable housing for lower income residents in the community

- Promote resident ownership and control of housing
- Keep housing affordable for future residents
- Capture the value of public investment for long-term community benefit
- Build a strong base for community action" ("CLT Home" at ICE website: www.iceclt.org).

The Florida Housing Coalition began the Florida Community Land Trust Institute in 2000 to provide assistance to government and nonprofit entities interested in forming a local community land trust. More information about CLTs in general and other CLTs in Florida may be found on the agency's website: http://www.flhousing.org/programs/community-land-trust/ . An example CLT in a historic African American neighborhood in Florida is Hannibal Square, Winter Park: http://hannibalsquareclt.org

Table 4. Neighborhood protection and revitalization strategies in relation to the Porters Community

STRATEGY	DESCRIPTION	BENEFITS	CHALLENGES
ORGANIZATIONAL			
Neighborhood narrative	A written and visual expression of the values, beliefs, culture, and vision for a neighborhood created by residents.	Resident driven. Builds consensus and raises awareness of the neighborhood assets and vision. Focuses on social and cultural aspects. Reduces territorial stigma.	Requires resources and community support to promote and evolve it.
Resident involvement in neighborhood groups, assets, and events	Examples of current involvement includes Community Meetings, Block Parties, Porters Oaks HOA.	Currently in place and effective. Builds social capital, cohesion, and empowerment, which are at the heart of neighborhood character and assets.	Requires resident effort. The HOA is an especially challenging organizational and property management structure.

Resident education and affordability programs	On-going educational sessions covering topics such as household budgeting and maintenance, the tax reduction benefits of homestead exemptions, and estate planning.	Address relevant factors in resident lives and neighborhood destabilization. Non-regulatory and thus may be easier to implement.	Must establish a new program with expertise. Impacts are voluntary and thus uncertain.
Community land trust	Non-profit created to acquire and hold land for the benefit of a community and provide secure affordable access to land and housing for community residents.	Designed to gain control over local land use and reduce absentee ownership, provide affordable housing for lower income residents, promote resident ownership and control of housing, and build a strong base for community action and long-term benefits.	Less familiar. Concerns about loss of property rights and investments.
Tap into resources and influence decision making in districts and initiatives that encompass the neighborhood, especially when directly pertaining to porters	Residents assert as partners to advocate for resources from City/University districts and planning initiatives, such as the CRA's Downtown District and properties in Porters, the City's updates to the Land Development Code, and UF's Strategic Development Plan.	Opens communication channels and raises awareness. Shifts thinking from threat to opportunity. Leverages outside resources and expertise. Can be project focused.	Requires resident effort. May become unduly influenced by outside agendas.

Resident involvement in citywide groups and decision making	Encourage Porters residents to apply for City citizen advisory boards and attend City meetings.	Direct empowerment of neighborhoods via citizen advocacy and representation.	Requires resident effort. May become unduly influenced by outside agendas.
Build citywide political and agency support for neighborhood protection, such as through citizen-centered, social equity, and affordability initiatives	Encourage Porters residents to participate in community discussions on affordable housing, GNV4All.	Generates new understanding, and leadership and momentum for change. Coordinates efforts across the city. Such initiatives currently are underway.	May not be quickly or fully realized through implementation and enforcement.

PLANNING POLICY

Apply development compatibility standards	The City's new land development code includes development compatibility standards, which apply within and near specified districts. Standards relate to urban form and uses.	A "Porters District" could be designated, and standards created to match the specific neighborhood (district) character and vision. A district standard could unify the low density residential and surrounding areas.	The standards, as allowed in the code, may not completely address the Porters land use vision, and there may be unintended effects of association with the standards for the other districts.
Apply alternative existing zoning designation	The portion of Porters zoned RMF-5 could be rezoned to an urban transect zoning district, such as U2.	Changing to another existing zoning is a comparatively straightforward matter.	The existing alternative may not have all the features desired. The effort may backfire if the new zoning is less restrictive.

Update citywide zoning category currently in place	RMF-5 could be revised to include urban dimensional standards.	Strong regulatory tool enforced by the city.	Applies to all places in the city having that zoning category. RMF-5 is commonly applied to more suburban areas.
Create new citywide zoning category that fits Porters and similar in-town low income neighborhoods	A new, urban neighborhood zoning district could be created for those traditional neighborhoods impacted by downtown redevelopment.	Would be tailored to the neighborhood type.	May be unnecessary if can modify existing zoning categories.
Historic district	Overlay zoning district created to protect historic or architecturally significant sites, buildings, structures, and districts.	Already in the code. Provides special protections.	Has been rejected in the past. Depends on resident support and involvement. Neighborhood must have historic assets. May be more restrictive due to historic preservation.
Heritage district	The heritage overlay district is established as an overlay zoning district to maintain, protect, conserve and preserve residential areas with a distinct visual identity by regulating development to ensure compatibility with the existing style,	Already in the code. Provides the flexibility to support unique characteristics in a neighborhood.	Requires significant resident support and involvement, to review development proposals. Not available for use in the RMF-5, U6, and MU-1 zoning districts. The Heritage Overlay, as currently written, is not an option for Porters.

Neighborhood protection ordinance	Similar to Heritage District; used to protect existing neighborhoods from incompatible uses and standards created by general zoning categories.	Specifies the unique conditions and needs of neighborhoods.	City does not currently have in place. May be seen as complicating and reverting back to the traditional neighborhood overlays in the old code.
Distinguish Porters from the Downtown District (CRA) and the University Context Area and Innovation Zone	Incorporate the Porters narrative and distinct sense of place into City and CRA plans for Downtown and the UF Context Area.	Brings recognition to Porters separate from nearby areas having different visions. Would help clarify outsiders' intentions.	Complicates the CRA's districts, and may create tensions within the district.
Neighborhood/special area plan	Develop a specific plan for the Porters neighborhood that would overlay the RMF-5, U6, and MU-1 zoning districts and specifically incorporate the Porters narrative.	Could include updated, precise neighborhood demographic study. Addresses neighborhood issues, vision, and strategies. Would emphasize neighborhood resilience, moving forward while maintaining sense of community and place. Could identify sub-neighborhood areas of importance, such as maintaining low-density residential along SW 6th Street, and lot-specific sensitivities and objectives.	Currently not in place. May be top-down (city driven). Uncertain strength to implement, enforce, and update. Lackluster success in the past.

CITY POLICY			
Revitalization, infrastructure upgrades, and infill development at the desired density and style	Improving streets and sidewalk network; upgrading water, sewer, and electric; remove unused pocket parks; work with community organizations to provide neighborhood supportive infill.	Improves quality of life and retains residents. Locks in the desired construction before empty lots are used for incompatible development. Creates neighborhood vibrancy and amenities.	Speeds change if new occupants are from different demographic groups.
Encouragement of owner occupied homes	Provide City resources, connect residents to community organizations to promote homeownership readiness.	Property ownership empowers residents to speak for the neighborhood. Homestead exemptions reduce property taxes, and they limit annual increases in property taxes, which is important to maintain affordability in gentrifying neighborhoods.	May create tensions between owners and renters. Renting may be the only or better option for low income persons.

CONCLUSIONS

The Neighborhoods As Community Assets project was an intensive engagement and planning process piloted in the Porters Community of Gainesville from summer 2017 to summer 2018. The project was made possible through the UF-Gainesville Research Awards, a new funding source established to support the City and University's partnership for the New American City. Prior to the project, the last comprehensive planning for Porters occurred in the 1980s, which resulted in a neighborhood plan that is now out of date and no longer in use. The project also built upon a recent resident-led and City supported study to understand the current Porters demographics (Appendix A).
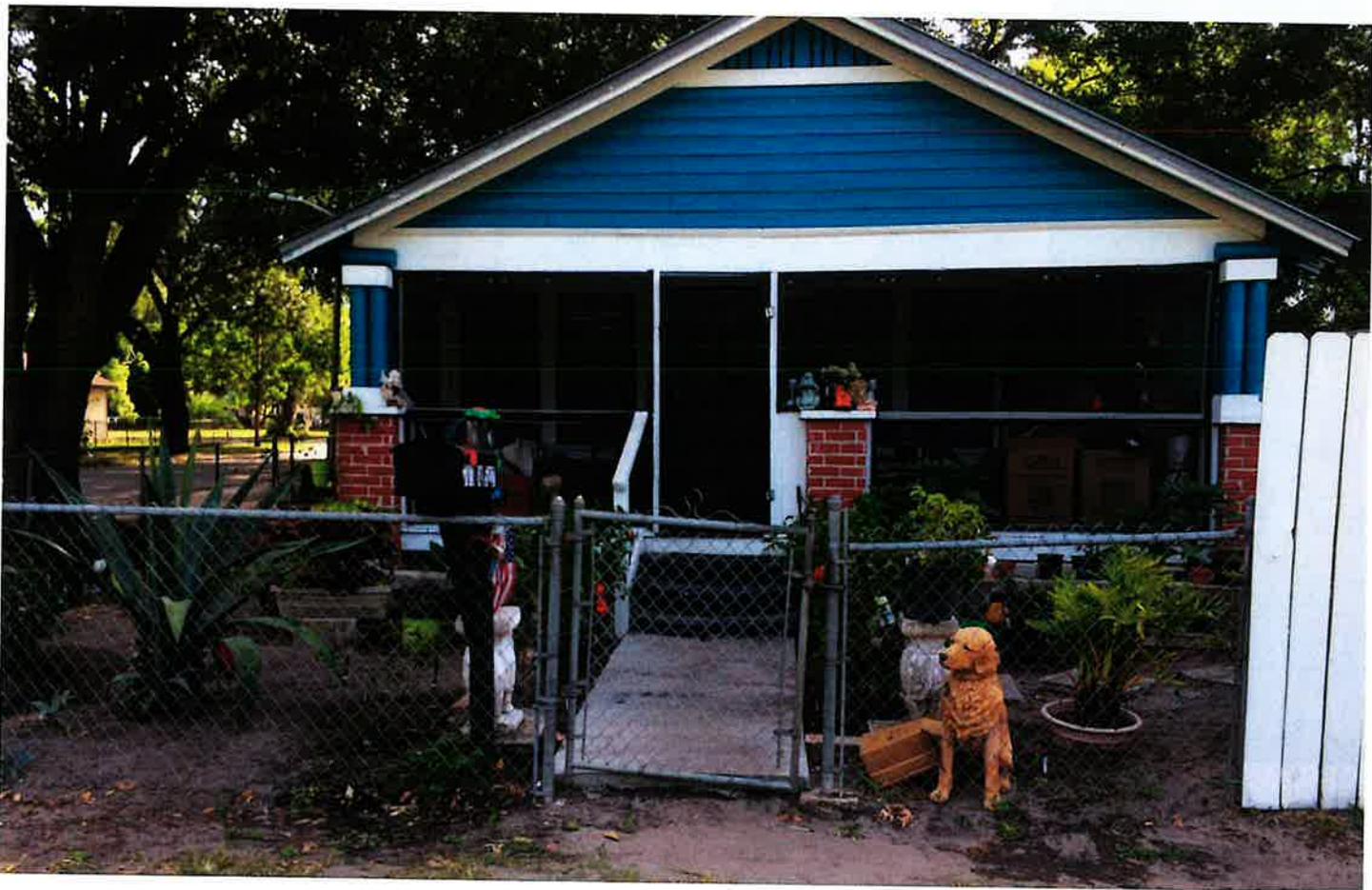
Decorated yard at a Porters home

The project produced a consensus-based neighborhood narrative for the Porters Community. The narrative was based on existing neighborhood assets and strengths of all kinds, yet it is aspirational. The narrative's themes of home, engagement and inclusiveness, resilience, and opportunity, as well as the overarching icons of heart, front porch, and tree, speak to a future of dynamic respect and social investment for the mutual benefit of the neighborhood, the City, and University. The neighborhood narrative's text and

graphics as well as this entire report, are sufficiently detailed, concrete, and visual to reinforce the Porters identity and provide direction for neighborhood policies, programs, and projects.

The project built capacity for neighborhood protection in several other ways. The project's participatory approach led to stronger relationships and new initiatives, such as the City's Department of Doing working one-on-one with the Porters Community as part of the Land Development Code update, and for general neighborhood planning in support of the City's new Strategic Plan. The project also addressed the University's Strategic Development Plan pillar of strong neighborhoods, and it enabled a deeper dialog with the Porters Community, which is located between campus and downtown. The information contained in this report can continue to support these initiatives and empower the Porters Community.

The project distilled what many people recognize, but has not yet reached the threshold of common knowledge throughout the city: the Porters neighborhood is a special place with strong community ties, and historical, cultural, and social justice significance, all of which expand beyond its borders. The neighborhood is worth protecting, for these irreplaceable assets, and most importantly because of the will and resilience of its residents. The actions taken for neighborhood protection and resilience in the years to come will speak volumes about our values and integrity, which we hope will have heart.
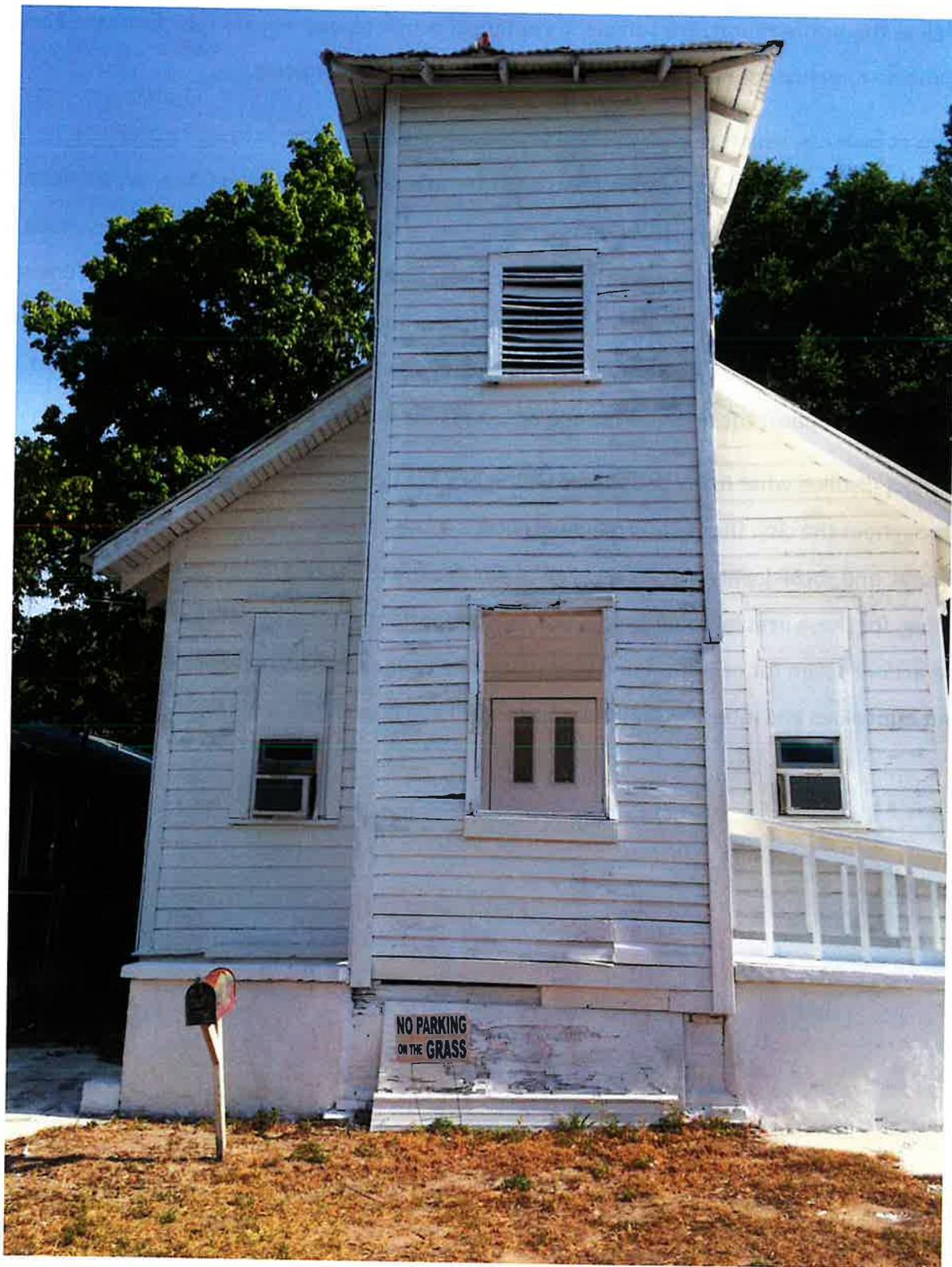
Crown of Life Ministries

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Porters home front porch

Porters resident Gigi Simmons was elected to the City Commission

APPENDIX A: Previous Study of the Porters Community

PORTERS HOUSING STUDY

Study Area.....   **July, 2013**

The area of Porters depicted in this study represents several blocks to the west side of the neighborhood comprised of mostly single family residential structures. It is intended that this study will eventually cover the entirety of the Porters and Porters Oaks neighborhoods.

Study Background.....

This study was conducted through a series of walking tours with the Porters Neighborhood Association President– Gigi Simmons as well as research through the Alachua County Property Appraiser and the United States Census Bureau.

The intent of this study is to understand what opportunities are currently available for redevelopment and renovation within the Porters neighborhood. The study includes diagrams to represent the following: current zoning; current uses of properties such as business, civic, residential, religious and park space; the location of vacant lands and unoccupied structures; the renter vs. owner status of occupied structures; and owners with multiple properties intended for investment purposes. From this information, it is possible to begin crafting a strategy that will bring together investment property owners with long time residents to form a plan that will pay homage to the neighborhoods past and respect the concerns of third, fourth and fifth generation Porters residents while encouraging new residential and commercial construction.

Porters Background.....

Porters is a historically African American neighborhood located in the heart of downtown Gainesville between the University of Florida, Innovation District and the downtown business core. This area is prime for redevelopment. With the increasing private investment in the surrounding areas and public infrastructure around and in Porters, many private developers have taken interest in properties within Porters.

During the past decade, Porters residents have strived to put a new face on the neighborhood by partnering with city entities to eliminate crime, increase opportunities for children, decrease abandoned structures and increase landscape maintenance as well as many other initiatives that have made a marked improvement in the appearance and safety within the Porters neighborhood.

The residents want to be a present and resounding voice in the future of their neighborhood to continue playing a critical role in the development and planning process.

Mission Statement:

To brand Porters as a people friendly, business friendly community that pays homage to its history while growing with surrounding development into the future.

Goal:

Develop a set of indicators or tool box based for neighborhoods facing similar issues to follow based on the successes & failures in Porters.

Next Steps

- Conduct neighborhood workshops to inform a SWOT analysis
    - Ask the important question: what do you want?
- Develop a strategic plan to stay current with the surrounding developments so that Porters maintains its identity.
- Look into grant opportunities
    - Choice Neighborhood Planning Grant– Due early September
        1) Planning grants assist communities in developing a successful neighborhood transformation plan and building support necessary for that plan to be successfully implemented.
        2) Implementation on grants support those communities that have undergone a comprehensive local planning process and are ready to implement their "transformation plan" to redevelop the neighborhood.
        http://portal.hud.gov/hudportal/documents/huddoc?id=2013cnignofa.pdf

Additional maps depicting neighborhood characteristics

- Architectural Type & Year Built– Vernacular: Cracker, Shotgun, Craftsman– Mid Century, Contemporary
- Structural Analysis of Unoccupied Buildings– abandoned or habitable
- Ages– elderly, single, young professional, family
- Location map– surrounding hot spots
- Persons per household
- Persons with disabilities
- Neighborhood Opportunities– gateways, sidewalks, parks, etc.

What Do Porters Residents Want?

- Jobs, Education, Training, Businesses
- No Gentrification -M-
- Maintain single family character *hi storical*
- Zoning to allow business throughout neighborhood
- Public investment for private development
- Help residents help themselves
- Don't be overtaken by Innovation & Power Districts

Ways to accomplish the "wants"

- Live/Work buildings with Single Family appearance
- Businesses owned by Porters residents - *business programs*
- Neighborhood Spruce Up-Paint Program, Landscape Program
- Funding partnerships– CoG Housing Division, Florida Coop Extension, Neighborhood Housing & Development Corp, Housing Authority, Habitat for Humanity, CRA, Grants– SHIP, CDBG, LEAP, HOME,
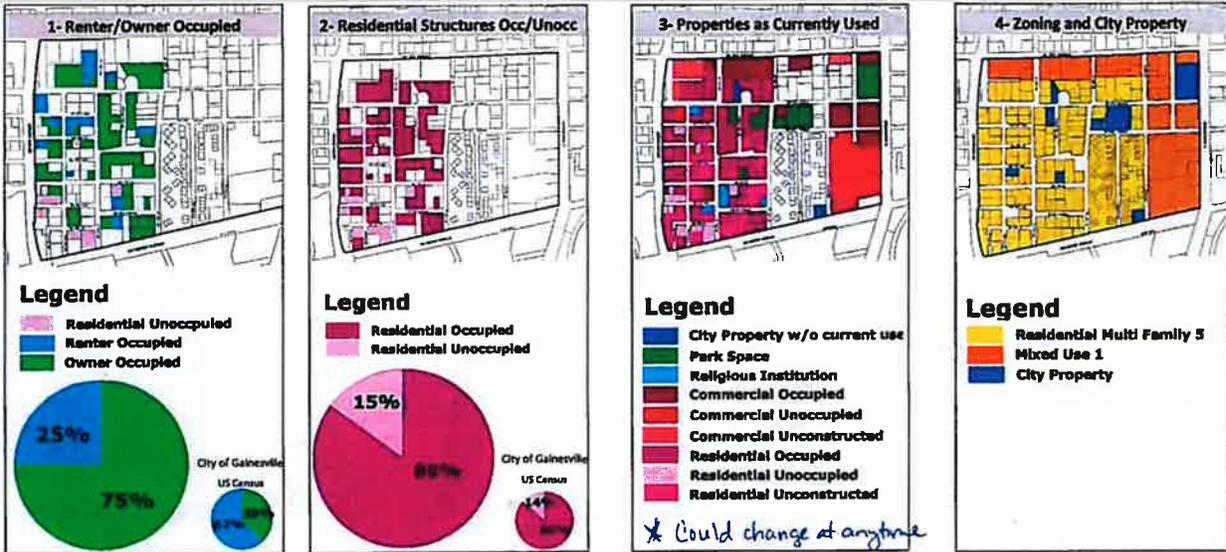- Choice Neighborhood Grant

Barriers to Redevelopment

- Zoning– lot size
- Land Use– business only on north and east perimeters, multifamily on west and south
- Wetlands– possibly corner of Depot and 6th Street
- Rails to Trails regulations
- Impressions from Porters history

Software and Hardware

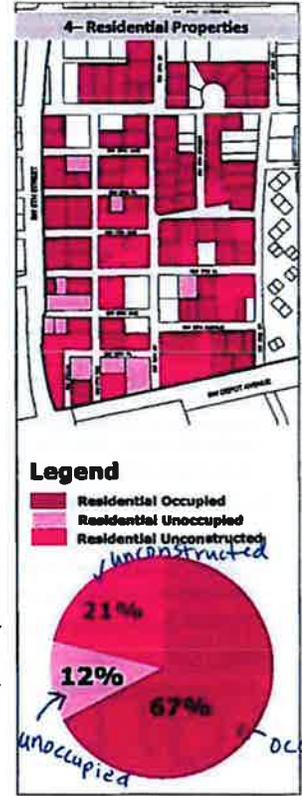| Software	Hardware
Partnerships– PRCA, GPD, Santa Fe, UF, CRA, etc...	SW 3rd St– Reconstruction
Education & Training– set up programs thru educational institutions such as SFCC and the Chamber of Commerce to teach classes in the Porters Community Center: computers, parenting & finances.	SW 2nd St– Pedestrian Path
	Rails to Trails– Pedestrian Paths
	Housing– New Construction on Depot
Jobs– setting up meet n' greets with local businesses such as tours of Innovation Square and other large scale job providers	Depot Avenue– utility upgrades & road reconstruction
	Neighborhood Spruce Up– homes, businesses, landscape maintenance
Daycare– provided for parents in training/school	
Events– setup cultural events and fun programs	

RECOMMENDATIONS

- Look into housing options for elderly– currently developers are purchasing properties from the elderly residents and allowing them to live in the structures. Several elderly people live at home alone. Elderly need assistance with ramps, air conditioning, paint and repairs.
- Look into housing options for young professionals– currently there are several young people living in Porters and many that will look towards Porters as it is in close proximity to Innovation and Downtown.
- Look into housing for families– several young families in Porters live with substandard living arrangements
- Look into mixed use housing with a single family nature– currently Porters is lacking a mix of businesses
- Look into various local, state and federal programs and grants to provide funds for physical improvements as well as bill payment assistance. The city has these programs but they are not well understood by residents.
- Look into opportunities from the CoG Consolidated 5 Year Plan. Porters was selected as a target area as well as Duval, Five Points, Hawthorne Corridor and FAPS.

1- Renter/Owner Occupied

Legend
- Residential Unoccupied
- Renter Occupied
- Owner Occupied

25%
75%

2- Residential Structures Occ/Unocc

Legend
- Residential Occupied
- Residential Unoccupied

15%
85%

3- Properties as Currently Used

Legend
- City Property w/o current use
- Park Space
- Religious Institution
- Commercial Occupied
- Commercial Unoccupied
- Commercial Unconstructed
- Residential Occupied
- Residential Unoccupied
- Residential Unconstructed

Could change at anytime

4- Zoning and City Property

Legend
- Residential Multi Family 5
- Mixed Use 1
- City Property

PORTERS HOUSING STUDY– Summary of currently constructed properties

- Of the residential properties that currently have structures, approximately 85% of structures are occupied leaving only 15% of structures unoccupied. These percentages are very similar to those found throughout Gainesville as taken from the US Census Report.
- Of the 85% occupied structures, approximately 75% are owner occupied with only 25% renter occupied. These figures are drastically different from the rest of Gainesville; however, the city accounts for two large student populations.
- According to the affordability index, modeled from 2010 Census Block Group info, housing costs in Porters account for 18.99% of income as compared to 28.72% for Gainesville. Housing and transportation combined account for 46.74% of income in Porters as compared to 61.31% in Gainesville.

1— Residential Unoccupied

Legend
Residential Unoccupied

2— Residential Unconstructed/Vacant

Legend
Residential Unconstructed

3— Residential Occupied

Legend
Residential Occupied

4— Residential Properties

Legend
Residential Occupied
Residential Unoccupied
Residential Unconstructed

PORTERS HOUSING STUDY— Summary of residentially zoned properties

- Approximately 67% of residential properties in Porters are constructed and the houses are occupied. Only 12% of constructed properties are unoccupied. Of these unoccupied structures, several have been abandoned and may be in disrepair. However, there are also several structures that have been left to heirs within recent years that are not in disrepair. Additionally, 21% of residential properties are currently unconstructed/vacant land.

- A combination of unoccupied and unconstructed properties leaves Porters with over 30% idle properties.

Unoccupied/Vacant Housing

4— three duplexes

5— two identical single family houses

6— possibly irreparable

7— recently renovated investment

8— large lot, possibly space for an additional structure on the west side

Vacant Residential Properties

Legend
Vacant Residential Properties
- City Property
- Residential Unoccupied
- Residential Unconstructed

Legend
Owners of Multiple Properties
- Coffey
- Porters 542 LLC
- Fillie
- GNV SW Properties LLC
- Fletcher
- Saylor
- City

*names indicate owner per property appraiser

Opportunity Zones

- Several unoccupied or unconstructed properties in one area could create large impact. (shown in left diagram)
- Potential to rebuild paper streets or turn into buildable land.
- Potential to create new pedestrian and vehicular access from 6th street over rails to trails.
- Sites are located on prominent streets. Increased businesses could further break down social barrier on perimeter.
- Create classic promenade on 6th Street b/w Rails to Trails and homes/ businesses.
- As owners of multiple properties begin to redevelop, they could benefit from guidance to create a cohesive aesthetic in line with Porters resident's preferences & historic character. (shown in right diagram)

Owners of Multiple Properties

Architectural Types

Vernacular
Tiny Cohousing

Sustainable

Multi-generational

Front porch chatter
LEED for Neighborhood Development

Universally Designed Pocket Parks

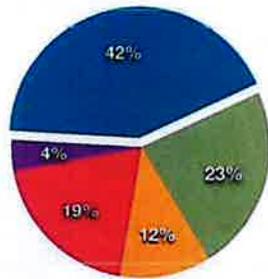**Layers of Personal Space**

Streets as rooms

How Likely Would You be to Participate in:

GED Classes

29%
8%
4%
4%
54%
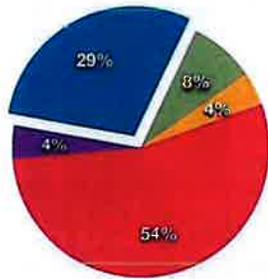
- Very Likely
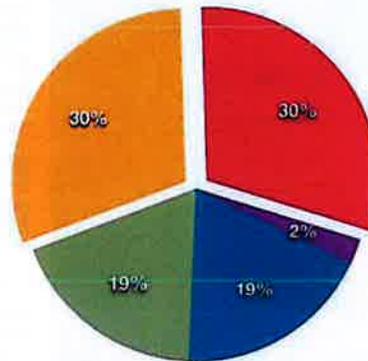- Somewhat likely
- Not very likely
- Not likely
- I don't know

Computer Classes

42%
4%
23%
19%
12%

- Very Likely
- Somewhat likely
- Not very likely
- Not likely
- I don't know

Life-Skills & Job Skills Classes

36%
4%
28%
20%
12%

- Very Likely
- Somewhat likely
- Not very likely
- Not likely
- I don't know

Financial Literacy Classes

35%
4%
30%
22%
9%

- Very Likely
- Somewhat likely
- Not very likely
- Not likely
- I don't know

Deciding Factors

What would convince you to attend?

30%
30%
2%
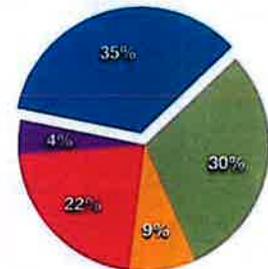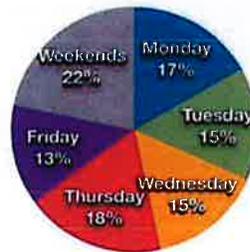19%
19%

- Location
- Cost
- Time of Day
- Topics
- Child Care
- Parking

Best Day of the Week for Classes

Weekends 22%
Monday 17%
Tuesday 15%
Wednesday 15%
Thursday 18%
Friday 13%

Best Time of the Week for Classes

Morning 17%
Evening 40%
Noon 20%
Afternoon 23%
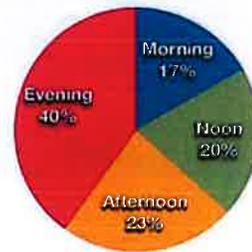
Participant Demographics

Level of Education

4%
15%
23%
15%
12%
31%
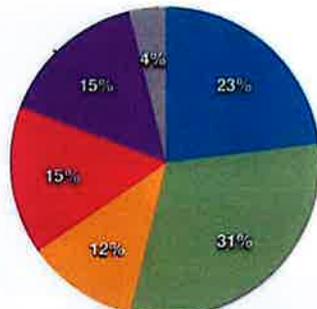
- Some high school
- High-school diploma or GED
- Some college
- Associate's degree
- Bachelor's degree
- Graduate Degree

Age

18 - 24 28%
25 - 34 12%
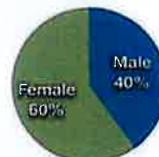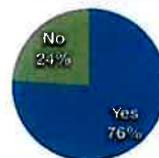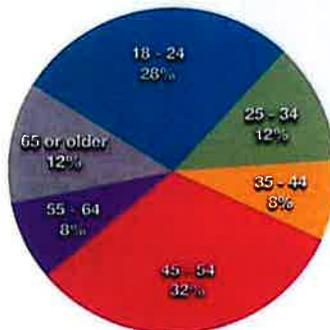35 - 44 8%
45 - 54 32%
55 - 64 8%
65 or older 12%

Employment Status

Part-Time 23%
None 42%
Full-Time 31%
Temp 4%

Seeking Employment

Yes 24%
No 76%

Gender

Male 40%
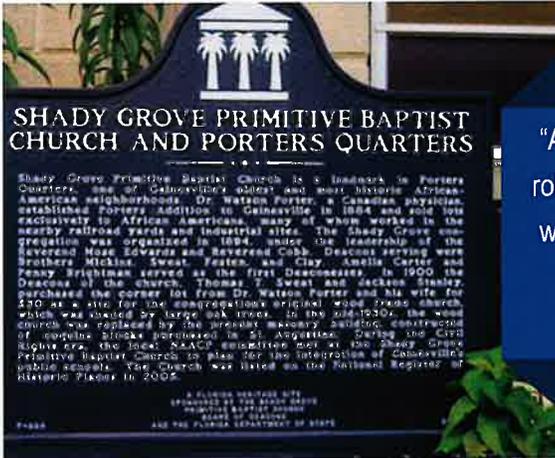Female 60%
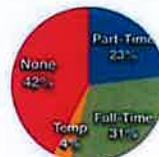
Provided Contact Info

No 24%
Yes 76%

APPENDIX B: Project Brief

Neighborhoods as Community Assets:
Preparing for the Future While Protecting Neighborhoods

SHADY GROVE PRIMITIVE BAPTIST CHURCH AND PORTERS QUARTERS

"All of the participants in such a process transcend their traditional roles...For the community member or local resident, it means being willing to engage in a lengthy process of developing priorities for a place, and working through their meanings with a group."
- Dolores Hayden, author of *The Power of Place*.

What's happening?

Informed communities with clear priorities are better-equipped to manage changes associated with development and growth. Our project aims to assist in the protection and support of Gainesville's strong neighborhoods in their pursuit of resilience in the face of these changes. Our project was among seven proposals selected for funding by a new research and service partnership between the City of Gainesville and the University of Florida.

What information will the project provide?

We will begin by working collaboratively with residents and stakeholders of the historic Porters neighborhood, building upon past community efforts, to create a narrative of both the history and future of the community. The Porters "neighborhood narrative" will allow residents to detail the social, cultural, physical, and economic assets of their community and how they contribute to the larger urban fabric of Gainesville. The neighborhood narrative will also identify potential threats and opportunities for the Porters community. In short, the narrative will provide context and priorities for future development that impacts neighborhood infrastructure, services, businesses, housing affordability, transportation access, educational options, and representation in democratic planning processes.

What is the project timeline and what is the deliverable?

The project's one-year timeframe is June 2017 to May 2018. The main deliverable will be documentation of the Porters neighborhood narrative, which will include supporting information. The completed project may serve as a model for other neighborhood protection efforts in Gainesville.

We invite you to join us in our work! Please contact:

Dr. Laura Dedenbach: ████████ laurajd@ufl.edu
Dr. Kathryn Frank: kifrank@ufl.edu

Our Team

Tyeshia Redden, Kristin Larsen, Laura Dedenbach, and Kathryn Frank

The project team is based in the Department of Urban and Regional Planning at the University of Florida.

The project lead is Dr. Kathryn Frank, Associate Professor and Director of the UF Center for Building Better Communities (CBBC). She has assisted communities and organizations across Florida and Oregon to conduct collaborative planning for critical issues related to change, such as sea level rise, rural development, and growth management.

Dr. Kristin Larsen is the Director of the School of Landscape Architecture and Planning, and Associate Professor. She is an affiliate of the UF Shimberg Center for Housing Studies. Her expertise lies in neighborhood revitalization and housing policy. Among her research and outreach efforts, she has focused on examining neighborhood change in historically African-American communities in Orlando (Parramore) and St. Augustine (Lincolnville) as well as in Eatonville, Florida.

Dr. Laura Dedenbach is a Research Associate with the Center for Building Better Communities and Adjunct Instructor. She has extensive experience as a local government planner and planning research consultant. She will contribute her expertise in land use, neighborhood narratives, and planning project management. Dr. Dedenbach's current research focuses on neighborhood planning, neighborhood revitalization, defensible space, and neighborhood narratives in Atlanta.

Tyeshia Redden is a recent graduate of the Design, Construction, & Planning doctoral program with a concentration in Urban and Regional Planning. She has expertise in housing policy and social justice, as well as experience with the central city neighborhoods through assisting Santa Fe College's East Gainesville Instruction – Refocus Program – in the Office of Community Outreach.

APPENDIX C: Historic Maps of Porters

Map showing the Subdivisions of a plat of land owned by Olivia A. Porter in the South half of Section 5 T10 S R 20 E within the corporate limits of the Town of Gainesville Florida, described as follows. Commencing at the North West Corner of the South West quarter of said Section, run thence East thirty three chains, Thence South twenty two chains to a stake which is the place of beginning Thence North 20ft, Thence West 420ft Thence South 634ft, Thence East 420ft & thence North 887ft to the point of beginning. Containing six Acres more or less

For further information regarding the above described tract of land see Deed Book I Pages 364 & 365, Deed Book N Pages 336 & 337 and Deed Book L Pages 503 of the Public Records of Alachua County Florida

Map of O.A. Porters
Addition to Gainesville
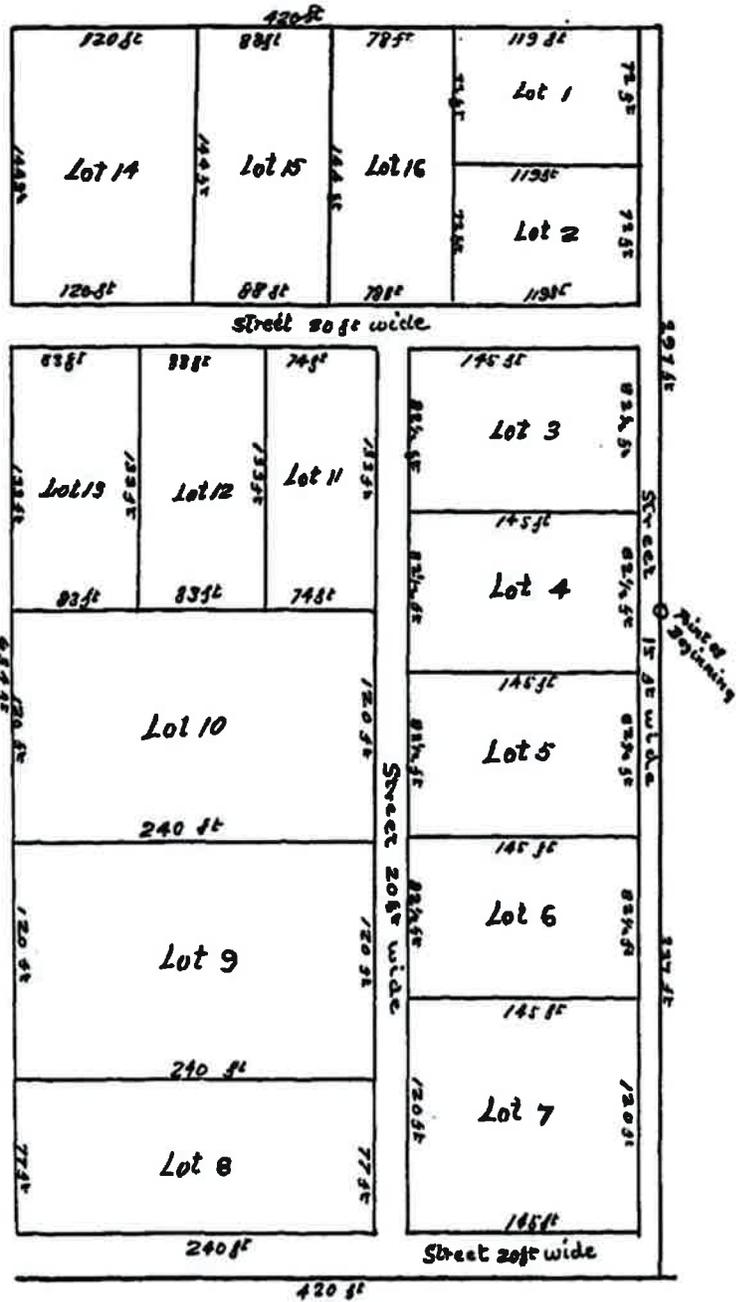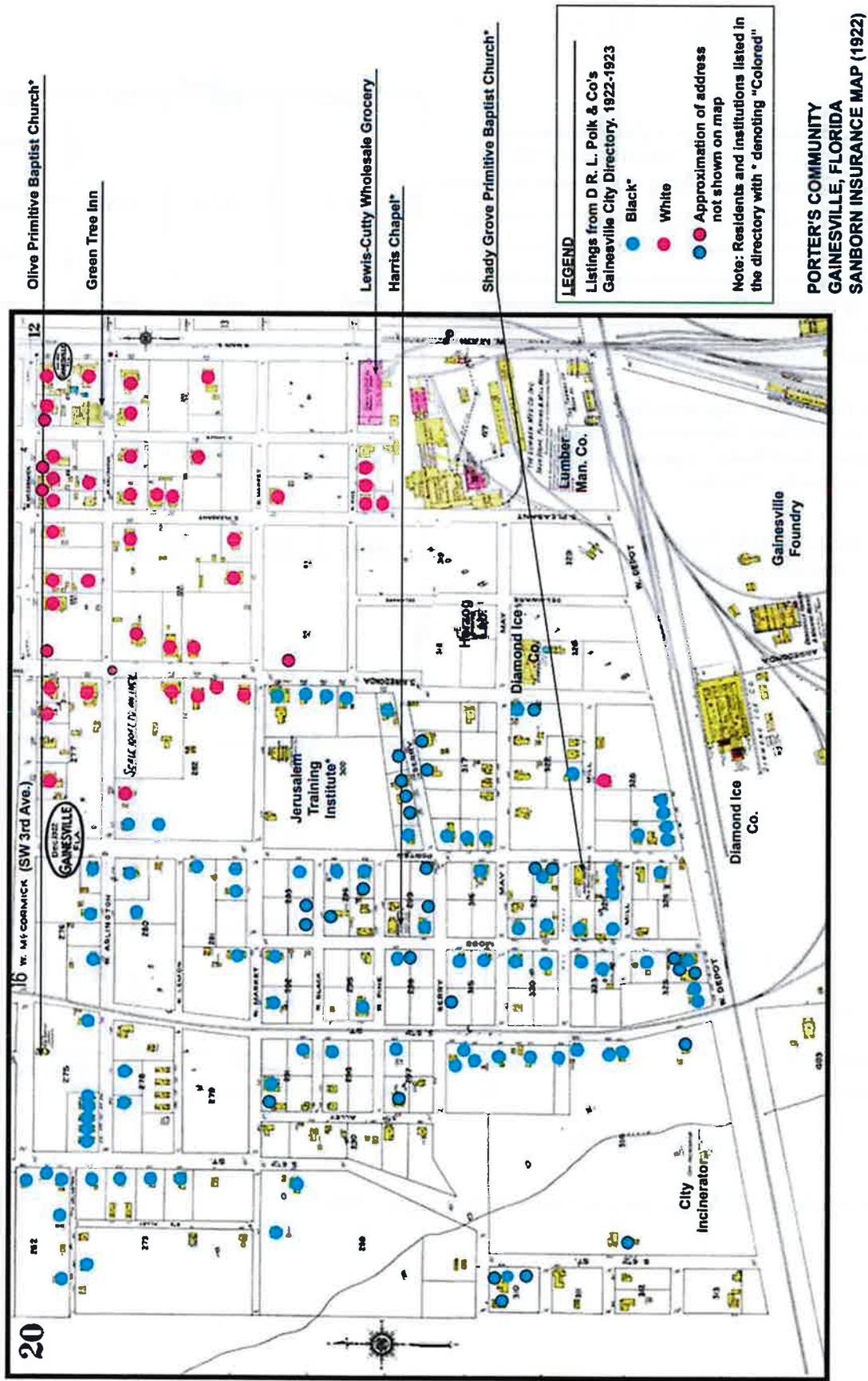
Filed for Record April 20th 1894

Recorded May 11th 1894

H.C. Denton Clerk

pr E.C. Wimberly D.C.

Scale 64 ft = 1 inch

Retrieved from Alachua County Clerk of Court Platt Images (1894)

Map created using data from historic city directory and Sanborn Insurance Maps (Larkin, 2018).

APPENDIX D: Policies

This appendix analyzes and summarizes the City's land development code and comprehensive plan policies in relation to the Porters neighborhood. The last section of the appendix, Planning Resources, provides links to these policies.

Gainesville Land Development Code and Porters Neighborhood Zoning Analysis

The Porters neighborhood contains six (6) zoning districts (Figure D-1). Mixed Use, Low Intensity (MU-1) defines the SW 4th Avenue corridor at the northern extent of the neighborhood. General Office (OF), Public Services & Operations (PS), and Residential Single-/Multi-family (RMF-5) define the SW 6th Street corridor at the western extent of the neighborhood. Urban 6 (U6) defines the South Main Street corridor at the eastern extent to the neighborhood. RMF-5 and U6 define the SW Depot Avenue corridor at the southern extent of the neighborhood. The land use categories for these areas are mapped by the City as follows: the RMF-5 area is Residential Low-Density (RL); the MU-1 area is Mixed-Use Low-Intensity (MUL); and the U6 area is Urban Mixed-Use (UMU) (for more information about the land use categories, see the Comprehensive Plan, Future Land Use Element discussion in the next section).

Figure D-1. Porters Neighborhood Zoning Map

Source: City of Gainesville

In 2017, the City of Gainesville significantly revised its Land Development Code (LDC), which included revisions to the City's Zoning Map. As part of those revisions, the MU-1 zoning along South Main Street was

changed to U6, a new transect zoning district. The remaining zoning districts were revised to address allowed and special uses and dimensional standards. In addition, the City adopted streetscape and design standards, which apply to SW 6th Street (from SW 4th Avenue to SW 5th Avenue), SW 4th Avenue (from SW 6th Street to SW South Main Street), South Main Street (from SW 4th Avenue to SW Depot Avenue), and SW Depot Avenue (from South Main Street to SW 2nd Street). These street segments are identified as "storefront streets" in the City's LDC. Finally, the City repealed the Special Area Plan for the "Traditional City", which included the Porters neighborhood.

Adopted in 1998, the Traditional City Special Area Plan Overlay District included the Porters neighborhood, downtown, portions of the Duckpond neighborhood, Pleasant Street neighborhood, 5th Avenue neighborhood, and College Park. As an overlay district, the Traditional City regulations worked in concert with the underlying land use and zoning regulations. In the event of a conflict, the overlay regulations prevailed. Many of the building form and streetscaping standards and ideals of the Traditional City overlay were incorporated into the City's new transect zoning districts, such as U6, and the storefront streets standards adopted as part of the 2017 LDC update. However, the repeal of the Traditional City overlay district may have unintended effects. For example, it prohibited the following uses: auto dealers, auto service, car washes, gas service stations, parking lots as a principal use, freestanding retail larger than 30,000 square feet on the first floor, and gas pumps when accessory to a food store. Car washes and gas service stations are now allowed by special use permit in MU-1 and U6.

Changes to the RMF-5 zoning district which serve to suburbanize, rather than urbanize, dimensional standards could affect the efficient use of existing lots, the development of houses that are affordable, and small-scale multi-family development in keeping with the Porters' single-family character. The minimum lot area for RMF-5 remains unchanged at 3,500 square feet. The Traditional City overlay allowed for minimum lot widths to be reduced recognizing that "relatively narrow lots enhance the comfort and convenience of pedestrians by reducing walking distance and increasing interest and activity along the sidewalk." The Traditional City lot widths were 18 feet with alley access, 36 feet without alley access, and 24 feet for lots with a shared driveway. In 2017, a new minimum lot width was specified at 40 feet, and the minimum lot depth was set at 90 feet. Previously, there was no minimum lot depth for the RMF-5 district. Also, the side setbacks were increased (interior from 7.5 feet to 10 feet; street from 10 feet to 15 feet).

Table D-1 lists the permitted, special, and prohibited uses in each of the three main zoning districts for the Porters neighborhood. Special uses are those which are allowed only through the Special Use Permit process. Blank cells indicate that the LDC is silent on whether the use is a permitted, special, or prohibited use

within that zoning district. Generally, if the LDC is silent (no entry in the table) on whether the use is a permitted, special, or prohibited use, then it is presumed to be prohibited until an interpretation is made by the LDC Administrator or relevant board. The table includes all permitted and special uses. It does not include a wide variety of uses prohibited in the MU-1 district; MU-1 prohibited uses are included if they are permitted, special, or prohibited uses within the U6 or RMF-5 districts.

Table D-1. Permitted and Special Uses in U6, MU-1, and RMF-5 (P = Permitted; S = Special Use; X = Prohibited)

Uses	U6	MU-1	RMF-5
Residential			
Single-family detached	P	P	P
Single-family attached (up to 6 units	P	P	P
Mobile homes	P		X
Multiple family, small (2 to 4 units/building)	P		P
Multiple family	P	P	P
Accessory dwelling units	P	P	P
Adult day care	P	P	P
Community residential homes	P	P (14 persons or fewer) X (more than 14 persons)	P (fewer than 6 persons)
Small dormitories	P	S	X
Large dormitories	P	X	X
Family child care homes	P	P	P
Assisted living facilities	P	P	P
Non-residential			
Alcoholic beverage establishments	X	S	

Uses	U6	MU-1	RMF-5
Armor systems manufacture and assembly		P	
Automotive uses	X		
Bed and breakfast inns	P	P	P
Business services	P	P	
Car washes	X	S	
Community organizations	P	P	
Day care centers	P	P	P
Drive-through	P	P	
Emergency shelters	P	P	P
Equipment rental	X	X	
Exercise studios	P		
Farmers markets	P		
Fuel dealers		S	
Food trucks	P	P	
Food distribution for needy	X	X	
Funeral homes/crematories	P	P	
Gas stations	S	S	
Health services		P	
Homeless shelter/ halfway house	X	S	X
Hotel	X	S	
Libraries	P	X	S
Light assembly & manufacturing	P	P	
Liquor stores		P	
Medical/dental labs	P	P	
Medical marijuana dispensaries	X	P	

Uses	U6	MU-1	RMF-5
Medical offices	P	P	
Microbrewery, microdistillery	S	S	
Museum/art gallery	P	P	
Offices	P	P	
Parking garage	X		
Personal services	P	P	
Professional schools	P	P	
Public administration buildings	S	P	
Public parks	P	S	P
Recreation, indoor	P	P	
Recreation, outdoor (private)	X	X	
Rehabilitation centers		S	
Religious assembly	P	P	P
Research & development	X	X	
Restaurants	P	P	
Retail nurseries		P	
Retail sales	P	P (except large-scale)	
Schools	P	P	P
Scooter sales	X		
Self-storage		X	
Simulated gambling	X		
Skilled nursing facilities	P	P	X
Social services	X	S	
Surface parking lots	X	X	
Transit station	X	S	
Vehicle services		S	
Veterinary services	P	P	

Source: City of Gainesville Land Development Code. Accessed through Municode.com:

https://library.municode.com/fl/gainesville/codes/code_of_ordinances?nodeId=PTIICOOR_CH30LADECO_ARTIVZO

Table D-2 includes the dimensional standards for U6, MU-1, and RMF-5. This table does not include all dimensional standards for each district. Information for similar dimensional standards in each district is provided for comparison purposes.

Table D-2. Dimensional Standards for U6, MU-1, and RMF-5

	U6	MU-1	RMF-5
Density/Intensity			
Maximum density	50 du/ac (maximum) 60 du/ac with SUP	8 du/ac (minimum) 30 du/ac (maximum)	12 du/ac (maximum) (no density bonus)
Non-residential building coverage	80% (maximum)	60% (maximum)	50% (maximum)
Lot Standards			
Minimum lot area	None	None	3,500 sf
Minimum lot width	18 ft	None	40 ft (single-family) 75 ft (two-family) 85 ft (all other uses)
Minimum lot depth	None	None	90 ft
Maximum Building Height			
By right	4 stories/60 ft	5 stories	3 stories
With bonus	5 stories/74 ft	8 stories	No bonus
Minimum Setbacks			
Front	(building placement measured from curb) 15 ft (min) 20 ft (max)	10 ft (min) 100 ft (max)	10 ft (min) 100 ft (max)
Side (street)	NA	15 ft	15 ft
Side (interior)	5 ft	10 ft	10 ft
Rear	3 ft (alley) 10 ft (no alley)	10 ft	10 ft
Rear, accessory	NA	NA	5 ft

Source: City of Gainesville Land Development Code. Accessed through Municode.com:

https://library.municode.com/fl/gainesville/codes/code_of_ordinances?nodeId=PTIICOOR_CH30LADECO_ARTIVZO

Planning Policy Options for Implementing the Porters Narrative

Options for implementing the Porters Narrative through the existing Comprehensive Plan and Land Development Code are limited, but available. The LDC provides options for neighborhood preservation through the Residential Conservation zoning district and the Heritage District overlay zoning district. Limitations to implementing the Residential Conservation zoning district include that there is no description provided for the zoning district and that it can only be used in the Residential Low-Density land use category. Portions of the neighborhood with mixed use land use designations are not eligible for implementation with Residential Conservation zoning. The City recently adopted a Heritage District overlay zoning district. The purpose of the Heritage District is "to maintain, protect, conserve and preserve residential areas with a distinct visual identity by regulating development to ensure compatibility with the existing style, character or identity of the district area." The Heritage District overlay zoning district is not an option for Porters because the overlay cannot be applied to the RMF-5, MU-1, and U6 zoning districts. It can "be applied only to residential uses zoned RSF-1, RSF-2, RSF-3, RSF-4, and RC." Even if Porters had an eligible zoning district, it would not apply to the nonresidential uses located within the neighborhood.

The City's new land development code includes development compatibility standards (Sec. 30-4.8. Development compatibility), which apply within and/or near (within 100 feet of) specified districts. Standards relate to urban form, such as building heights, setbacks, and number of bedrooms, and permitted uses. The standards currently apply to districts such as the University of Florida Context Area, historic districts, the Power District, and Urban 1 (U1) (although no areas have yet been designated U1). A distinct "Porters District" could be designated, and standards created to match the specific neighborhood (district) character and vision. A district standard could unify the low density residential and surrounding areas. If this strategy is of interest to Porters residents and stakeholders, a more thorough analysis of the benefits and challenges should be conducted.

A preferred application of planning policy for the Porters neighborhood may be the rezoning of the RMF-5 portion to U2, a residential urban transect zone, followed by the creation and implementation of an overlay zoning district specifically for the Porters neighborhood. The overlay would be created in support of the Porters neighborhood narrative. The overlay would further serve to limit potentially objectionable uses, scale, and intensities that do not serve the Porters narrative in the U2, MU-1, and U6. Our review of the U2 zoning district leads us to believe that it would best implement the type, scale, and character of uses defined in the narrative. Since U2 is an urban zoning district, it also resolves many of the issues raised about lot sizes and the ability to split lots. Switching to U2 would increase the density from 12 du/ac to 15 du/ac, but since

multiple family larger than 2 to 4 units per building are not allowed, the increase in density would not allow buildings/uses out of character with the neighborhood.

Table D-3 lists the permitted and special uses allowed in the U2 zoning district. Uses not listed are prohibited.

Table D-3. Permitted and Special Uses within the U2 Zoning District (P = Permitted; S = Special Use)

Uses	U2
Residential	
Single-family house	P
Attached dwellings (up to 6 attached units)	P
Multi-family, small-scale (2 – 4 units per building)	P
Accessory dwelling units	P
Adult day care home	P
Community residential homes (up to 6 residents)	P
Dormitory, small	P
Family child care home	P
Nonresidential	
Bed and breakfasts	S
Community organizations	P
Day care centers	S
Places of religious assembly	P
Public parks	P
Schools	S

Table D-4 lists the dimensional standards for the U2 zoning district.

Table D-4. Dimensional Standards for the U2 Zoning District

	U2
Density/Intensity	
Maximum density	15 du/ac (maximum) No density bonus
Non-residential building coverage	80% (maximum)
Lot Standards	

	U2
Minimum lot area	None
Minimum lot width	18 ft
Minimum lot depth	None
Maximum Building Height	
By right	3stories/36 ft
With bonus	No height bonus
Minimum Setbacks	
Front	(building placement measured from curb) 15 ft (min) 20 ft (max)
Side (street)	NA
Side (interior)	5 ft
Rear	3 ft (alley) 10 ft (no alley)
Rear, accessory	NA

Gainesville Comprehensive Plan

A number of key elements from the Gainesville Comprehensive Plan provide the structure for new development, neighborhood safeguards, and enhancements to the Porters Community as well as suggest policy tools to realize community goals. The Porters Community is also in the University Context Area and in the Innovation Zone. This section includes with links to the complete document as well as useful maps and zoning resources.

From the City of Gainesville Comprehensive Plan:

- Capital Improvements Element (last revised 7/20/17): Policy 1.1.3 "The City shall schedule and fund City capital projects shown in the 5-Year Schedule of Capital Improvements included in this Element." This 5-Year schedule runs from FY 16/17 to 20/21. While none are directly in Porters, several are adjacent as listed here:

- Depot Avenue Reconstruction with sidewalks & bike lanes (from SW 13th St. to Williston Rd.) – to be completed in 2017.

- SW 6th St. Reconstruction with sidewalks & bike lanes (from Univ. Ave. to SW 4th Ave.) – to be completed in 2017.

- Depot Avenue Wastewater Collection Reconstruction – Segment 4 – not sure if this is adjacent to the community or not – set to be completed in 2017.

In addition, Objective 1.3 "require(s) future development to pay for its capital improvements that are required to maintain adopted LOS standards." It also obligates the city (provided funding is available) to address worn out facilities (see Objectives 1.5, 1.6, and 1.9) Specifically, Objective 1.5 states the following: "The City shall continue to schedule General Government Capital Improvements necessary to meet and maintain the LOS standards adopted in this Plan. The schedule shall give priority to correcting existing deficiencies and replacement of worn-out or obsolete facilities prior to the extension of new facilities." And Objective 1.6 states, "The City, through GRU, shall continue to schedule and fund water/wastewater capital improvements necessary to meet the standards adopted in this Plan. The schedule shall give priority to correcting existing deficiencies and replacing worn out or obsolete facilities prior to the extension of new facilities." Objective 1.9 specifically addresses the use of Stormwater Management Utility funds to address stormwater projects.

- Conservation, Open Space & Groundwater Recharge Element (last revised 8/15/13): Objective 1.1 states, "The City shall protect significant environmental lands and resources identified in the Environmentally Significant Land and Resources Series within the Future Land Use Map Series. The City shall identify environmentally significant open space and recreation sites for acquisition." The plan then sets minimum standards to protect "environmentally sensitive resources" from development. Does Porters have any of these? Further Goal 3 sites the "urban forest" and tree canopy as important features in Gainesville deserving protection: "IMPROVE URBAN SPACES THROUGH PRESERVATION AND ENHANCEMENT OF THE URBAN FOREST. MAINTAIN THE CITY'S COMMITMENT TO PRESERVATION OF THE URBAN FOREST AND STREET TREES AS A DEFINING FEATURE OF OUR COMMUNITY." [caps as indicated in quote.]

- Cultural Affairs Element (last revised 1/19/12): Objective 2.1 is relevant, "The City shall maximize access to the arts." Further Policies 2.1.2, 2.1.3, 2.1.4, and 2.1.7 are also relevant: "The City shall sponsor

cultural events in the downtown central city core and other redevelopment areas in order to foster reinvestment in these communities" (2.1.2). "Every five years, the City shall continue to review the physical conditions and accessibility of existing City facilities for their potential to meet community cultural needs" (2.1.3). "The City shall identify resources for cultural programs serving youth, elderly and other disadvantaged groups" (2.1.4). "The City shall promote public celebration of cultural diversity through public festivals and public events" (2.1.7). Policy 2.3.1 is also relevant: "The City shall cooperate with the School Board of Alachua County to enhance arts education through advocacy of the arts and support of extracurricular arts." There is also general support for art programs in Policy 2.3.2. So, nothing specific to Porters here, but given the Community Center's significance to the neighborhood, these objectives and policies may provide support for specific initiatives in the community, especially targeting children and the elderly.

- Future Land Use Element (last revised 7/20/17): General commitment to encouraging mixed use and discouraging sprawl.

  o   Goal 2 is especially relevant for a place like the Porters Community (but does not appear to have been implemented in this case): "Redevelop areas within the city, as needed, in a manner that promotes quality of life, transportation choice, a healthy economy, and discourages sprawl." Further, Objective 2.1 states, "Redevelopment should be encouraged to promote compact, vibrant urbanism, improve the condition of blighted areas, discourage urban sprawl, and foster compact development patterns that promote transportation choice." The policy that follows seems to allude to the Special Area Plans that have been eliminated, "The City shall develop recommendations for areas designated as redevelopment areas, neighborhood centers and residential neighborhoods in need of neighborhood enhancement and stabilization" (Policy 2.1.1). The subsections address "unique function and image of the area" (a), "recommendations regarding economic development strategies, urban design schemes, land use changes, traffic calming, and infrastructure improvements" (b), and identification of "potential infill and redevelopment sites" (c).

  o   Policy 2.1.2 specifically addresses "accommodate[ing] increases in student enrollment at the University of Florida and the location of students, faculty, and staff in areas designated for multi-family residential development and/or appropriate mixed-use development within 1/2 mile of the University of Florida campus and the Innovation Square area (rather than at the urban fringe), but outside of single-family neighborhoods."

o   Objective 2.2 – involves "develop[ing] the Innovation Economy within the nonresidential areas of the Gainesville Innovation Zone." The Porters Community is within the "Innovation Zone Map" but much of the area is zoned residential.

o   Objective 2.3 specifically addresses Community Redevelopment Areas as follows: "The City shall collaborate with the Community Redevelopment Agency (CRA) to designate Community Redevelopment Areas that encourage reinvestment in the form of capital projects, infill redevelopment, and economic development programs designed to eradicate slum and blight and enhance urban form." As with other sections of the documents quoted here, the question becomes to what degree is the City (and CRA) obligated to meet these goals, objectives, and policies in relation to the Porters Community?

o   Objective 3.2 makes a commitment to historic resources as follows: "The City shall protect historic architectural and archaeological resources." Policy 3.2.1 specifically addresses "Historic Preservation/**Conservation Overlays**" but does not mention heritage districts.

o   Objective 3.3 deals with "adequate land for utility facilities" to accommodate new development, and Objective 3.4 maintains that the City "shall ensure that services and facilities needed to meet and maintain the Level of Service (LOS) standards adopted in this Plan are provided." According to Policy 3.4.2, a "concurrency analysis" shall occur "prior to the approval of any application for a development order or permit" and that these services must be available concurrent with development.

o   Objective 3.5 addresses future plans between, among others, the City and UF for "consistency". Policy 3.5.1 explicitly addresses promoting "compact development" and consistency with LOS standards. Policy 3.5.5 regards the City's coordination with the UF Campus Master Plan, "as appropriate, to support future university growth while mitigating any impacts on public facilities and services such as roads, utilities, parks and recreation." Note that impacts on residential areas are not addressed here. Finally, Policy 3.5.6 discusses the response the City will take in cases of "adverse impacts" of development: "The City and the University of Florida shall monitor development both on and off campus and assess impacts on University and City resources, facilities and services. When it has been determined that proposed development within the designated context area would have an adverse impact on University and/or City facilities and resources, the

City will participate and cooperate with University officials in the identification of appropriate strategies to mitigate the impacts."

o   Goal 4 focuses on land use and outlines what the City values (all caps in the document): "THE FUTURE LAND USE ELEMENT SHALL FOSTER THE UNIQUE CHARACTER OF THE CITY BY DIRECTING GROWTH AND REDEVELOPMENT IN A MANNER THAT: USES NEIGHBORHOOD CENTERS TO PROVIDE GOODS AND SERVICES TO CITY RESIDENTS; PROTECTS NEIGHBORHOODS; DISTRIBUTES GROWTH AND ECONOMIC ACTIVITY THROUGHOUT THE CITY IN KEEPING WITH THE DIRECTION OF THIS ELEMENT; PRESERVES QUALITY OPEN SPACE; AND PRESERVES THE TREE CANOPY OF THE CITY. THE FUTURE LAND USE ELEMENT SHALL PROMOTE STATEWIDE GOALS FOR COMPACT DEVELOPMENT AND EFFICIENT USE OF INFRASTRUCTURE.

- Most of the Porters Community is zoned RMF-5, which is within the land use category of Residential Low-Density (up to 15 units per acre). The description is as follows (see pg. A-12): "This land use category shall allow dwellings at densities up to 15 units per acre. The Residential Low-Density land use category identifies those areas within the City that, due to topography, soil conditions, surrounding land uses and development patterns, are appropriate for single-family development, particularly the **conservation of existing traditional low density neighborhoods**, single-family attached and zero-lot line development, and small-scale multifamily development. Land development regulations shall determine gradations of density, specific uses and performance measures. Land development regulations shall specify criteria for the siting of low-intensity residential facilities to accommodate special need populations and appropriate community level institutional facilities such as places of religious assembly, public and private schools other than institutions of higher learning, and libraries. Land development regulations shall allow home occupations; accessory units in conjunction with single-family dwellings; and bed-and-breakfast establishments within certain limitations."

- The areas along 4th Ave. and Main St. are designated Mixed-Use Low Intensity (8-30 units per acre). The description is as follows (see pg. A-13 to A-14): "This land use category allows a mixture of residential and non-residential uses such as standard lot single-family houses, small-lot single-family houses, duplex houses, townhouses (attached housing), accessory dwelling units, group homes, multi-family housing (if compatible in scale and

character with other dwellings in the proposed neighborhood), offices scaled to serve the surrounding neighborhood, retail scaled to serve the surrounding neighborhood, public and private schools, places of religious assembly and other community civic uses. Light assembly, fabrication, and processing uses within fully enclosed structures may be allowed as specially regulated uses through a Special Use Permit process established in the Land Development Code. Residential development shall be limited to 8 to 30 units per acres. Lots that existed on November 13, 1991 and that are less than or equal to 0.5 acres in size shall be exempt from minimum density requirements. Unified developments that include a residential and nonresidential component (either horizontally or vertically mixed) shall not be required to meet the minimum density requirements. Intensity will be controlled, in part, by adopting land development regulations that establish height limits of 5 stories or less; however, height may be increased to a maximum of 8 stories by Special Use Permit. Land development regulations shall establish the thresholds for the percentage of mixed uses for new development or redevelopment of sites 10 acres or larger. At a minimum, the land development regulations shall encourage that: at least 10 percent of the floor area of new development or redevelopment of such sites be residential; or, that the surrounding area of equal or greater size than the development or redevelopment site, and within 1/4 mile of the site, have a residential density of at least 6 units per acre. Residential use shall not be a required development component for public and private schools, institutions of higher learning, places of religious assembly and other community civic uses. Buildings in this category shall face the street and have modest front setbacks." Further, "[t] his category shall not be used to extend strip commercial development along a street. Land development regulations shall ensure a compact, pedestrian-friendly environment for these areas, and provide guidelines or standards for the compatibility of permitted uses."

- Planned Use Districts can be established as an overlay "on any specific property in the City." See p. A-18 for more on this.

o   Objective 4.2 established protection for "low-intensity uses from the negative impacts of high-intensity uses and provide for the healthy coexistence and integration of various land uses." Policy 4.2.1 specifically addresses buffering and protection for low-intensity from higher-intensity uses as follows: "The City shall adopt land development regulations that provide protection for adjacent residential areas and low intensity uses from the impacts of high intensity u s e s by s e p a r a t i n g

intense u s e s from l o w -intensity u s e s by transitional uses and by performance measures. Performance measures shall address the buffering of adjacent uses by landscape, building type and site design. Regulation of building type shall insure compatibility of building scale, and overall building appearance in selected areas. Regulation of site design shall address orientation. Such regulation shall also include arrangement of functions within a site, such as parking, loading, waste disposal, access points, outdoor uses and mechanical equipment; and the preservation of site characteristics such as topography, natural features and tree canopy."

o   Objective 4.3 states, "The City shall establish protection and enhancement policies, as needed, for selected neighborhood (activity) and regional centers." And the policy that directly follows (Policy 4.3.1) briefly outlines a vision for a larger area that includes Porters: "The Central City Town Center shall integrate the University of Florida, the Innovation Square area, and the Central City District into one dynamic core."

o   Goal 5 deals with the City's urban design standards setting certain general standards that may prove useful when dealing with proposed new development. It states (all caps in quoted material), "ENHANCE THE CITY'S URBAN FORM THROUGH THE IMPLEMENTATION OF DESIGN STANDARDS IN THE LAND DEVELOPMENT CODE AND THROUGH COORDINATION WITH THE UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA." Objective 5.1 more specifically addresses the focus here, "Urban design standards established in the Land Development Code shall enhance the sense of place, improve the urban form, and provide for the safety and comfort of pedestrians, bicycles, transit, and other vehicles in the City. These standards shall reflect a commitment to improve and maintain the vitality of the City and its neighborhoods." Objective 5.3 specifically addresses Innovation Square, "The City shall coordinate with the University of Florida design efforts as contained within the Campus Master Plan and future design plans for Innovation Square." **The most important Objective here is 5.4, which states, "The City shall partner with neighborhoods to facilitate effective communication between the neighborhood residents and the City and develop specific actions to address neighborhood identified goals and improvements." Under this Objective is Policy 5.4.1, which addresses heritage overlay districts for stabilization, "The City shall create heritage, conservation or other appropriate overlay districts as needed for neighborhood stabilization."**

- Historic Preservation Element (last revised 1/19/12): Porters is not a historic district. At the same time, the mention of heritage districts is intriguing, though they are not specifically addressed in this element. I

understand that the term was first used in relation to the area adjacent to A. Quinn Jones as a means to identify and provide some protections for historic fabric while not going quite as far as local historic district designation (i.e., conservation district) and the additional rules and requirements this brings. The element does not have any material in it regarding heritage districts. Note: Shady Grove Primitive Baptist Church at 804 SW 5th St. is the only historic site in Porters listed on Florida's Black Heritage Trail.

- Housing Element (last revised 8/15/13): in general the City is consistent with the direction HUD has taken (based on a continuing devolution of government housing funds away from direct development via housing authorities) with the Housing Element's first goal asserting assistance to "private and non-profit housing sector in providing housing for low income, very low-income, and extremely low-income households." Policy 1.1.2 concerns city-owned parcels being provided to private and non-profit developers while Policy 1.1.3 states, "The City shall develop City-owned scattered site lots with affordable single-family residential units." Policy 1.1.4 regards the role of the city in ensuring zoning is not "unduly limiting" to housing for low income persons: "The City shall review and evaluate zoning and other regulations that pertain to housing to insure that requirements continue to be reasonable and do not unduly limit opportunities for lower income groups to secure housing in desirable locations." The City uses the term "workforce housing" in addition to the income limits noted above. Objective 1.5 deals with "innovative design of affordable housing." Discussion here includes "alternative building materials." Goal 2 attests to the City's dedication to fair housing and policies here address siting of special needs populations such as those experiencing homelessness and the elderly. Goal 3 is relevant for the Porters Community: "The City, with the assistance of private and non-profit organizations, shall maintain sound viable neighborhoods and revitalize those that have suffered disrepair and neglect." Policy 3.1.2 specifically addresses the obligation of the city to maintain infrastructure: "The City shall maintain and rehabilitate publicly owned infrastructure and facilities in older neighborhoods in order to prevent neighborhood decline." Another policy addresses a commitment to neighborhood planning: "The City shall help neighborhoods develop plans that address neighborhood character, stability, housing, safety, infrastructure, and historic resources" (see Policy 3.1.4). Given the development adjacent to Porters, Policy 3.1.5 is also critical, "The City shall facilitate communication and dialogue with neighborhood groups regarding proposed developments in and around their neighborhoods." The policy also directly references a role for the Neighborhood Housing Development Corporation (NHDC) and the Central Florida Community Action Agency (CFCAA) to prevent neighborhood decline (Policy 3.1.6) and to support conservation and rehabilitation (Policy 3.1.7). Policy 3.1.9 connects jobs and housing: "Realizing the connection between

economic stability and the preservation of affordable housing, the City, through technical assistance and loan programs for economic development, shall provide economic development assistance to low-income, very low-income, and extremely low-income areas in order to create and retain jobs and to enhance and preserve surrounding neighborhoods." While the Historic Preservation Element did not specifically cite Heritage Overlay Districts, the Housing Element (Policy 3.1.11) does as follows: "The City shall allow Heritage Overlay Districts, as needed, for neighborhood stabilization." So it appears that while this has not been used to date, it is specifically discussed for neighborhoods like Porters. Objective 3.2 addresses maintenance and repairs of owner occupied units for low, very-low, and extremely low income households. Policy 3.2.2 addresses CDBG funds as a source of support for these repairs/rehabs, but this resource is under-funded and may be significantly minimized under the current administration. Objective 3.4 addresses the role of the city in addressing displacement due to redevelopment. Objective 3.5 notes the role of the City in encouraging home ownership in the University Context Area: "The City shall develop strategies to increase the level of owner-occupancy in the University Context Area." Finally, Policy 4.1.1 "encourage[s] infill and cluster subdivisions in order to protect environmentally sensitive lands and to promote energy conservation."

- Note: The support document for the Housing Element – the Housing Element Data and Analysis – is dated (3/4/02), so I am not so sure how helpful it will be, especially since it predates the worst of the housing bubble as well as its bursting.

- Note: Definitely check out the Consolidated Plan – it is likely to have more recent housing data than the document noted directly above. Another potential resource is the Shimberg Center for Housing.

• Public Schools Facilities Element (last revised 8/15/13): Addresses school capacity, school location, and intergovernmental coordination for effective planning of public school facilities. Deals with purchasing sites to enhance the city's park system (among the criteria is the cost of land and level of service standards), design and programming of parks, access to parks, recreation programs for youth as a key priority, and the need for recreation planning with citizen input. Has a specific section on "Park Design and Function Standards" specified by category of park, including neighborhood parks.

• Recreation Element (last revised 5/17/12): Addresses trail access and greenbelt value, both of which could be relevant along the eastern edge of the neighborhood as the SW 6th St. bike trail runs adjacent to the community.

- Transportation Mobility Element (last revised 7/20/17): Addresses complete streets, transit, bike trails, and pedestrian needs. The role of the RTS and location of bus routes are specifically listed as are improvements to infrastructure and strategies to ease congestion. Similarly, other infrastructure elements do not specifically address Porters but commit to maintaining a certain level of service. The Capital Improvements Element discussed above is the more relevant in targeting specific projects.

Planning Resources

Here is a link to the city maps:

http://www.cityofgainesville.org/PlanningDepartment/MappingandGIS/MapLibrary.aspx Of particular interest is the UF Context Area map (shown below in Figure D-2), which includes significant portions of the core area of Gainesville; Development Projects in Gainesville (for those under review and approved); the Department of Doing Interactive Map (which shows current zoning); and the Future Land Use Element Innovation Zone Map. There are other maps here that also may be of interest. You can find current and proposed zoning, project development, and other specific map apps on this page. The "interactive map" app actually lets you turn off and on all the layers so you can see different mappings, such as the Special Area Plans and Enterprise Zones. The layer button is on the bottom menu second from the left, called "layer list turn off and on."
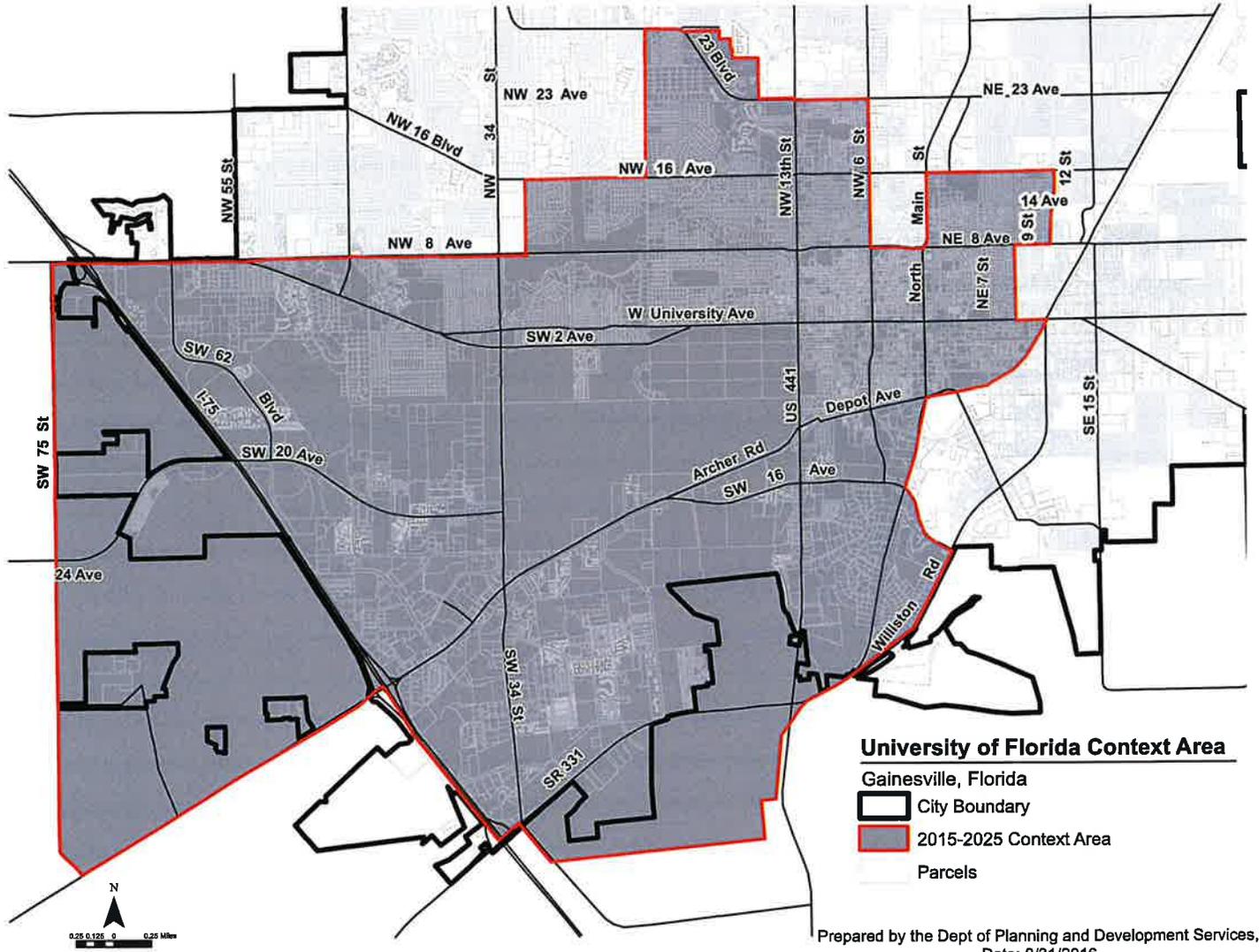
Existing zoning descriptions can also be found on the municode page:

https://library.municode.com/fl/gainesville/codes/code_of_ordinances?nodeId=PTIICOOR_CH30LADECO

The Comp Plan Elements can also be found online:

http://www.cityofgainesville.org/PlanningDepartment/ComprehensivePlanning/PlanElements.aspx

Figure D-2. University of Florida Context Area Map

APPENDIX E: Box City Building List

Built:

9/19/17

Basketball court
Waterpark
Outdoor Basketball Court
Pool
Football field.
Elementary School
Church (large & medium)
Police Station
Locker rooms.
homeless shelter Large
Hospital (large)
Library
Community Center
Fire Station
Amusement Park
Post office
zoo
Vets office
Middle school
Pay 2
Coffee shop
Pizza shop
5 and Below
nail salon
Beauty salon
Pink store
Game store

APPENDIX F: Steering Committee Photos of Desired Development

The George Gallery, Charleston (CGA, 2018).

Bywater, New Orleans (Infrogmation of New Orleans, 2017)

Bywater Homes, New Orleans (Latter & Blum Realtors, 2018)

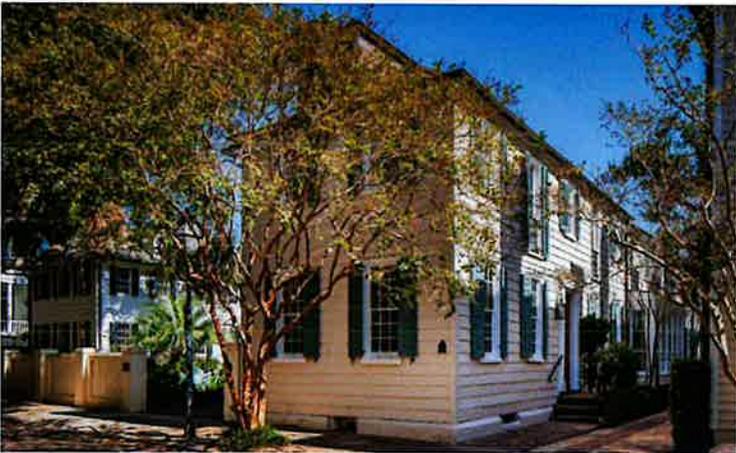*Bywater Cafe, New Orleans (Gardner Realtors, 2018)*

Bywater Cottages, New Orleans (DPZ Partners, 2016).
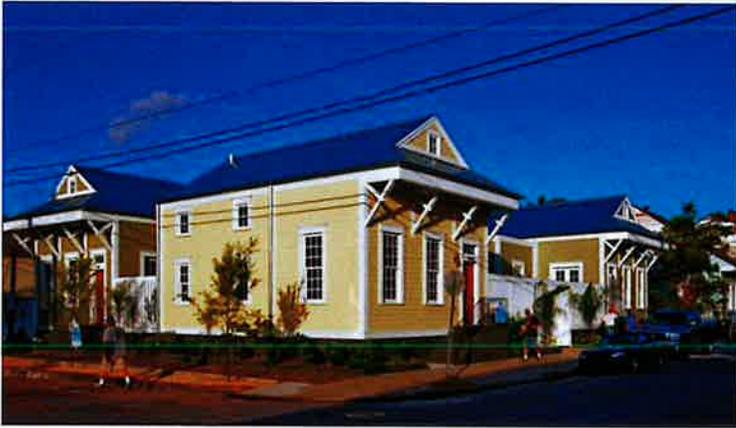
Bywater Cottages, New Orleans (DPZ Partners, 2016)

Charleston, South Carolina (Charleston County, 2018).

Charleston Homes (Handsome Properties, 2018)

Conch Houses, Key West (Building Plans Online, 2018).

Greenwood Avenue Cottages, Seattle (Ross Chapin Architects, 2018).

French Quarter, New Orleans (Gardner Relators, 2012).

Frenchmen Street, New Orleans (PPS, 2015).

Jones Street, Savannah (Leading Real Estate, 2018).

Jones Street, Savannah (Trulia, 2018).

Post-Katrina Housing, New Orleans (Fountain, 2015).

Single-Family Homes, New Orleans (Gonahker, 2018).

Chapelton Community Design (Duany, 2013).

Savannah Sidewalk (The City Sidewalks, 2016).
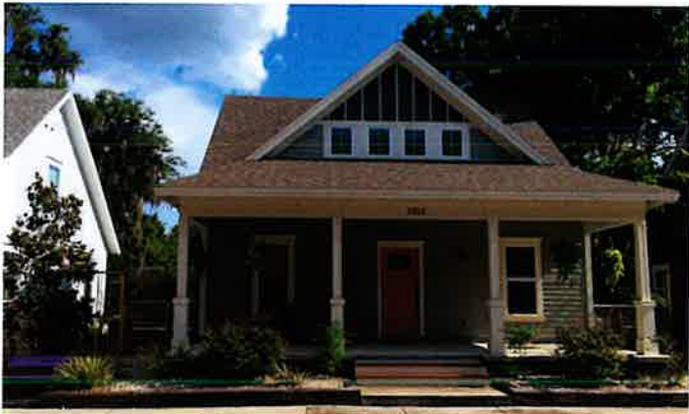

Terry Lane, Key West

Home in Porters

Restaurant in Savannah (Connect Savannah, 2014)

Homes in Porters Neighborhood

Eastwood Homes in Gainesville