LEARNING AND UNDERSTANDING EMPOWERMENT PLANNING: AN EMERGENT MODEL THAT BUILDS COMMUNITY CAPACITY TO AFFECT NEIGHBORHOOD PLANNING OUTCOMES

by

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ABSTRACT

TARA BENGLE. Learning And Understanding Empowerment Planning: An Emergent Model That Builds Community Capacity To Affect Neighborhood Planning Outcomes. (Under the direction of DR. JANNI SORENSEN)

This research explores empowerment planning (Reardon, 1996) for the purpose of adding to its body of theory, in order to build better, more inclusive planning processes. Through this research I develop a more nuanced understanding of empowerment planning via experiences in Reid Park, a historically marginalized black community on the west side of Charlotte. The community engaged in empowerment planning to organize for the implementation of a community-driven neighborhood park plan. This case study is unique in that it breaks empowerment planning into its three individual methodologies—popular education; participatory action research (PAR); and community organizing—and intentionally applies each methodology in a cumulative fashion to enable learning at each stage (Beard, 2003) via the introduction of three community-driven interventions. Each intervention is designed to develop participants' capacity to engage in empowerment planning so that participants learn the process progressively.

Based on this research I suggest a new conceptualization of empowerment planning that better explains how participants learn power through the application of popular education and empowerment planning. This research includes recommendations for community development and planning practice, as well as education in these fields. Also included are policy recommendations for local municipalities for the adoption of a more neighborhood-centric model of participatory planning in Reid Park.

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to the Reid Park residents that made this research possible. Thank you for the time that you have invested in Reid Park and for the trust that you put in me!

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ASC	Arts and Science Council
BOCC	Board of County Commissioners
BOD	Board of Directors
CBD	central business district
CDC	community development corporation
CDBG	Community Development Block Grant
CHARP	Charlotte Action Research Project
CIP	Capital Improvement Program
CMS	Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools
CPW	Community Planning Workshop
CUP	community-university partnership
EPZ	Empowerment Zone
ETZ	Enterprise Zone
HH	Habitat for Humanity Charlotte
HL	Highlander Education and Research Center
HOPE VI	Housing Opportunities for People Everywhere
HUD	Department of Housing and Urban Development
IRB	Institutional Review Board
JCSU	Johnson C. Smith University
JLC	Junior League of Charlotte
MCPR	Mecklenburg County Park and Recreation
NAP	Neighborhood Action Plan

NBS	City of Charlotte Neighborhood and Business Services
NMG	Neighborhood Matching Grant
NPS	Neighborhood Planning Seminar
NSHD	Neighborhood Self Help Development
NSP	Reid Park Neighborhood School Partnership
PAR	participatory action research
PTO	Parent Teacher Organization
RPA	Reid Park Academy
RPI	Reid Park Initiative
RPNA	Reid Park Neighborhood Association
SOC	System of Care

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Federal government policies historically have been one source of vast spatial inequality, especially in urban core areas. Many urban neighborhoods followed a dismal path of decline after the adoption of the 1934 Federal Housing Act enabled whites to purchase homes in the newly developing suburbs using federally insured loans (Kimble, 2007). Developments in transportation and communication facilitated the exodus of manufacturing from many urban cores along with the simultaneous migration of middle class whites, a phenomenon that produced metropolitan regions characterized by immense inequalities (Downs, 1994; Keating, 1999; Teitz & Chapple, 1998). Consequently, the urban landscape became concentrated with substandard housing, people living in poverty, decaying infrastructure, and high crime rates (Reardon, 2009; Wilson, 1987; Wyly, Glockman, & Lahr, 1990). The federal response dating back to urban renewal of the 1950s and 1960s has centered on eradicating blight through the implementation of planning processes that are not inclusive of the voices of historically marginalized populations (Friedman, 1987).

A renewed interest in cities has emerged over the past few decades, as new waves of whites have moved to center cities. The urban environment is forever reorganizing in response to changes in transportation, economy, preferences and community. Underlying rapid urban growth over the past decade is the reorganization of jobs and residential location in response to changes in transport systems (Harvey, 2009). These recent changes in the urban environment are attracting young, primarily white professionals who are drawn to the urban housing style and amenities the city has to offer.

These young professionals choose locations with easy access to work, restaurants, outdoor recreation facilities and other social venues (Florida, 2002). As a result, neighborhoods that provide convenient access to these desired spaces experience gentrification and urban renewal producing what Berry (1985) identifies as ‘islands of renewal in seas of decay’. While these urban processes of reorganization are well understood among geographers, the implications for changes in the distribution of income resulting from this reorganization remain of particular interest to many Marxist geographers (Harvey, 2009) as whites displace previous residents of urban neighborhoods (Wyly & Hammel, 1999).

While many central business districts (CBD) and neighborhoods adjacent to the CBD reap the benefits of this reorganization through neoliberal policies that produce conspicuous public and private reinvestment to these locales (Miraftab, 2004), they stand in stark contrast to many surrounding urban neighborhoods. The geographic literature from the Marxist tradition suggests that residents of low-income neighborhoods do not have to accept what might seem to be the inevitable fate of decline or gentrification that is caused by urban spatial reorganization. Instead, it is argued that residents have agency to shift neighborhoods in positive directions by challenging the current policies that produce inequalities and the unequal distribution of income (Harvey, 1985; Harvey, 2009).

Agency is, however, restricted by structures that limit our choices (Entrikin & Tepple, 2006). Often, the agency of low-income residents is constrained by the actions of outside organizations who make decisions on their behalf. They experience an array of barriers to meaningful participation in participatory processes that are meant to build citizen power (Arnstein, 1969) and often do not have the capacity challenge the status quo. Rather, typical government led planning processes reproduce systems of inequality through their complacency to challenge these systems (Klosterman, 1996). The impending threat of urban gentrification and lack of power of historically marginalized neighborhoods linked to the continued implementation of poor participatory processes should be regarded as a call to action for the planning profession and others concerned with the ‘Just City’ (Fainstein, 2009; Harvey, 2009; Marcuse, 2009).

The stark inequalities produced by urban restructuring are evident in Charlotte where corporate banking interests catalyzed the formation of public-private partnerships in the center city to create desirable spaces for the banking elite. The result has been patterns of disinvestment evident in low-income neighborhoods throughout the city (Smith & Graves, 2003). The contrast among the West Charlotte neighborhood of Reid Park and surrounding gentrifying neighborhoods is reflective of many urban areas facing increasing inequality. Located just four miles from center city Charlotte, the predominantly African-American neighborhood of Reid Park bares little resemblance to nearby gentrified neighborhoods like Wilmore, where once affordable single family residential property has been converted into desirable lofts following the arrival of the new light rail system.

The physical and social elements of neighborhood conditions are evidence that traditional government led rational models of planning do not prepare residents, like those in Reid Park, to advocate effectively for policies that favor their neighborhoods.

Although planners recognize that traditional models of planning have failed to address the increasing disparities evident between rich and poor, a practical model for a city of equality and justice has yet to be developed (Fainstein, 2009). More radical theories of planning have emerged in recent decades that emphasize situated knowledge, community control, and citizen power, but many of these theories are largely normative producing a practice to theory gap, or fail to translate into real action—a critique often aimed at planning practice identified as communicative action planning (Fainstein, 2009).

Empowerment planning (Reardon, 1996; Reardon, 1998) is an emergent model of radical planning that translates the ideals of the 'Just City' (Fainstein, 2009) into an applicable framework for integrating planning as social learning and planning as mobilization (Friedman, 1987). Empowerment planning incorporates the tenets of popular education, participatory action research (PAR), and community organizing to effectively engage groups of limited power in the planning process to transform, empower, and mobilize residents to challenge the trajectory of disinvestment in economically depressed neighborhoods (Reardon, 2000).

This study is meant to explore empowerment planning for the purpose of adding to its body of theory in order to build better, more inclusive planning processes that are informed by practice. I develop an understanding of empowerment planning through experiences in Reid Park embodied in the introduction of three interventions. This research is unique in that it breaks empowerment planning into its three methodologies and intentionally applies each cumulatively to enable competency at each step (Beard, 2003). Each of the three interventions is specifically designed to target one of the three components of empowerment planning.

The urban neighborhood of Reid Park has experienced decline over the past several decades and is now facing the threat of gentrification. In this project I argue that current efforts in Reid Park to revitalize the neighborhood offer little hope for residents to improve their quality of life while also maintaining affordable living. I further argue that to alter this trajectory we need to plan and implement change in ways that include the voices, strengths and needs of current residents of the neighborhoods we aim to change (Reardon, 1996). Therefore this project's purpose is closely tied to exploring how this might be done by expanding the knowledge base of work started by Reardon in the 1990's. That work has been never fully developed and researched from an empirical and theoretical standpoint. To help contextually situate this problem statement, I begin this introduction with a discussion of neighborhood change and urban policy to better explain the process of urban decline, as well as the state's response to decline. I then describe the Reid Park context and the relationship of the neighborhood to several local institutions including the Charlotte Action Research Project (CHARP), Reid Park Academy (RPA), the City of Charlotte's Neighborhood and Business Services (NBS), and Mecklenburg County Park and Recreation (MCPR). Using an existing neighborhood school partnership as an illustrative example, I then transition into a discussion of Reid Park partners and their power over decision-making affecting Reid Park at the start of this study, in this way documenting pre-intervention conditions in my case study setting. Finally, I further describe the research purpose and specific questions.

1.1 Neighborhood Change and Federal Responses

The urban environment is a complex system and, as described above, changes in urban neighborhoods are the result of complex shifts in labor markets, histories of discrimination, transportation, and communication systems and the effect they have on residential housing choices or lack of choice (Berry, 1985; Harvey, 1985; Schwirian, 1983; Temkin & Rohe, 1996). The following will discuss the implications of these changes at the neighborhood level with a discussion of theoretical models used to explain neighborhood change. Much of the research in neighborhood change relies on quantitative measures to define neighborhood change while reducing neighborhood actors to bystanders observing processes they are unable to control. These models inform policies that aim to address urban decline, but many of the models do not develop an understanding of the experiences of those most impacted, and thus fail to tie into and understand their innate knowledge and ability to affect positive neighborhood outcomes (Temkin & Rohe, 1996).

1.11 Models of Neighborhood Change

Neighborhood change in the context of this research is primarily focused on the process of decline that takes place across multiple dimensions of a neighborhood. Physical decline in housing stock, loss of economic activity, and loss of amenities are some of the more visible signs of decay. Neighborhoods experiencing change also exhibit shifts in demographics such as education level, income, racial composition, and social status of residents. As property values in neighborhoods decline, so does the tax base generated by those properties. Changes in social interactions within a neighborhood, although not as visible from the outside as these other indicators of change, are nonetheless evident to community members and are important components of neighborhood change (Beauregard, 1990; Galster, 2001; Grigsby, Baratz, Galster, & Maclennan, 1987). Neighborhood change usually occurs fairly slowly unless precipitated by other significant events such as disinvestment, demolition, demagoguery, and deindustrialization. In turn, these changes can drive other processes like crime, physical decline, and social disorder.

Scholars from a range of disciplines have developed multiple models of neighborhood change over the past half-century, the majority of which are based upon quantifiable variables of change. Two classic models of neighborhood change include the invasion-succession model and the life cycle model (Schwirian, 1983). The first is characterized by an invasion of a new population from a different race that results in the succession of the original population if residents feel sufficiently threatened. The second model, the life cycle model of neighborhood change, breaks the life cycle of a neighborhood into five stages—development, transition, downgrading, thinning out, and renewal. As neighborhoods undergo change, it is not necessary that they pass through all stages. Alternatively, many neighborhoods cycle through the same two or three stages repeatedly or become stuck in a single stage for an extended period (Schwirian, 1983).

While these classic models can trace their roots to the 1950s, more recent models of neighborhood change have emerged over the past few decades. Newer perspectives introduced by urban ecologists explain neighborhood change through filtering, bid rent, and border models (Temkin & Rohe, 1996). These models recognize that forces existing beyond the neighborhood boundaries and throughout the metropolitan area are responsible for changes in neighborhoods. These changes impact the choices that homeowners and landlords make about selling, moving and upgrading their property. Residents and investors continually assess risk based on changes in the overall market area that impact more localized decision-making (Galster, 2001).

By focusing on use value and exchange value of land, a political economy model of neighborhood change reduces the neighborhood to a passive landscape where outcomes are driven entirely by economic interests (Temkin & Rohe, Neighborhood change and urban policy, 1996). From this perspective, neighborhood stability is the product of exogenous actions as illustrated by the conceptualization of the city as a growth machine (Molotch, 1976), where the economic interest of local politicians drives the uneven distribution of capital across the urban landscape (Schwirian, 1983). An underlying assumption in this model of neighborhood change is that neighborhoods have no power over outside actors like developers and are unable to preserve the current use of their neighborhoods. Endogenous qualities of neighborhoods such as attachment to place and social capital are irrelevant in this model (Temkin & Rohe, 1996).

Models of land economics do not sufficiently explain additional factors impacting neighborhood change. A socio-cultural view recognizes that there are other influences present affecting neighborhood stability. They include features such as place attachment, social networks and neighborhood image that can influence the choice of some neighborhood groups to stay and defend their neighborhood (Temkin & Rohe, Neighborhood change and urban policy, 1996). Similarly, neighborhood governance, although absent from many discussions of neighborhood change, is a component worthy of consideration if taking into account the power that might result as neighborhood organizations work cooperatively to steer their neighborhoods in defense of decline. However, fluctuations in neighborhood governance can occur as residents migrate out of neighborhoods and are subsequently replaced by a new population, inducing changes in the patterns of everyday life of a neighborhood (Somerville, Van Beckhoven, & Van

Kempen, 2009). The resulting unfamiliarity springing from population changes can weaken social ties in neighborhoods and decrease rates of participation (Skogan, 1986).

Recognizing the strengths and weaknesses of each of these different models of neighborhood change, Tempkin and Rohe (1996) recommend a new synthetic model. This model suggests that neighborhoods can leverage themselves to influence outside resources. Physical, social, and geographical characteristics are all relevant in this model that accounts for the interactions of changes occurring throughout metropolitan areas and the social characteristics of neighborhoods. They combine ideas from several perspectives recognizing that the degree to which metropolitan changes in economic and social characteristics effects stability, depends on individual neighborhood features like the presence of social networks, the place attachment that is experienced by residents, and the perceived reputation of a neighborhood. They argue that this explains why we see variations in stability across neighborhoods that have the same physical and spatial characteristics. However, the strength of a neighborhood's social fabric does not sufficiently prepare a neighborhood for defense. A neighborhood must also be able to influence outside infringing forces that are consistent with the political economy framework, but unlike the political economy model, residents are not just passive agents but instead possess the capacity to influence those political forces (Temkin & Rohe, 1996).

Neighborhood decline is not an inevitable fate; the course of decline can be altered via the introduction of thoughtful interventions. When two key factors of neighborhood stability—a strong social fabric and the ability of residents to influence outside actors—are coalesced, a neighborhood's trajectory can be altered (Temkin &

Rohe, 1996). When preparing a neighborhood for defense, targeting interventions to build social capital and empower residents is a starting point for sustainable neighborhood revitalization.

1.12 Historic Responses to Urban Decline

The majority of urban federal policy that has been enacted to address neighborhood change has resulted in top-down urban planning. Urban renewal was the most extensive effort undertaken by the federal government in an attempt to eliminate poverty (Keating, 1999). From the 1950s through 1970s, urban renewal wiped out 600,000 homes, replacing only 12,000 of those homes with affordable housing options for residents with limited financial means (Reardon, 2009). Implemented as a means to revitalize the CBD and increase its competitiveness with the thriving suburbs, urban renewal replaced public housing with parking lots as entire neighborhoods were leveled when the federal interstate system was built to increase connectivity to the center city (Keating, 1999).

Civic dissatisfaction with the urban renewal program and the urban riots of the summers between 1964 and 1968 resulted in mandated resident participation in the planning process. In response, nervous politicians threatened by President Johnson's War on Poverty enforced restrictions on participation. Incepted in 1964, the War on Poverty enabled funding to be funneled directly to community organizations. Community organizations benefiting from these funds frequently met powerful elites head on with confrontational community organizing tactics. This resistance ultimately led to the unpopularity of this program. A sentiment of contempt from those that maintained the status quo is evidenced in a 1969 article by Moynihan, whereby Keating

(1999) quotes “[it] was later argued that empowerment of the poor was never intended to be a federal policy (p. 20).”

More comprehensive programs for combating poverty followed and in 1967 the Model Cities program was formed in an effort to enable a holistic approach that focused on education, health, workforce training, and public safety. Only minimal funds were applied towards housing. The program also intended to develop local leadership within marginalized communities (Carmon, 1997). Under the management of President Nixon, the Model Cities and Urban Renewal programs were consolidated into a new Housing and Urban Development (HUD) initiative, the Community Development Block Grant (CDBG) program. Unlike previous government initiatives, CDBGs are place-based initiatives that enable local and state authorities to decide how to distribute funds (Macedo, 2009). As part of the New Federalism regime, the program shifted US housing policy to the local level (Green & Haines, 2008). Although the primary beneficiaries of this funding mechanism were intended to be those groups living in poverty, the money was spread throughout communities having little benefit to those it was intended to assist (Keating, 1999).

The economic downturn of the 1970s gave way to a new cycle of central city revitalization arriving primarily in the form of economic development. Neoliberalisation and public-private partnerships, whereby planners facilitate the private development of public space, emerged during that era, and frequently resulted in mixed-use developments that often excluded the poor from capitalizing on these investments (Miraftab, 2004). Also evident during this period was gentrification that created a new wave of displacement as in-migrants revitalized homes pushing the incumbent population out of neighborhoods (Carmon, 1997).

Although poor neighborhoods were frequently the target of federal programs, President Carter was the first president to establish an office within HUD focused specifically on neighborhoods. With the creation of the Neighborhood Self-Help Development (NSHD) program, federal money was channeled to support the increasing number of community development corporations and other neighborhood-based organizations. Federal cutbacks during the Regan era quickly eliminated both HUD's office of neighborhoods and the NSHD. In support of the private market, neoliberal policies favored section-8 housing vouchers over previous federally driven anti-poverty programs during this period (Keating, 1999).

Three important initiatives evolved during the Clinton Administration. The first to be discussed are the Enterprise Zones and Empowerment Zones. The Enterprise Zones (ETZ) that emerged in the 1990's ranged in geographical diversity from rural and suburban to urban settings. The focus of the program was on economic development and job creation. All ETZs were characterized by targeted investment or services to a particular area, but differ widely by what those look like. Tax incentives were a major tool used to attract investment to an ETZ. The Empowerment Zone (EPZ) legislation also includes a direct grant-making tool like those made available through CDBGs. New to the legislation is the requirement that local governments submit strategic development plans that consider a more comprehensive perspective of development that focuses on the physical, social, environmental, and economic attributes of a zone. Between the two programs there is a noticeable shift from a nearly exclusive focus on economic development towards a more comprehensive model of community development (Mossberger, 1999).

The Housing Opportunities for People Everywhere (HOPE VI) program is one of the newest federal programs to emerge in response to the failure of previous public housing programs. One of the goals of the HOPE VI program correlates with welfare reform of the 1990s. Similar to the Model Cities program, HOPE VI provides services to citizens beyond just meeting their housing needs (Popkin, Levy, Harris, Comey, Cunningham, & Buron, 2004). At its onset, the HOPE VI program required that grant recipients allocate 20 percent of their award money to providing supportive services. Examples of support services that are provided through HOPE VI funds include vocational training, job placement services, education services, and health services (Eisenstadt, Finkel, & Lennon, 2000).

However, like many of its predecessors, HOPE VI results in the displacement of low-income residents as it replaces deteriorated public housing units with mixed income housing, while not providing affordable housing for all previous residents (Popkin, Levy, Harris, Comey, Cunningham, & Buron, 2004). Alternatives to these primarily top-down, government led initiatives do exist and what we have learned from our past is that in order for neighborhood revitalization to be effective it should be place-based, engage citizens in the decision making process and look at communities not in terms of their deficiencies but in terms of their assets (Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993).

Many of the models of neighborhood change discussed here imply limited agency of local neighborhoods to challenge trajectory. Federal legislation looks for solutions to neighborhood decline by implementing processes that do not build citizen power. These policies have failed to solve urban problems of spatial inequality and more recently have resulted in the displacement of residents and gentrification. I will now turn the discussion to local initiatives and shift focus towards Reid Park, the site of this research. This discussion includes reflection on Reid Park conditions and residents' engagement in community planning initiatives at the start of this research.

1.2 Problem Statement and Significance

The urban neighborhood of Reid Park has experienced decline over the past several decades and is now facing the threat of gentrification. I argue that current efforts in Reid Park to revitalize the neighborhood offer little more hope than previous federal and local programs because they fail to engage residents in decision-making processes. Given the inefficacy of policies and programs, evidenced by decades of continued decline despite years of traditional top-down planning initiatives in neighborhoods like Reid Park, neighborhood planning in Reid Park and similar neighborhoods should engage residents in participatory processes that build community power. Radical planning literature builds the case that community driven approaches that build local leadership, and motivate residents to be in control of neighborhood outcomes is one way to make meaningful change happen (Beard, 2003; Friedman, 1987; Reardon, 1996).

Since 2009, CHARP has partnered with the neighborhood of Reid Park in a community-university partnership (CUP) where the majority of our work focused on capacity building (Chaskin, 2001). While we engaged in participatory processes with community members and developed organizational capacity, most projects up until the start of this research tended to be band-aid ointments or small beautification projects. Reflection on the partnership suggested that in many ways we were engaged in planning as system maintenance while we struggled to organize the community to challenge structural inequality (Klosterman, 1996; Marcuse, 2009). At the same time that we were struggling with this, an opportunity for organizing residents emerged with the beginnings of a new neighborhood-school partnership.

The Reid Park Initiative (RPI) is a collaborative effort to improve educational outcomes for school youth at Reid Park Academy through the establishment of partnerships between the school and the surrounding community. This initiative that focuses on a holistic perspective of child development and recognizes that there are many factors outside of the school that impact academic achievement, has evolved with little to no contribution from the community as indicated through informal conversations with several residents. The two primary partners dominate decision-making within this initiative, CityDive, an outreach branch of a non-denominational church who wants to "empower residents", and RPA, the neighborhood school that wants to transform into a community school for community development purposes. The relationship between RPA and the neighborhood, in many ways, mirrors the way in which other institutions exercise control of decision-making impacting Reid Park residents.

1.21 The Reid Park Context

Reid Park is a predominantly black community on the west side of Charlotte, NC. Ross Reid, an African-American, established it in the 1930s for the purpose of providing affordable housing to Charlotte's black community (Wright, 1995), at a time when the possibilities of homeownership were bleak for the southern black population. It is located just four miles west of center city and is bounded to the north by West Boulevard, an arterial street that provides easy access to the downtown area. The intersection of

Tyvola Road and Walter Street forge the northwestern boundary as Amay James Avenue creates the remainder of the western boundary. The eastern boundary is identified by Ross Avenue. The arterial street ,Reid Avenue, runs primarily north and south and curves at the base of the neighborhood to form the southern border. Just two miles to the west of Reid Park lays the periphery of the Charlotte Douglas International Airport (see Figure 1 for a map of Reid Park and the surrounding area).

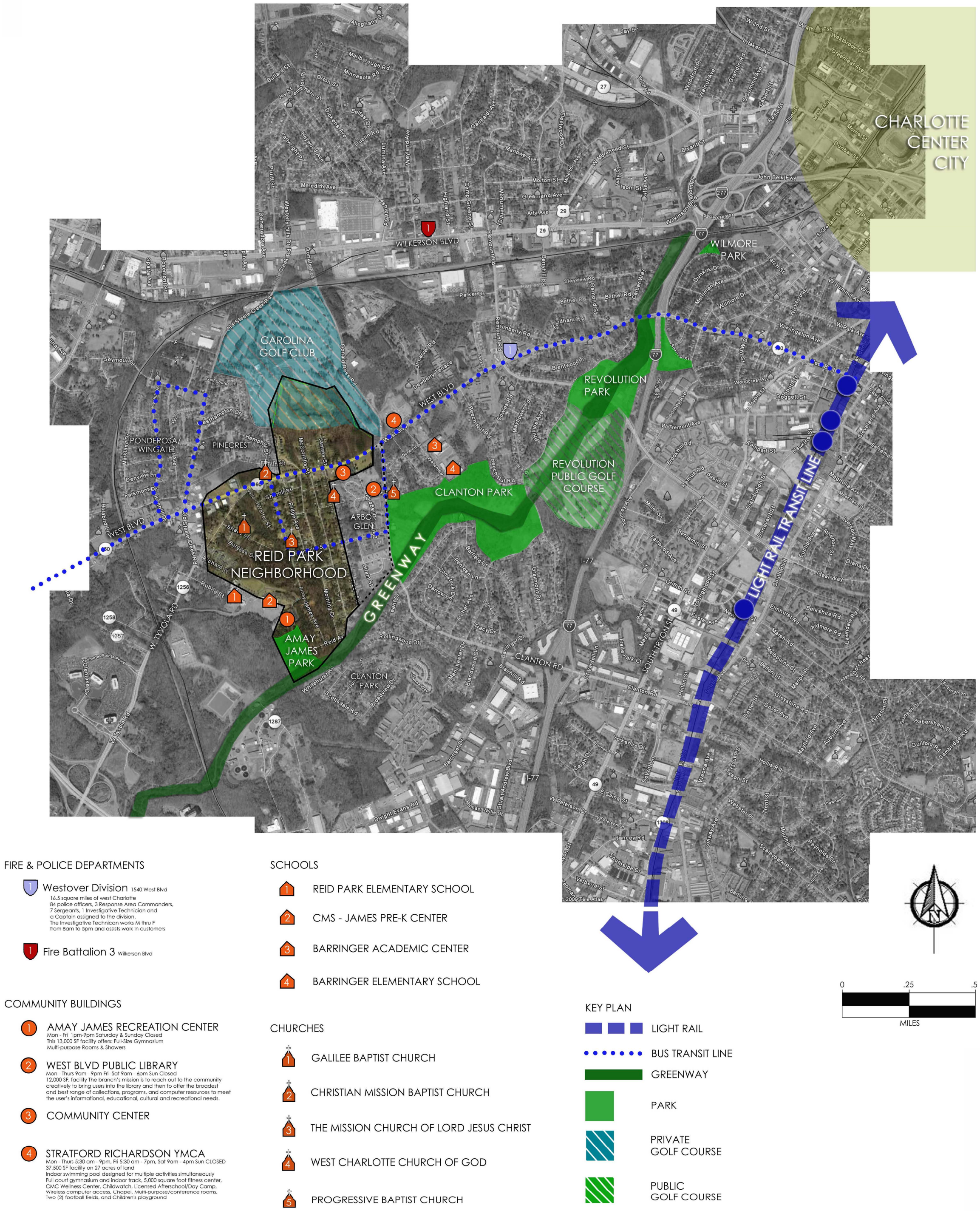
CHARLOTTE CENTER CITY
WILMORE PARK
WILKERSON BLVD
CAROLINA GOLF CLUB
REVOLUTION PARK
REVOLUTION PUBLIC GOLF COURSE
CLANTON PARK
PONDEROSA/ WINGATE
PINECREST
ARBOR GLEN
REID PARK NEIGHBORHOOD
AMAY JAMES PARK
CLANTON PARK
GREENWAY
WEST BLVD
W. TYVOLA RD
CLANTON RD
SOUTH TRYON ST
I-77
LIGHT RAIL TRANSIT LINE
FIRE & POLICE DEPARTMENTS
1 Westover Division 1540 West Blvd
16.5 square miles of west Charlotte
84 police officers, 3 Response Area Commanders,
7 Sergeants, 1 Investigative Technician and
a Captain assigned to the division.
The Investigative Technican works M thru F
from 8am to 5pm and assists walk in customers
1 Fire Battalion 3 Wilkerson Blvd
COMMUNITY BUILDINGS
1 AMAY JAMES RECREATION CENTER
Mon - Fri 1pm-9pm Saturday & Sunday Closed
This 13,000 SF facility offers: Full-Size Gymnasium
Multi-purpose Rooms & Showers
2 WEST BLVD PUBLIC LIBRARY
Mon - Thurs 9am - 9pm Fri -Sat 9am - 6pm Sun Closed
12,000 SF, facility The branch's mission is to reach out to the community creatively to bring users into the library and then to offer the broadest and best range of collections, programs, and computer resources to meet the user's informational, educational, cultural and recreational needs.
3 COMMUNITY CENTER
4 STRATFORD RICHARDSON YMCA
Mon - Thurs 5:30 am - 9pm, Fri 5:30 am - 7pm, Sat 9am - 4pm Sun CLOSED
37,500 SF facility on 27 acres of land
Indoor swimming pool designed for multiple activities simultaneously
Full court gymnasium and indoor track, 5,000 square foot fitness center,
CMC Wellness Center, Childwatch, Licensed Afterschool/Day Camp,
Wireless computer access, Chapel, Multi-purpose/conference rooms,
Two (2) football fields, and Children's playground
SCHOOLS
1 REID PARK ELEMENTARY SCHOOL
2 CMS - JAMES PRE-K CENTER
3 BARRINGER ACADEMIC CENTER
4 BARRINGER ELEMENTARY SCHOOL
CHURCHES
1 GALILEE BAPTIST CHURCH
2 CHRISTIAN MISSION BAPTIST CHURCH
3 THE MISSION CHURCH OF LORD JESUS CHRIST
4 WEST CHARLOTTE CHURCH OF GOD
5 PROGRESSIVE BAPTIST CHURCH
KEY PLAN
LIGHT RAIL
BUS TRANSIT LINE
GREENWAY
PARK
PRIVATE GOLF COURSE
PUBLIC GOLF COURSE
0
.25
.5
MILES

Figure 1: Contextual map of Reid Park (Bengle, Williams, Lovaglio, & Jarriel, 2009)

African-American pioneers and community leaders are recognized and honored in Reid Park. The former elementary school and recreation center were both named after

African-American educator Amay James. Many Reid Park adult residents were born and raised in the neighborhood and express sentiments of place attachment (Lewicka, 2011). People choose to live there. It is not out of desperation or a lack of other options that many of the residents call Reid Park home; a strong sense of pride emanates throughout the neighborhood.

Eighty years following its inception, with a total population of 909 residents, Reid Park is still predominantly an African-American (92.2%) community. As shown in Table 1, only small fragments of the population are White (3.3%), Hispanic (2.5%), Asian (1.4%), or other (0.3%). The median age is 28, reflecting a younger population than the county average and with a median household income of only $21,000, Reid Park residents earn approximately one third of the income of other Mecklenburg County residents. Table 2 indicates that over half of the population receives Food and Nutrition Service Benefits and approximately one third of residents are Medicaid recipients (Quality of Life Dashboard, 2012).

Table 1: Reid Park/Mecklenburg County demographic comparison (Quality of Life Dashboard, 2012)

Demographic Characteristics	Reid Park	County
Percent African-American	92.2	31.8
Percent White	3.3	54.9
Percent Hispanic	2.5	11.7
Percent Asian	1.4	4.5
Percent Other	0.3	6
Median Age	28	35.3

Table 2: Reid Park/Mecklenburg County Economic Comparison (Quality of Life Dashboard, 2012)

Economic Characteristics	Reid Park	County
Percent receiving Food and Nutrition Services	51.9	17.4
Percent receiveing Medicaid benefits	34.4	13.1
Meadian household income	$21,000	$61,973

The high school drop out rate is 9.3% compared to a county-wide average of 3%, and only 44% of 9-12 graders perform at or above grade level average on the EOGs, a far cry from the 72% of their Mecklenburg County cohorts performing at or above grade level (shown in Table 3). An overwhelming 37.5% of adults do not have a high school diploma, three times the rate of Mecklenburg County adults. Furthermore, the rate of births to adolescents is 14.3 compared to 4 for Mecklenburg County. As indicated in Table 4, the youth crime rate is nearly double the county's youth crime rate (Quality of Life Dashboard, 2012).

Table 3: Reid Park/Mecklenburg County education comparison (Quality of Life Dashboard, 2012)

Education Characteristics	Reid Park	County
Percent youth who have dropped out of school	9.3	3.2
Percent of CMS students attending neighborhood school	55.9	75.4
Percent of 3-5 graders proficient in EOG	45	67.5
Percent of 6-8 graders proficient in EOG	50	66.4
Percent of 9-12 graders proficient in EOG	44	72
Adults without High School diploma	37.5	12.2

Table 4: Reid Park/Mecklenburg County youth comparison (Quality of Life Dashboard, 2012)

Youth Characteristics	Reid Park	County
Rate of births to adolescents	14.3	4.4
Juvenile incident rate	2866	1585

The housing stock of Reid Park does not have an easily identifiable character. Reid Park reflects a starter home neighborhood of the early 20th Century built in a quality of building materials less resistant to wear and tear (i.e. few brick home). Many of the original homes in Reid Park were relocated from Camp Greene, a military training facility that closed after World War II. As the original housing stock aged, many homes were torn down by the city. The result has been a large amount of vacant lots throughout the neighborhood. In the 1990s Reid Park's community development corporation (CDC) began to acquire vacant lots with plans to build new housing in the neighborhood. Once the CDC became bankrupt, the properties they owned were auctioned off by the city, because of unpaid property taxes, and purchased by Habitat for Humanity Charlotte (HH). At the start of this research, HH had built 49 new homes in the neighborhood and planned to develop an additional 20-30 sites. (D. White, personal communication, September 3, 2013). The number of vacant lots that still remain after HH completes its current projects represent opportunities for additional infill development, recreation facilities or local business development.

In the past several years, the community has weathered the closing of both the Amay James Recreation Center and the Amay James Pre-K Center (see Figure 1 for a map). The rec center closed in the shadow of the 30,000 square foot sports facility that the MCPR built on Remount Rd adjacent to the gentrifying neighborhood of Wilmore. Even in the absence of the former community recreation and Pre-K center there remains a wealth of physical assets surrounding Reid Park. These include: the West Boulevard Library located adjacent to the neighborhood; the Stratford Richardson YMC;, the Arbor Glen Outreach Center and the Irwin Creek Greenway; Thompsons's Child Development Center, a center that provides developmental services including after-school care and tutoring to at-risk children; Reid Park Academy (RPA), a K-8 public school; and no fewer than a dozen churches. All of these organizations, institutions and amenities are within a half-mile radius of Reid Park. Other amenities include a wealth of open space in the spine of the neighborhood on a site that was traded by the CDC to MCPR for the purpose of developing a park and the expansive areas surrounding the two school sites and the former recreation facility. Access to quality retail shopping, however, is largely absent from the Reid Park landscape.

Efforts by the Charlotte-Mecklenburg Planning Department have attempted to develop strategies for improving the social and physical conditions of Reid Park and areas surrounding the neighborhood. Municipal planning in Charlotte is done at several different geographical levels creating a hierarchy of plans that are generated by the local planning department. Two types of plans are produced at the widest geographical scope. These plans also have a broader planning horizon, typically 20-years. The Centers, Corridors, and Wedges Growth Framework is a general plan for land development. The original Centers, Corridors and Wedges plan emerged in 1994 and was later updated in 2010. This plan provides an overall vision for guiding the future growth and development of Charlotte (Charlotte-Mecklenburg Planning Department, 2015). Also at the top of the hierarchy is the 2015 Comprehensive Plan that was adopted in 1997. It differs from the Centers, Corridors, and Wedges plan and its predecessor, the 2005

Generalized Land Plan in that it is not a land use plan. The 2005 iteration divided the jurisdiction into seven smaller districts and identified land use policy for each of the districts. The detail is less evident in the 2015 Plan, which establishes priorities areas of focus to promote economic viability and quality of life. Both plans attempt to coordinate planning efforts, investment, and services between the city and county (Charlotte-Mecklenburg Planning Department, 2015).

District planning is one step below the comprehensive plan. District plans are smaller in geographical scope and have a shorter planning horizon that is between 10-15 years. District plans focus on addressing more specific land use, transportation, infrastructure and socioeconomic issues within a large geographic segment of the municipality. Reid Park is included within the Central District Plan that was adopted in 1993. This plan uses a S.W.O.T. analysis (strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats) as guidance for plan development. The plan recommends specific strategies for improving quality of life in fragile neighborhoods while preserving stable neighborhoods and attracting infill development and redevelopment in the Central District (Charlotte-Mecklenburg Planning Commission, 1993).

While both of these documents provides a framework for infrastructure investment and guidance for identifying relevant policies, it is the area plan where detailed decision-making and specific recommendations impacting Reid Park are evident. At the smallest geographic level and with the shortest planning horizon are the small area, special project, and neighborhood action plans (Moore, Gapen, & Morris, HUD Community SUPPORT Project: Inventory and analysis of neighborhood plans, 1999). The Reid Park neighborhood is included in the West Boulevard Corridor Plan, a small area plan developed in 1998. This plan includes specific recommendations that include strategies for retail development at a major intersection in the corridor, rerouting of buses and placement of shelters at several key points, and the reduction of littering and loitering behind a retail establishment on West Boulevard, to name a few (Charlotte-Mecklenburg Planning Commission, 1998).

1.22 Charlotte Action Research Project

The planning that Reid Park residents have engaged in with the assistance of CHARP has focused primarily on capacity building at the neighborhood scale. Since 2009, CHARP has provided technical support to the Reid Park Neighborhood Association (RPNA), as well as neighborhood organizations in other low-income Charlotte neighborhoods. Focusing on social justice, CHARP facilitates service-learning and research projects that, through action and reflection, promote strong partnerships between the university and marginalized communities and create strong, sustainable neighborhood organizations. In Reid Park, CHARP has worked primarily to build social capital and organizational capacity in the neighborhood by supporting community-driven projects. Figure 2 illustrates the evolution of the CHARP/Reid Park partnership demonstrating how resident participation has gradually increased throughout our engagement there. An increasing amount of social capital, the endowment of institutions, and close proximity to the CBD as described above are all favorable neighborhood characteristics that Temkin and Rohe (1996; 1998) suggest can be applied to leverage additional resources from outside the neighborhood, as the community struggles for control over local decision-making.

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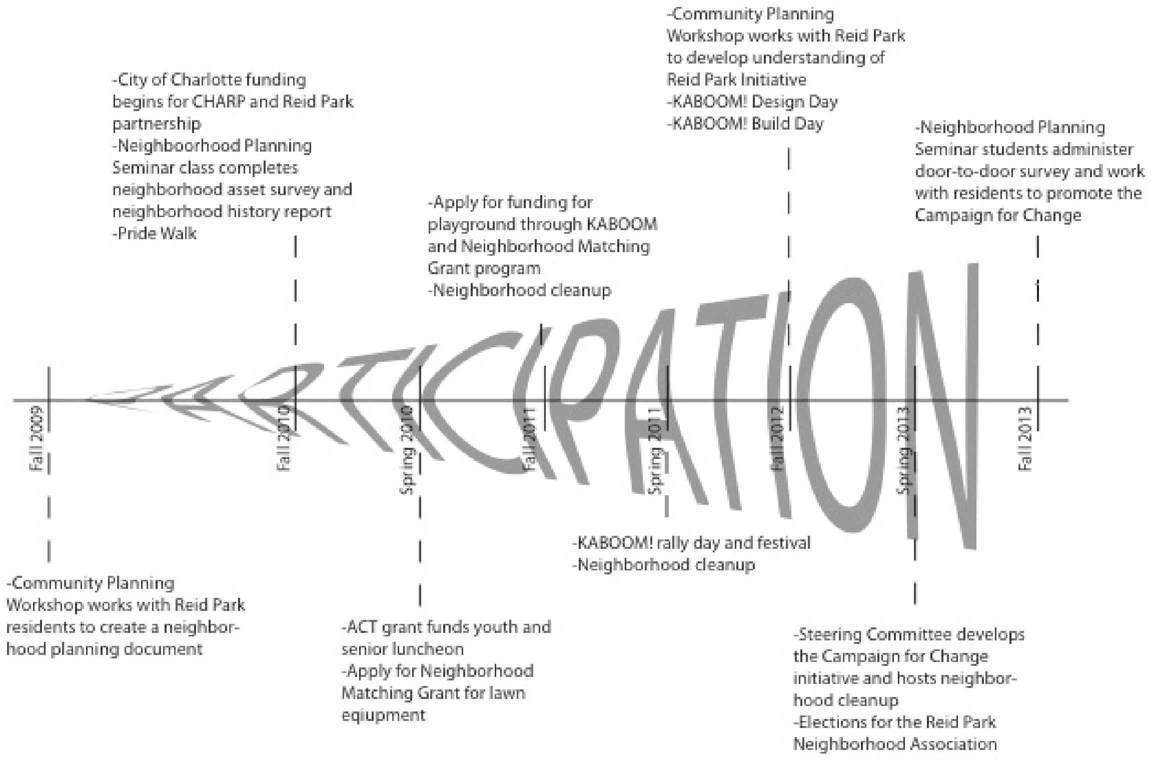

-City of Charlotte funding begins for CHARP and Reid Park partnership
-Neighboorhood Planning Seminar class completes neighborhood asset survey and neighborhood history report
-Pride Walk
-Apply for funding for playground through KABOOM and Neighborhood Matching Grant program
-Neighborhood cleanup
-Community Planning Workshop works with Reid Park to develop understanding of Reid Park Initiative
-KABOOM! Design Day
-KABOOM! Build Day
-Neighborhood Planning Seminar students administer door-to-door survey and work with residents to promote the Campaign for Change
PARTICIPATION
Fall 2009
Fall 2010
Spring 2010
Fall 2011
Spring 2011
Fall 2012
Spring 2013
Fall 2013
-Community Planning Workshop works with Reid Park residents to create a neighbor-hood planning document
-ACT grant funds youth and senior luncheon
-Apply for Neighborhood Matching Grant for lawn eqiupment
-KABOOM! rally day and festival
-Neighborhood cleanup
-Steering Committee develops the Campaign for Change initiative and hosts neighbor-hood cleanup
-Elections for the Reid Park Neighborhood Association

Figure 2: Reid Park/CHARP partnership timeline

The relationship between Reid Park and UNC Charlotte began as a class project for students enrolled in the Community Planning Workshop (CPW) class during the fall of 2009. I participated as a student that semester. At that time, engagement in the neighborhood was minimal and throughout that first semester attendance at neighborhood meetings usually totaled three residents. With less than an ideal amount of resident participation, we nonetheless managed to put together a neighborhood plan that focused on existing assets such as a keen appreciation of neighborhood pride that centered on the neighborhood's vibrant history and significant sense of place attachment of residents. The resulting plan identified a mission statement with four goals—reestablishment of community pride and involvement; safety; enrichment of community youth and seniors; and economic development—along with objectives to help obtain the goals.

The following fall, UNC Charlotte, now in the form of CHARP, was once again engaged in the neighborhood. This time, funded by a grant from the City of Charlotte, a CHARP community liaison was assigned to Reid Park. I was again involved in Reid Park as part of the Neighborhood Planning Seminar (NPS) class. That semester we administered a survey to identify neighborhood assets in the form of human capital. We also supported the community liaison as she worked with the RPNA president and the city to put together the Pride Walk. Comparable to a march, the Pride Walk was intended to be a group of residents walking through the neighborhood to support community pride, unfortunately no residents showed up to participate. The students refused to allow their enthusiasm to be squashed and set out on the walk to recruit participants despite the city staff person stating, "that's Reid Park for you", in observation of the low participation (notes from event).

Despite the low attendance at the Pride Walk, attendance at neighborhood association meetings was slowly increasing as we continued to distribute flyers for the meeting. The students from the NPS class interviewed residents and put together a neighborhood history document. Through that process, former CDC founder and president, Freddy reengaged with RPNA. During the heyday of the CDC, Freddy was a driving force behind neighborhood improvements and his reemergence in the neighborhood association stimulated renewed interest throughout the community.

Between the fall of 2011 and 2012, the neighborhood association successfully applied for two grants each of which were designed to enhance existing assets. One grant, a neighborhood matching grant (NMG) administered by the City of Charlotte, was used to purchase lawn equipment with the intent of maintaining vacant lots. The purpose of the second grant was to build a KABOOM! playground on a vacant lot owned by HH to create recreational opportunities for families and neighborhood children. The KABOOM! grant was especially successful at recruiting a new mix of residents to join the neighborhood association, but their engagement dissipated once the playground was complete (Sorensen & Bengle, 2014).

1.23 Reid Park Initiative

While most of the community development initiatives CHARP has engaged in with Reid Park have focused on increasing participation amongst Reid Park residents and developing organizational capacity, there was little discussion of social justice and the power that the Reid Park Neighborhood Association (RPNA) had over neighborhood outcomes, much less the impact of outside power structures on Reid Park. This conversation began to shift however, as noticeable changes started to take place beginning in the fall of 2012 with the implementation of the RPI, an initiative that engaged residents in a very different way from CHARP. Action research is responsive to community needs and experiences (Brydon-Miller, Greenwood, & Maguire, 2003). An impetus for this research was this emerging pressing issue.

Drawing from their cultural heritages and social resources, communities are well positioned to bring a wealth of assets to schools and forge effective partnerships. In many urban settings however, schools and neighborhoods are disconnected. Although community initiatives that focus on this relationship have the power to improve the school and surrounding community, schools typically exclude participation from those groups that already possess little power. Unfortunately, the parents and surrounding community of schools serving high poverty and at-risk children are frequently seen as the problem and not as a resource (Warren, 2005), as is the case in Reid Park. In this way schools reflect the same dichotomy of exclusion as other institutions.

The Reid Park Initiative (RPI) was commenced by well intending people and organizations, who recognized that educational success was partially related to factors outside of the school and, in a challenged community like Reid Park, it was insufficient for the school to only provide services to children between the hours of 8:00AM and 3:00PM. The RPI consists of several levels of services varying in degrees of intensity all of which are focused on improving educational outcomes for youth. At the most intense level is the System of Care (SOC) in which the highest risk children and their families are assigned a caseworker that coordinates child and family mental and physical health services (Clark, 2011). The three primary service providers are the Department of Social Services, Communities in Schools, and Melange, a for-profit mental health organization (T. Howarth, personal communication, September 21, 2012).

The former principal of RPA also reached out to the surrounding faith community to see how they might impact educational achievement for a broader group of students at RPA. From their dialogue, the ARK Network and ARK at the Park were born. ARK stands for Acts of Random Kindness and is a group composed mainly of leaders from the faith-based community. The pastor from CityDive, the satellite church of the Huntersville based New Birth Fellowship, is the primary driver of the ARK Network. Two parents regularly attend the planning meetings, one of which is also a member of New Birth. ARK at the Park is the family night program that meets every other week at RPA. The purpose of family nights is to “empower the families of RPA students by strengthening those relationships between families, the school, and the community”

(ARK Network document). It is their belief that empowerment results from participation in clubs such as Boy Scouts, Zuni Creative Art Club and Par Busters Junior Golf. Their approach is based on a model developed by Ruby Payne, P. DeVol and T. Smith in their 2001 book "Bridges Out of Poverty: Strategies for professionals and communities". The authors identify a culture of poverty that prevents those living in poverty from moving forward. In attributing poverty to a culture, we risk blaming the victim for their own circumstance as opposed to examining the structural causes of poverty. Payne espouses that the path out of poverty is guided by the adoption of middle class values and culture (Pospishil, 2009).

The role of the Reid Park neighborhood within this collaborative effort to improve the education outcomes of Reid Park youth at RPA, a school that residents advocated for over 20 years ago, is as it has been many times in the past, marginalized. Participation in schools is often times mediated by buffers created by teachers and staff to protect the sanctity of the classroom from outside influences. This reflects the assumption that, because of their expertise, teachers and administrators know what is best for youth. Schools frequently use conventions that more affluent families are familiar with but lower-income families are not (Cohen-Vogel, Goldring, & Smrekar, 2010). Furthermore, teachers frequently possess little understanding of parents from a low socioeconomic status. They have little knowledge of the economic, social, and political circumstances of these groups and lack cultural awareness. Some teachers even believe that these parents do not value education since they have little themselves (London, Molotsi, & Palmer, 1984).

The participation of Reid Park residents, although recognized by all the major players including school administration, county personnel, and clergy is little more than what Arnstein (1969) refers to as tokenism on the ladder of participation. Within the hierarchy of participation tokenism falls near the bottom and is generally characterized by the dominant group consulting with the public at meetings. This can also be characterized as participation in anticipation of community resistance (Hague & McCourt, 1974) to future plans and programs—or a manipulative process that leads the community to a place of gratitude for the work done in their neighborhood regardless of how well this actually reflects the local vision of needed interventions. In this way, it is not participation in the sense that power has exchanged hands or decision-making has been delegated to the less dominant group.

In this scenario the neighborhood of Reid Park has three primary functions. At one end, the residents are service recipients. If they have children at RPA, they are invited to attend family nights or they might be one of the 155 families who's child is considered to be high risk so they are part of the more intense SOC and are working with a caseworker. The second function is that of a volunteer. Volunteering usually involves spending the afternoon laboring for someone else's project. For example, during the summer of 2012, the Junior League of Charlotte (JLC) built a community garden with the help of residents. Preceding the building of the community garden, the residents had no input into the siting of the garden, the purpose of the garden or other considerations. Furthermore, following that day of labor, the community's role has ceased. They were never involved in the planting, maintenance or harvesting of the garden, and were not included during the decision-making phase, yet they were identified by the JLC as a partner in the development of the garden (Junior Charity League, 2012).

Finally, the third function is that of consultant and recipient of information. On a few occasions leaders of the initiative have attended neighborhood meetings. Here, their role often reflects that of city personnel or representatives from other institutions. Instead of seeking genuine input from the community, institutions generally present information at RPNA meetings and look for the neighborhood's approval. It is evident that a considerable amount of planning and decision-making has already occurred prior to these meetings and the community is often times hearing about these initiatives or programs for the first time. An example to further illustrate this conundrum of participation occurred at the August RPNA monthly meeting, when two representatives from the JLC were in attendance. They reported on the benefits of a community garden, made reference to a garden in a neighboring community, and reported on the status of the community garden behind the Amay James center that was built the previous month without residents input as described in the previous paragraph.

Power inequalities between school personnel and parents need to be addressed for improved community-school partnerships. Educators' hesitance to address structural inequalities in schools can deter outside involvement from low-income communities (Warren, 2005). Mirroring the work of Friere (1983), London, Molotsi and Palmer (1984) find that:

> Meeting the difficulties found in the classroom requires leadership that is grounded in a belief in the capability of the individual to transform and transcend his/her immediate environment. It implies a commitment to human liberation through the equitable distribution of power and the democratization of education. In schools, this commitment demands that teachers, students, and significant others become participants in a dynamic

> mutual process of action and reflection, in sharing and cooperation, rather than being passive transmitters or receivers of prepackaged information (p. 459)."

Furthermore, a climate where students and parents feel respected and valued enables the democratic process to take place (London, Molotsi, & Palmer, 1984). The relationship between RPA and Reid Park is in many ways illustrative of typical neighborhood partnerships where residents' voices are marginalized and their participation is limited. This type of relationship is evident between RPNA and both the City of Charlotte and Mecklenburg County.

1.24 City of Charlotte

The City of Charlotte's NBS office is the community economic development arm of the local government. Services offered by NBS include: "maintaining community standards" with the enforcement of codes; "providing affordable housing options" through financing for affordable housing, for example; "neighborhood and business corridor revitalization", by investing in infrastructure and providing leadership and organization training; and "business attraction and growth" through programs such as workforce development and engaging in public/private partnerships.

The department administers several grantmaking programs, the primary of which is the NMG program. These grants require a 50/50 match and are awarded directly to neighborhood organizations to improve the quality of life. They are available to neighborhoods with a median house income under $61,650. Matching grant programs appear in urban areas throughout the US. These programs encourage neighborhood-based organizations to take the lead on problem identification and problem solving. However, in Charlotte matching grants do not come with technical assistance to help community members build the skills necessary to ensure success of their projects. This is evident in Charlotte where neighborhood organizations are responsible for raising the match in the form of in-kind donations, cash, or volunteer hours (Charlotte-Mecklenburg Neighborhood and Business Services, 2013) and challenged neighborhoods seldom have the organization capacity necessary for these grants.

Much like in subarea planning, where local governments decentralize planning (Checkoway, 1984), NBS has divided the municipality into smaller ‘service areas’. Each neighborhood within a ‘service area’ is assigned a ‘service specialist’, a code enforcement officer, and community police officers. The level of involvement of the ‘service specialist’ depends on the neighborhood at a given time. When I first began work with Reid Park, NBS was engaged with RPNA in a Neighborhood Action Plan (NAP). The NAP (see Appendix A) identifies four issue areas: community safety; community appearance; housing; and neighborhood organizing. These issues are further defined into specific issues most of which are surface level problems. For example, issues include rising property crime rates, residents’ lack of knowledge of bulky items and code enforcement, and cleanliness of the neighborhood. Measures of success promise even less hope of actually seeing sustainable changes in Reid Park. For example, to reduce crime, measures included reporting on the number of property crimes and educating and hosting workshops to educate residents on crime. At each monthly neighborhood meeting the ‘service specialist’, code enforcement officer, and community police officers delivered reports on progress being made for each measure. Participation or engagement by the three residents in attendance was minimal.

1.25 Mecklenburg County

Much of my knowledge of the relationship between Mecklenburg County and Reid Park relates to the park that is the subject of this research, so I will not go into too much detail here. It is of relevance to discuss the origins of the new neighborhood park, as well as the community vision plan. Sub-area planning documents from the 1990s indicated plans for a new park in the center of the neighborhood. The county operated a park and recreation center in the neighborhood, but residents seldom used the park because they felt it was unsafe. To facilitate the development of a new park, the CDC orchestrated a land swap and traded parcels they owned in the spine of the neighborhood with the parcel owned by MCPR.

The park was added to the Capital Improvements Plan (CIP) around 2000, but had crept to the bottom of the priority list by 2013 after the CIP budget was frozen during the recession. There is no clear explanation as too why the park was not funded prior to the recession or why it had fallen so low on the priority list. The park remained an issue for many residents. Neighborhood surveys of residents in 2009 and 2010 indicated the need for a park. In June 2013, the Board of County Commissions (BOCC) approved funding of $600,000 for the construction of a new park in the neighborhood. Shortly thereafter the RPNA steering committee worked with a Masters of Urban Design and Geography student to create a community-driven vision for a neighborhood park. When the RPNA president and student, accompanied by the local county commissioner, approached MCPR with the planning document they were met with surprise and informed that this is not how the process works. In other words, neighborhood park planning is driven by traditional top-down processes, where the planner sets the agenda, defines the issues to be discussed, shares limited information, and develops drawings based on feedback from poorly designed community planning processes.

The type of participation of Reid Park residents in community initiatives influences the success of those initiatives. As community planners, we look for initiatives that take their starting point in the neighborhood as the neighborhood park did. The reasons are well known to community planners: ownership and knowledge. Community planners recognize that residents have valuable knowledge about local issues and can develop successful solutions to those issues (Friedman, 1987; Reardon, 1996; Reardon, 1998). Reid Park residents are motivated to carry their vision plan forward as they engage with MCPR in the park planning process. Given the lack of capacity at the start of this research, it seems unlikely that they will be able to control the process without thoughtful and deliberate interventions to help build the neighborhood's capacity.

1.26 A Prelude to Transformation in Reid Park

As the RPI proceeds, a few residents have begun to reflect on their role, specifically the amount of power they possess in this partnership. Freddy, RPNA president, has repeatedly said it is a dynamic where the dominant organizations and their representatives are exercising power over the people of Reid Park. It is not a partnership where power is shared. Issues were identified, plans made, and steps taken without seeking genuine input from the community of Reid Park residents.

The overt actions of the power holders is presenting a unique opportunity though, and may be an impetus for planning as social mobilization (Friedman, 1987). Although many of the conditions present in Reid Park such as inadequate housing, poor infrastructure, and poor student achievement are concerns that generally rouse a sense of organizing amongst residents, the community organization has been rather stagnant in the past several years. A few neighborhood events have surfaced, but no new initiatives have really taken off. At the start of this research, however, it was evident that there was a deliberate attempt, stemming internally from the neighborhood, to mobilize residents for community organizing so that they can assume more power in decisions that impact residents' quality of life. This motivation extends both to the RPI and MCPR partnerships. Empowerment planning is a framework that can help the residents develop the critical consciousness that is necessary for structural change. As justice planners working towards the 'Just City', this work lays the foundation for a more spatially just urban environment with decreasing inequalities (Marcuse, 2009).

1.3 Research Statement and Anticipated Outcomes

In response to the shortcomings of dominant planning practices documented above, this study is meant to explore empowerment planning (Reardon, 1996) for the purpose of adding to its body of theory, in order to build better more inclusive planning processes that are informed by practice and uses social justice as a starting point. The research develops an understanding of empowerment planning through experiences in Reid Park and the introduction of three interventions. In line with action research theory this project aims to learn by doing, and is unique in that it breaks empowerment planning into its three components and intentionally applies those components in a step-by-step approach to enable mastery of each component. Each of the three interventions is specifically designed to target one of the three components of empowerment planning.

As community planners, we look for initiatives that take their starting point in the neighborhood in order to promote local ownership (Reardon, 1996) and knowledge

(Friedman, 1987; Reardon, 1996). Community planners recognize that residents have knowledge about their local issues and by merging that knowledge with more traditional technical or academic knowledge we have the opportunity to produce better outcomes not only in terms of an empowering process but also in terms of the tangible results evident on the ground in neighborhoods of interest (Reardon, 1996).

During the period of this research, interventions designed to meet multiple goals are introduced in Reid Park. Reid Park residents were engaged in developing the interventions. Prior to this research, I worked with residents to design two interventions. The first intervention was a retreat to Highlander Research and Education Center. The intent of this trip was to develop a dialectical understanding of power within the relationship between CHARP and RPNA; recognize the structural causes of oppression through the application of popular education; and develop an implementation plan for an oral history project, while learning popular education methodologies. For the second intervention, participants practiced popular education methodologies as they facilitated an oral history project for youth at RPA. Through a PAR project, participants explored the power dynamics within their partnership with CMS and CityDive. In the final intervention, residents mobilized to have influence over the park planning process with MCPR. This required community organizing to exercise political persuasion over the process.

Through this research, I anticipated that the process of participating in these interventions would result in a neighborhood organization that is empowered and has increased capacity to exercise power over the decisions impacting the quality of life for Reid Park residents. This research also intended to produce an expanded understanding of empowerment planning that contributes to the development of a theoretical model. This research includes recommendations for planning practice and education and recommendations for future research.

1.4 Positionality Statement

After several years of contact with the Reid Park community followed by more intense work with the residents of Reid Park, I have become immersed in this community. My research subjects are not subjects at all. They are my friends and research partners. At the start of this research, I noticed how critical I had become of the school, the city, the county, and other community agencies involved in Reid Park. In other words, I had developed a rather negative bias against the existing power structure in Reid Park. One of the things that distinguish this research from the positivist tradition is that my bias, as long as it is acknowledged, is an acceptable part of this research. The feminist tradition is to reflect on this bias, it's impact on our research, and our interpretation of the world while also being acutely aware of how our presence influences the research in which we are engaged (England, 2006; Glesne, 2011). We are not removed from our research, particularly when engaged in PAR, but are instead completely immersed in it.

The ability to immerse one's self in a community can be one of the biggest challenges to action research for multiple reasons. First there is the obstacle of difference. I am an outsider and continue to be an outsider in the Reid Park community. When speaking of the community, though, I continually say 'we' as opposed to 'you'. Another challenge with this research is that I am as much of a participant in this research as the residents of Reid Park are. In this way, I have the ability to influence outcomes of the research. During this research I actively engaged with participants during steering committee meetings, pushing reflection so that they developed problem-solving skills and raise critical consciousness.

Positionality is another relevant topic to cover in this discussion of how I as a researcher fit into my research (England, 2006). Traditionally, university researchers are not well received by marginalized communities. The relationship between university and community is usually one where the researcher takes on the traditional role as an expert in a lab coat and the community assumes the role as the passive researched (Reardon, 2000). This is in no way reflective of how CUPs practicing PAR operate. Although I do not perceive myself as the expert, I assume that some residents might see me in that light, but empowerment planning is about merging two types of knowledge: local and technical (Reardon, 1996).

I struggle with my own positionality. I am white where most of the Reid Park community is black. I have a Master's degree where the highest level of educational attainment for most Reid Park residents is a high school diploma. Although I am a poor college study, that is a conscience choice I have made. I come from a middle class background of privilege. On the outward surface I might appear immune to misfortune, but surfaces are deceiving and although I have never walked in any shoes but my own, those shoes have led me through experiences that have humbled me and brought me to the Reid Park community. It has been a fun path to walk with Reid Park residents over the course of the past several years and I hope to continue this walk into the future.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

This study is situated within a framework of critical theory, a paradigm concerned with the transformation of the social structures that facilitate political, social, and economic inequality (Gephart, 1999). In particular this study is informed by theories of justice (Fainstein, 2009; Harvey, 2009; Harvey, 1985; Marcuse, 2009) and radical planning (Beard, 2003; Friedman, 1987; Reardon, 1996), popular education (Freire, 1983; Jara H., 2010; Kane, 2010; Wiggins, 2011), and PAR (Brown & Tandon, 1983; Lather, 1986; Rahman, 1991; Stoeker, 1999) in an effort to contribute to a more applicable theoretical model and framework of empowerment planning (Reardon, 1996; Reardon, 2005). Critical theory, and more specifically the literature on the 'Right to the City' (Harvey, 2009) and the 'Just City' (Fainstein, 2009; Marcuse, 2009), is especially concerned with power inequalities and the structures that maintain those inequalities. Recent theories on the 'Just City' and 'justice planning', or 'commons planning' build on the research of Marxist geographer's like that of David Harvey but are still largely normative (Fainstein, 2009; Marcuse, 2009). Because of the inclusion of the three methodologies—popular education, PAR, and community organizing—all of which are situated in critical theory, empowerment planning has the potential to bridge the theory/practice gap found in this recent literature.

I first introduce the overall framework of critical theory. This is followed by a brief discussion of public planning and the purpose of planning. To situate empowerment planning within the planning literature, I introduce several models of planning beginning with traditional theories of rational planning and transitioning to theories of radical planning. I then pull in literature from the other traditions that inform empowerment planning: capacity building; community development; community organizing; participatory engagement; popular education; and PAR. Table 5 and 6 below show the theoretical framework that informs this research.

Table 5: Theoretical framework (planning tradition)

DIMENSION	PLANNING AS SYSTEM MAINTENANCE			PLANNING AS TRANSFORMATION
PLANNING MODEL	RATIONAL PLANNING	ADVOCACY PLANNING/ EQUITY PLANNING	COMMUNICATIVE PLANNING	RADICAL PLANNING
PRIMARY GOALS	Maintenance of existing systems that support the interests of capital	Enhancement of progressive policies and programs by local governemnt	Consciousness raising to produce new ideas	Critical consciousness raising and mobilizing for systemic change
PLANNER'S ROLE	Planner is the technical expert; planner sets the agenda, directs meetings, and produces documents	Planner is advocate with technical knowledge; produce plural plans	Planner facilitates processes to aid with the identification of local knowledge	Planner is mediator between theory and practice and brings technical kowledge to community, merging two ways of knowing
CITIZEN'S ROLE	Citizens are passive, their participation usually is tokenism at best	Citizens are key informants and policy reviewer	Citizens create emancipatory knowledge	Citizens possess valuable knowledge and exchange knowledge with planner to produce new knowledge; citizens organize and mobilize
PLANNING PROCESS	Linear problem-solving approach by traditional comprehensive planners	Linear problem-solving approach by traditional comprehensive planners	Relates knowledge to action using consensus building approach to planning	Iterative problem-solving approach using popular education for consciousness raising combined with community organizing
PLANNING AS SOCIAL LEARNING	No	No	Yes	Yes
PLANNING AS SOCIAL MOBILIZATION	No	No	No	Yes

Table 6: Theoretical framework (other traditions)

DIMENSION	COMMUNITY CAPACITY BUILDING	ABCD	COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT	COMMUNITY ORGANIZING	WOMAN-CENTERED ORGANIZING
PRIMARY GOALS	Build capacity for sustained change through the identification, mobilization, and expansion of community capacity	Identify and expand community assets	Focused primariry on building physical capacity while operating within the existing political system	Build organizations controlled by marginalized groups who fight for change and redistribution of power	Development of individuals and internal problem-solving
TYPE OF COMMUNITY	Geographic community	Geographic community	Geographic community	Community of interest	Geographic community
STRATEGIES	Build internal power of the community to increase engagement with local actors and access to local resources through collective action	Asset mapping aids in the identification of community assets that are used as a starting point for projects to improve community outcomes	Cooperate with elites to fund or subsidize development of housing and businesses	Organize community to confront elites and demand changes in the distribution of power	Build skills through repetetive cycles of action and reflection
WORLDVIEW	Cooperation-create and restore relationships between community residents and local actors	Cooperation-create relationships with local actors	Cooperation-haves and have nots have common interests and relationships are win-win	Conflict-haves and have nots do not have common interests and relationships are zero sum	Cooperation-relationship biulding not rooted in self-interest but in an understanding of mutual responsibility and relationships are win-win

2.1 Theoretical Framework

Critical theory critiques systems of oppression in an attempt to unveil the ways by which oppression is both institutionalized and maintained. Through situating experience contextually with a focus on lived experience (Hanson, 1992), critical theorists hope to expose sources of inequalities for the purpose of transforming the world around us. Critical theory is particularly concerned with praxis. It suggests that we reimagine the world around us and in doing so reject other's expectations of us based on race and class associations. Knowledge developed through processes of dialogue and critical reflection should be translated into action for the purpose of structural change (Fainstein, 2009; Glesne, 2011; Harvey, 1985; Harvey, 2009; Marcuse, 2009).

Like critical theory, theories of the ‘Right to the City’ and the ‘Just City’ are also concerned with praxis. Building on LeFebvre’s (1996) work, David Harvey (2009) defines the ‘Right to the City’ as the right to “change ourselves as we change our city (p. 315).” Specifically, he is writing about our right to change income inequality and disparity in the urban environment. He suggests that through our critiques of systems of inequality we develop critical consciousness that facilitates transformation. Redistribution is a primary goal in ‘Justice Planning’, where the planner adopts values of justice into planning practices. Marcuse (2009) challenges the limits of ‘Justice Planning’ suggesting that redistributive change is insufficient. Instead he suggests that the transformation that should occur is within the power structures themselves, since they maintain the structures that facilitate inequality.

Critical theory helps us to understand the processes that facilitate transformation described by the ‘Just City’ debate. In contrast to the objectivist epistemology that informs positivism, critical theory is grounded in an epistemology of constructivism where knowledge and meaning are constructed through our experiences with each other and our environment (Crotty, 1998). Because of its recognition of asymmetrical power, critical theory frequently serves as a foundation for community-based research practice. Work in radical planning, popular education and participatory action research all use critical knowledge to inform action with the intent of transformation (Friedman, 1987; Rahman, 1991).

Critical theorists recognize the necessity of community control of the research process (Lincoln & Guba, 2001) since knowledge has the ability to empower us to transform the world around us (Friedmann, 1987). Ownership of knowledge is a prerequisite of transformation. The same powerful groups that control the production of material goods also control the production of knowledge. Critical consciousness can only be raised when historically marginalized groups become part of the production of knowledge. It is a liberating process (Rahman, 1991). A radical planning paradigm, such as empowerment planning that builds on critical theory and theories of justice planning, recognizes that knowledge is produced through the interactions of those possessing technical knowledge, like that of a planner, and the local knowledge of community members (Friedman, 1987).

2.11 What is Planning and Why do We Plan?

Planning is the process of developing strategies that enable us to shape the future. It takes place in multiple realms, from our attempts to plan a course of study by drafting a syllabus to developing housing policy to control growth. Planning as defined here is the public sector planning that is used to guide the future direction of a given jurisdiction (Brooks, 2002). Planning is an innate human activity with a history that can be traced back many centuries as evidenced by the precise layout of ancient Roman towns (Levy, 2006).

In contemporary times, the goal of planning can be conceptualized as a continuum ranging from transformational to system maintenance (Klosterman, 1996). Planning as system maintenance suggests that because the social and economic institutions of capitalism are designed to further the interests of those that control the means of production, planning is inherently designed to also support those interests. At the other end of the continuum, planning as transformational would require the radical restructuring of the systems that support capitalism. Marxist critiques view current planning interventions aimed at addressing issues such as urban poverty as occurring within a paradigm of system maintenance. These endeavors are often band-aid fixes that do not impact the structural forces that maintain systems of inequality and only serve to delay much needed reform (Klosterman, 1996).

A primary justification for planning is the correction of market failures. Neoliberalism calls for abandoning planning in favor of the increased privatization of the production and delivery of goods and services. Yet even most free market proponents recognize the necessity of government intervention in perfectly competitive markets for several reasons. First, private markets are ineffective producers of public goods, or goods such as defense that are noncompetitive (multiple individuals enjoy consumption of the same good) and nonexclusive (cannot exclude individual consumption). A second example of planning as a tool for correcting market failures is evident in the case of externalities. Externalities are the spillover effects of production and consumption that are not captured in the pricing of goods and services. For example, the costs of building a dam to produce electricity are not accounted for by producers or consumers of that good but are transferred downstream. A third justification is illustrated by the landlord's dilemma, which conveys that in the absence of regulation, individuals are incentivized to pursue their individual best interests exclusively of other interests (Klosterman, 1996; Moore, 1978).

2.12 From Rational Planning to a Theory of Radical Planning

Throughout the evolution of planning, a single paradigm, rational based planning, dominated planning theory and influenced planning practice. With an underlying assumption based upon the rationality of man, rational planning, attempts to apply the positivist perspective and its method of scientific inquiry to planning problems. Accordingly, planners identify problems through the straightforward application of the scientific method using analytical techniques that draw on technical knowledge, they develop statistical models for testing their hypothesis, and after careful consideration of all alternative solutions, they extract the most favorable solution for application in the real world (Brooks, 2002; Dalton, 1986). In this sense, the planner is a value-neutral, technical expert swimming in a planning model that is highly focused on planning outcomes that predominantly assume the form of physical improvements, with little regard for the process of planning itself.

During the turbulent time of the 1960s, alternative theories to rational planning began to emerge. Collectively, many of these new theories recognized that planners could no longer apply the scientific method to solve the problems of worsening urban conditions. This shift is largely characterized by a rejection of a positivist scientific understanding of a world that is believed to be predictable and orderly, in exchange for the acceptance of a world that is unpredictable and often times chaotic. Given this new understanding, the rational approach to planning was no longer suitable, and a theory that could address this new understanding was needed. It became evident that the tradition of physical planning was no longer adequate in light of the complexities of modern society (Brooks, 2002). Planners came to recognize that the problems they face are inherently “wicked". These “wicked” problems of planning are difficult to define and difficult to solve. Typically, the resolution of one issue creates a set of new, complex “wicked” problems (Rittel and Webber, 1974). Although solutions to many of the problems planners face cannot be derived from technical applications (Davidoff, 1965), rational planning, where the planner is assumed to be objective and does not allow values to influence her or his recommendations, has remained widely applied in the planning profession (Dalton, 1986; Fainstein, 2009).

Planning, however, is not a value-neutral profession, and planners must be political, since they operate within a highly political environment (Fainstein, 2009). Both the equity and advocacy planning models that surfaced in the 1960s and 1970s recommend that planners be advocates for what they deem as the appropriate course of action in given situations, and advocate in the political arena for the interests of those groups they represent in their plans (Davidoff, 1965; Krumholz, 1982). Both of these planning theories are similar with the exception of whose interests are represented. Whereas advocacy planners work with diverse groups and align themselves with the groups that reflect their own values (Davidoff, 1965); equity planners work specifically to serve the interests of poor, disenfranchised groups (Krumholz, 1982).

Advocacy planning suggests that the responsibilities of planning should not fall solely on the shoulders of the local government. Alternatively, groups such as neighborhood-based organizations and special interest groups can lead planning activity. From an advocacy planning perspective, multiple groups, with the aid of a professional planner, should be responsible for the introduction of plural plans; each plan produced represents the interests of the planning group involved. The responsibility of the planner is to advocate on behalf of the interests they represent. In Davidoff's (1965) description of the planner as advocate, we see elements where the rational paradigm still persists. Like a legal brief, the planning document, he reasons, should lay out the facts of an argument in support of the plan while also presenting a counter-argument for the alternatives they believe are not in the best interest of the planning group. Equity planning also focuses on this decision-making process and the preparation of arguments for and against a given plan. To effectively advocate in the political arena, the planner must be prepared with an argument and have facts to back up that argument since the reality is that planners have little power and, too frequently, the planning process is dominated by those that hold power (Flyvbjerg, 1998). Without the proper political support, planners are likely to see their recommendations passed over in favor of other plans (Krumholz, 1982).

The goals of equity planning are largely redistributive, and disparities are believed to be the result of poor planning decisions. Unfortunately, local governments often view issues like poverty as a product of processes occurring at larger scales of government and outside the influence of local decision making. Recognizing that planning solutions are inherently tied to the way that planners define problems, Cleveland's tradition of equity planning in the 1970s sought to redefine planning problems in terms of those groups who were the worst off. This facilitated an emphasis away from traditional land use and zoning concerns. For example, transportation problems, usually defined in terms of congestion, were redefined by Cleveland Planning Director Norman Krumholz's office in terms of increased mobility for those who lacked financial resources and access to automobiles (Krumholz, 1982).

Although both of these planning models shifted the focus of the planner and brought the planner face-to-face with politicians, they put little faith in the capacity of marginalized groups to solve problems and shape the future. In doing so, the emphasis remains on planning as an outcome as opposed to planning as a process. Another issue is that by advocating for others, planners, in a sense, function to further marginalize oppressed groups (Reardon, 1996). Furthermore, advocacy and equity planning models lack the emancipatory, transformative element evident in Friedman's description of radical planning.

Radical planning focuses on planning as a process with a goal of improved social outcomes. Friedman (1987) derives his radical planning model from two planning traditions: planning as social learning and planning as mobilization. Evolving largely from the work of John Dewey, social learning focuses on action, or the deliberate activity that takes place within an actor's environment and translates knowledge into purposeful action. It takes place through dialogue but to be effective, dialogue requires trust, respect, and a willingness of individuals to forgo power rankings. It is a type of informal, hands-on learning that can involve outside actors, referred to as change agents, which bring technical knowledge to the learning experience.

There are two types of learning that take place for groups and individuals engaged in planning as social learning: single-loop and double-loop learning. Single-loop learning means that the actors change and develop strategies for new action based upon knowledge acquired from previous outcomes. As actors apply strategies to overcome obstacles, new objectives often emerge. Double-loop learning, on the other hand, involves cognitive changes in the learner as he or she adopts new norms and makes changes to his or her understanding of reality, values and beliefs. The latter refers to the transformation of individuals and groups involved in social learning processes. Knowledge comes from learning; it is subjective, the result of our lived experiences, and is validated through action. It is through knowledge, Dewey thought, that we are able to transform the world around us (Friedman, 1987).

In radical planning, the planner is the change agent (Friedman, 1987). In contrast to advocacy or equity planning where only the knowledge of the planner is valid (Davidoff, 1965; Krumholz, 1982), in planning as social learning the technical knowledge of the planner must be combined with the local knowledge of the planning group, enabling both groups to learn from the process and produce new knowledge. When the two groups are not learning from one another, the process is ineffective (Friedman, 1987). The parallel with communicative action planning is evident.

Communicative planning is based on the concept of intersubjective knowledge (Benebent F. de Cordoba, 2010). In the communicative planning model, participants create knowledge known as "emancipatory" knowledge or knowledge created through public discourse examining the prevailing assumptions that produce structural inequality (Innes, 1996). Communicative planning theory relies heavily on dialogue to both define and develop solutions to planning problems. Communication is at the heart of the planning process, and through effective communication, participants in the planning process can reach a collective sense of meaning that informs future action (Brooks, 2002).

Like communicative action planning, radical planning borrows from the work of Habermas. Dialogue has the power to reshape perceptions, changing knowledge as a result. Through a dialectical process, problems are reshaped and reformulated. The process is discursive and continues even once problems shift; communicative acts produce knowledge that is not fixed but is instead dynamic, particularly in processes of social transformation. In radical planning, relevant knowledge is always contextual and informed by a theory of transformation. Theory is continually informed by practice, as problems arise in practice, knowledge feeds back into theory for further formulation. Action occurs first and foremost. From these actions, questions are posed to theorists (Friedman, 1987).

The primary goal of radical planning is the "mediation of theory and practice in social transformation" (Friedman, 1987, p. 391). Mediation in this sense does not mean that the radical planner acts as a mediator. Instead Friedman (1987) suggests that radical planners:

> shape transformative theory to the requirements of an oppositional practice in specific local settings, to create opportunities for the critical appropriation of transformative theory by groups organized for action, and to rework this theory in ways that reflect firsthand experience gathered in the course of radical practice itself (p. 392).

Unlike the advocacy planner who attempts to mediate between the state and the interests they represent, the radical planner engages community groups in a transformative process for the realization of a vision that they are committed to reaching.

Contributing to a theory of radical planning is planning as social mobilization. Central to this planning tradition is the direct collective action of marginalized groups. Planning under this tradition is a form of politics. Planning as social mobilization stems from utopian, anarchists, Marxist class struggles and neo-Marxist emancipatory movements, where although their strategies differ, they share an ideology that is focused on mobilizing oppressed groups for liberation from the status quo. These movements are separated, however, by two different politics: one of disengagement where participants reject the status quo and model alternatives and the other of confrontation where participants challenge the existing power structure for a new social order (Friedman, 1987).

Building on these two traditions of planning as social learning and planning as social mobilization, radical planning is informed by a theory of transformation that is concerned with the structural problems produced by capitalism. In doing so, transformative theory situates these problems within a global context, reflects critically upon reality, projects future outcomes of the status quo null of transformative interventions, develops alternative outcomes based upon the presence of emancipatory practices, and selects a strategy to confront existing power structures to achieve a desired outcome (Friedman, 1987).

One of the defining characteristics that distinguish radical planning from other bottom-up planning processes is that it is oppositional in nature (Beard, 2003). For advocacy planning, equity planning and, in particular, communicative action planning, successes come through consensus building, not conflict (Davidoff, 1965; Innes, 1995; Krumholz, 1982). Consensus building is a major component of communicative action theory. Shared knowledge and the exchange of ideas is central to consensus building, just as it is to radical planning, where all participants are given an equal opportunity to voice their interests. Consensus building relates knowledge to action and participants work together to share and evaluate the available knowledge. A public interest emerges from the discourse and ideally leads to an agreeable course of action (Innes, 1996). The process of consensus building does not challenge competing interest, however. Furthermore, because the process places diverse groups together, the interests of marginalized groups can be squashed because they oftentimes are less equipped to justify and defend their interests.

For genuine power to manifest, it must be derived from successfully engaging in political struggles. In radical planning, resistance is never wasted (Friedman, 1987). Even if on the surface it fails, it is nonetheless empowering for participants and inspires others involved in the process of radical planning (Sandercock, 1998). Whereas in rational planning, and even equity and advocacy planning, the emphasis is on outcomes, in radical planning the emphasis is on both the process and outcomes of planning. Although the role of small action groups is emphasized in radical planning for reasons such as they enable the development of trust, and are effective for social learning because of the dialogue they enable, it is also important to build networks of such groups to confront power. Otherwise, radical planning would merely suggest alternatives to the status quo without having the social power to challenge it (Friedman, 1987).

Since Friedman’s (1987) model of radical planning is largely normative, he fails to account for how a group can move from objects of planning to participants of radical planning. While he recognizes that in order for radical planning to take place and be effective, groups must possess a certain degree of capacity, he does not address how a group attains such capacity. Radical planning is learned and is the result of a series of cumulative events, with each event increasing the capacity of the group involved. These increases in capacity facilitate the growth of collective agency that is necessary for radical planning to take place (Beard, 2003). In many ways, Friedman is laying the groundwork for the integration of community organizing, participatory action research and popular education into a planning paradigm for the purpose of empowering those who have traditionally been marginalized by the planning profession. (Reardon, 1996; Reardon, 2005) Yet, there is still the need for capacity building within organizations before empowerment can successfully take shape.

2.13 Capacity Building, Community Development and Community Organizing

The fields of community organizing (Alinsky, 1971) and community development laid the groundwork for what was to become community capacity building. Similar to asset-based community development (Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993), community capacity building works to build capacity in neighborhoods for the purpose of sustained change. Although rarely explicitly defined, Chaskin (2001) identifies four commonalities of definitions of community capacity in the literature: presence of resources; establishment of networks; leadership ability; and the existence of collaborative action and problem solving made possible, for example, by the planning process. He defines community capacity as "the interaction of human capital, organizational resources, and social capital existing within a given community that can be leveraged to solve collective problems and improve or maintain the well-being of a given community. It may operate through informal social processes and/or organized efforts (Chaskin, 2001, p. 295)." Like asset-based community development, community capacity building identifies local assets and expands and mobilizes those assets.

While community capacity building shares much in common with community organizing and community development, there are distinct characteristics that set it apart. Community building and community organizing are similar in that they both focus on community members taking collective action towards common goals. Because of each model's emphasis on and delivery of leadership training, they both rely on the continued commitment from local residents. They differ, however, in the way they define community as well as the strategies they use. Community builders, unlike community organizers, do not identify a community of interest that is focused against a particular power structure. Rather they assume that a shared interest emerges amongst community members (Saegert, 2006). Herein lies a strength of community capacity building over community organizing. Since relationships based on issues are not as sustainable as those that are built on commonalities (Speer & Hughley, 1995), issue based organizing can fail to produce transformative change in people and communities (DiRienzo, 2008).

For the most part, the tactics used in community organizing approaches modeled after the work of Saul Alinsky focus on issues outside of the local community for the purpose of gaining power and use confrontational techniques to take power from the hands of others. From an Alinsky perspective, power in relationships is considered to be zero-sum (Stoecker, 2003). Unlike community organizing, capacity building focuses on cooperation and developing relationships and skills within a community with a desired outcome of self-sufficiency. Because communities are characterized by commonality, interdependence, and collective capacity there is an innate power in all communities; furthermore, communities possess the capacity to access this power. One of the goals of community capacity building is to identify this power and to build this power within the community. Community and neighborhood based organizations provide an important venue for exploring and understanding social power (DiRienzo, 2008).

Despite the acknowledged differences between community organizing and community capacity building, the two approaches still share several similar outcomes. These include engagement with local actors and the ability to influence agendas. Both models also have the benefit of enabling citizens to gain access to resources from both public and private sources and to leverage those resources for concrete changes in their physical and social environments (Saegert, 2006).

The woman-centered model of community organizing identified by Stoecker (2003) has much more in common with community capacity building than it does with the confrontational brand of organizing pioneered by Alinsky. From Alinsky's perspective there is a finite amount of power. In order to gain power, one must take it from another. In the woman-centered model of organizing the desired outcome is empowerment, "a developmental process that includes building skills through repetitive cycles of action and reflection that evoke new skills and understandings, and in turn provoke new and more effective actions (Stall & Stoecker, 2008, p. 244)". Here, Stall and Stoecker's (2008) definition of empowerment reflects Friedman's descriptions of learning and action in radical planning.

The woman-centered model of organizing seeks to improve individuals as much as it seeks to improve the community. In this model, leadership comes from within the community. A major strength of this model is its focus on relationship building that is resistant to long-term struggle (Stall & Stoecker, 2008). Because of these characteristics, this model of organizing is much more consistent with community capacity building than with traditional community organizing.

In many ways community development has overemphasized physical development at the expense of the human component of development that is included in community building (Saegert, 2006). While capacity building primarily focuses on the development of individuals, it does resemble some components of community development. For example, both strategies rely on cooperation and relationships are conceptualized as win-win. A redistribution of power is not necessary in either the community development model or the community capacity building model, like it is in Alinsky's community organizing model. Instead, the goal is to build the overall power of the community.

Through his research, Mandell (2010) is able to link community building to community power. The value of what he terms low-level types of participation like picnics and other social events in communities is that they draw people out who do not normally participate. The emphasis here is on building community and these types of events create an increased sense of community and help members self identify with the community. In Mandell's (2010) case study, residents are given opportunities to be engaged in civic action in their community. The struggles for change and the experiences they share as a result of their collective action aid in the continued production of social capital. Civic engagement such as this is a precursor for social capital. Social capital "is created when this civic engagement is "excited" by some catalytic issue or event and directed toward a particular end or purpose (Hyman, 2008, p. 277)".

Just as community capacity building was closely related to the woman-centered model of organizing, it can also be tied to the asset-based model of community development (Stoecker, 2003). Assett-based community development is concerned with identifying the strengths, or assets, of a community and its people for the purpose of building on those assets. Its purpose is to identify and enable the capacity of a community (Haines, 2009). Instead of being driven by the needs of a community, asset-based community development takes its starting point with the internal resources of a community, whether they are physical, social, institutional, environmental or financial, and looks specifically at how to mobilize these assets in initiatives that build capacity and improve neighborhood outcomes (Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993).

The different models of grassroots initiatives highlighted in this section are an alternative to the planner's tradition of top-down responses to neighborhood decline. The approach a community chooses can vary over time. These approaches are not exclusive; they can occur contemporaneously. The women centered model of organizing, combining elements of both capacity building and community organizing builds a foundation for sustainable neighborhood empowerment and radical planning to occur because it not only builds the capacity of groups but also enables those groups to begin exercising power through their participation in the democratic processes of community institutions where less powerful groups are usually subjugated.

2.14 Increasing and Democratizing Participation for Transformation

Though participation is a key component to community building and a prerequisite for lasting change (Chaskin, 2001), it remains a challenge for practitioners and community leaders alike. Hyman (2008) posits four influences of community engagement by residents. The first influence is the incentives for participation that surface in at least two forms—the anticipated benefit one can expect as a result of participation and the intrinsic motivations for participation, such as a moral disposition to contribute. Human capital, described as individual characteristics like self-image or education, is the second influence to participation. Participation costs, which can be further broken down into the actual costs of participating (e.g. childcare and transportation expenses) and the forgone opportunity costs of participating, are the third influence of participation. Finally, hierarchical needs, or the importance of civic engagement relative to other responsibilities, can contribute to an individual's choice to participate. The problem of participation is not only a product of an individual or group's willingness to participate. The types of opportunities for participation also determine one's willingness to participate.

The democratization of participation facilitates the development of capacity and contributes to empowerment. Types of participation vary widely and the quality of participation that traditionally powerless groups experience in political decision-making settings has significant effect on how those groups are impacted by their participation. One of the core principals of participation is that it be inclusive of less organized groups that have little power (Frank, 2006). Participation in planning processes can take on many forms. Citizens can be either active or passive with the later being individuals or groups who have rights handed over to them. Alternatively, citizens can be active in acquiring and shaping their rights as citizens through empowerment and participation in democratic processes (Kenny, 2011). Frequently, research has failed to tie the two concepts of participation and empowerment together when, in fact, participation is both a cause and effect of empowerment (Perkins, 1995).

As discussed earlier, the rational models of planning place power and control in the hands of the planner, the technical expert. Urban governance practices of participatory democracy have failed to empower citizens because they often act as a way to include multiple voices in the planning process for the purpose of suppressing any future resistance to plans and policies (Hague & McCourt, 1974). Participation remains under the control of government in such situations (Roy, 2010). On the other hand, in radical practice, power lies in the hands of grassroots organizations that are engaged in radical planning (Beard, 2003; Friedman, 1987).

To get a better picture of the range of participation, and thus power, Arnstein (1969) has developed a continuum of participation as conceptualized by her ‘ladder of participation’ in Figure 3. The author identifies eight levels of participation with each level corresponding to the degree of power citizens exercise in participatory processes. Situated at the bottom of the ladder, manipulation and therapy are two levels of nonparticipation where power holders engage marginalized groups in planning processes to press elitist values upon those groups.

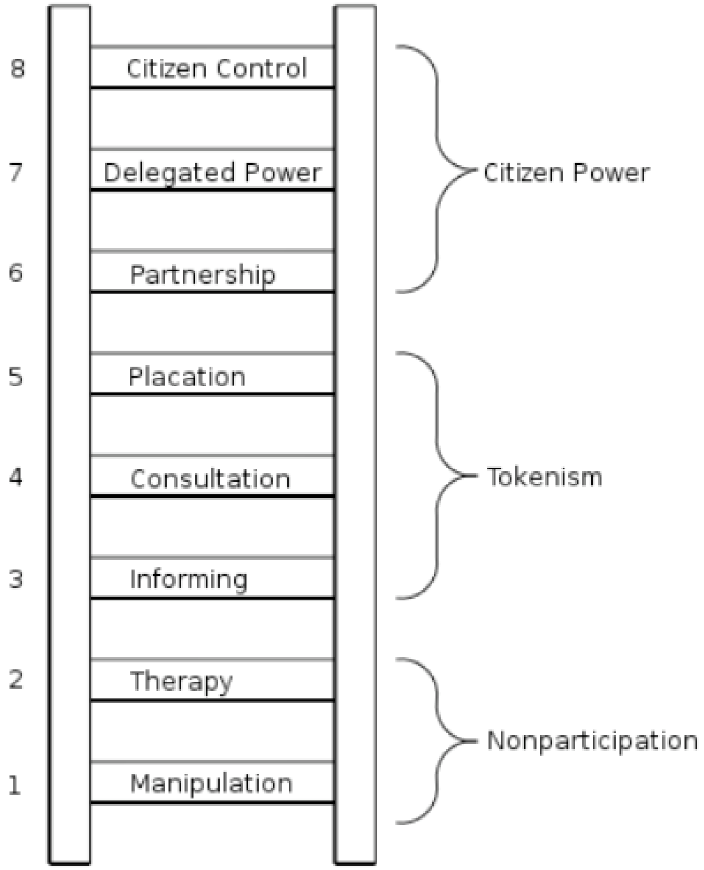

8
Citizen Control
7
Delegated Power
6
Partnership
5
Placation
4
Consultation
3
Informing
2
Therapy
1
Manipulation
Citizen Power
Tokenism
Nonparticipation

Figure 3: Arnstein's (1969) 'ladder of participation'

The middle rungs of the ladder—informing, consultation and placation—represent different forms of tokenism. At the tokenism level of participation, participants' voices are heard, but their influence over participatory processes remains minimal. In some cases surveys may be collected to assess public opinion, but the citizens are largely only recipients of information. This type of communication reinforces one of the major problems of participatory planning since the planning staff is not seeking guidance from the citizens but rather is seeking their approval. No power exchanges hands at the tokenism level of participation (Arnstein, 1969).

At the top of the ladder are the levels of citizen power that are reflected by types of participation that embody partnership, delegated power or citizen control. Partnerships enable groups to negotiate in the decision-making process and citizen control indicates that a marginalized group has secured enough decision making power to exert majority influence over the process. It is in these top three rungs that power can exchange hands and traditionally marginalized groups can begin to have influence over decisions impacting their lives. Here, Arnstein (1969) equates citizen participation to citizen power where a redistribution of power results from citizen's active participation in planning processes. Participatory practices in planning should build citizen power.

Increased participation in the planning process, however, is insufficient means for transformation and emancipation. Citizens must also be able to extend their power to the political arena. Active citizens can exhibit varying degrees of citizenship and can be categorized into several typologies. At one end of this spectrum, individuals and groups are interested in maintaining existing relationships. At the opposite end, is the visionary citizen who we can understand as the subject of radical planning. The visionary citizen is proactive in contrast to reactive. These citizens are interested in changing the existing power structure and developing alternative proposals that challenge the status quo (Kenny, 2011).

In such situations, visionary citizens can exercise multiple tactics to acquire power. Speer and Hughley (1995) describe Gaventa's three instruments of power developed in 1980. The instruments are the application of resources for the purpose of bargaining, the capacity to build and remove barriers to participation, and the ability to shape consciousness. Using this, the authors then say that empowerment is manifested in a community organization's ability to influence key political decision makers through punishment and reward, setting the agendas of public debates, and influencing outside and inside perceptions of a community (Speer & Hughley, 1995).

When groups are focused on changing existing power structures, it suggests that they are empowered. Unfortunately, in the geographic literature, as cited by Roy (2010), empowerment is frequently defined as an outcome of certain interventions (Lake, 1994; McClendon, 1993; Rocha, 1997). Empowerment, however, is an on going process and can be expected to manifest even when a community might fail at some pre-identified outcome (Roy, 2010). Furthermore, when empowerment is a long-range objective it tends to compete with other short-term objectives (Perkins, 1995). From this we learn that conceptualizing empowerment as an end product in the sense discussed here, poses problems to the sustainability of initiatives and radical planning.

Empowerment can also be understood as the outward demonstration of social power whether it is individual or group. Empowerment as a process can be observed as organizational membership, relationship building within the community, and dialectical action and reflection with other organization members. As an outcome, empowerment produces knowledge of power, an emotional connectedness between community members, and participation within the organization (Speer & Hughley, 1995). Whether understood as a process, outcome, or both, empowerment should be an essential component of planning for the purpose of transformation.

2.15 Popular Education

Recognizing power differentials, a necessary piece of transformative theory of planning, is essential if a community and its members are to experience empowerment.

An education component can be efficacious in identifying and raising awareness of the distribution of power between the haves and the have-nots. For example, a community institute where teachers (who are also network facilitators) expose students to the civic and political milieu of their community can assist community members in developing the necessary critical thinking skills to identify power dynamics that operate throughout the larger surrounding community (Mandell, 2010). Much of this is based on the liberating work of Friere (1983) who believed that recognizing the causes of oppression is key to liberation.

The term popular education derives from the Latin American use of the word popular that refers to education for the people, those disempowered groups living on the fringes of society (Wiggins, 2011). Popular education is grounded in the belief that people can become the subjects of change as opposed to objects of change. In line with social learning theory, popular education is founded on the presumption that knowledge arises from personal experience and that education should be a dialectical experience that involves this sharing of knowledge for the purpose of developing critical consciousness (Kane, 2010). It is both a philosophy and methodology focused on creating settings where oppressed people can acquire knowledge of inequalities and exercise power to overcome those inequalities. In this sense, popular education can promote community empowerment (Wiggins, 2011).

Popular education has the power to transform participants in many ways (Jara H., 2010). First, it enables individuals to liberate themselves from the expectations of the dominating social order. Second, they begin to question the unquestionable—those truths that have been presented as if there are no other options. Third, they begin to think critically about their surroundings and are continuously learning on their own. Fourth, people begin to imagine and create new possibilities for interaction with the world around them. Finally, people are able to acquire a sense of autonomy with a realization that individuals are unique as they break from the expectations of the dominant class (Jara H., 2010).

A desired goal of popular education is empowerment. Popular education produces many empowerment related outcomes. Although a form of internal empowerment, the development of critical consciousness is pertinent if social action is to come later. Increases in sense of community and participation are also empowerment related outcomes of popular education and are precursors for collective action. This collective action represents another form of group or organizational empowerment. Underlying collective action is an increased motivation to bring about change, a final outward demonstration of empowerment (Wiggins, 2011).

There are many challenges to developing sweeping generalizations about popular education. For one, it is contextual and it is therefore important that popular education is adopted based upon the context of its practice. For example, it would be unreasonable to expect that popular education could take its starting point by confronting local political structures when a community is poorly organized. Secondly, since it shares characteristics of other movements, it is difficult to identify which practices are specifically popular education. Many movements borrow from popular education without necessarily practicing popular education. Third, popular education practice is influenced by different ideological perspectives that guide which questions are explored, how questions are asked, and how the dialogue is constructed (Kane, 2010).

Although its presence in the United States has been evident since it was adopted here by Myles Horton in the 1920s and used at Highlander Education and Research Center (Wiggins, 2011), much of the practice of popular education has occurred in Latin America. The adoption of popular education to the U.S. context is not straightforward given the different political, social, and cultural context. Popular education continually must be reinvented given the context that it is operating in (Kane, 2010).

Social learning games and social skits are methods used in popular education to encourage participation and enable participants to explore causes of oppression (Wiggins, 2011). Historically, practices of popular education were heavily focused on methodology, but popular education is more than just its methods. The use of a particular method does not guarantee that one is actually engaging in popular education (Kane, 2010).

One limitation of popular education is the duration of interventions. Interventions are usually short, and although people might develop the chance to reflect critically on their position in a more localized context, there is not enough time to explore the broader scale implications. Many studies on popular education do not actually provide opportunities for communities to enact change. From a research perspective, popular education rarely occurs in isolation of other initiatives. Interventions should be longer and thoroughly grounded in the philosophy and methodology of popular education. When starting with extremely low levels of a sense of community, popular education is unlikely to lead to any changes in community empowerment in the short or medium term (Wiggins, 2011).

2.16 Participatory Action Research

Building on the popular education work of Freire (1983), PAR can also be thought of as a process that facilitates empowerment and a pragmatic means for applying critical theory in the field. It too, is consciousness raising (Brown & Tandon, 1983). Participatory action research engages disenfranchised groups in the research process from issue identification to data collection and analysis for the purpose of emancipation (Glesne, 2011). Within the research process, emancipatory knowledge serves as a mechanism for exposing the contradictions embedded in social and political structures while enabling the application of knowledge for transformative purposes (Lather, 1986).

Researchers engaged in PAR align themselves with marginalized groups while also maintaining a relationship and pulling data from the elitist class who can be seen as adversaries of the oppressed. It is a risky, politically charged form of research because it openly challenges the social, political, and economic structures that perpetuate oppression (Brown & Tandon, 1983). Research is a means, not the goal in PAR (Stoeker, 1999). Empowerment for transformation is the goal of PAR, which seeks to democratize the research process (Brown & Tandon, 1983; Rahman, 1991; Stoeker, 1999). The degree of democratization of the research process is positively associated with empowerment. Reciprocity is a key component in the PAR model. The researched becomes the researcher in a reciprocal relationship whereby community members and academics both contribute and benefit from the process (Lather, 1986).

2.2 Concluding with Empowerment Planning

Although several authors recognize the link between social learning and transformation through emancipation, Friedman remained one of the only scholars to merge these concepts (Beard, 2003) until the introduction of empowerment planning (Reardon, 1996; Reardon, 2000; Reardon, 2005). While Friedman limits his to a normative discussion of the topic on how we as planners can connect knowledge to action for structural change, Reardon goes a step further in his descriptions of empowerment planning, a three-pronged approach to planning that combines community organizing, popular education, and PAR.

In the empowerment planning model, participants are equipped with skills that enable them to mobilize as a group and harness enough persuasion over the larger political context to ensure that plans are implemented (Reardon, 1996; Reardon, 2005). What is absent from Reardon's (1996; 2005) work however, is the deliberate introduction of these three components to practice in a way that gradually prepares participants for empowerment planning using a method similar to Beard's (2003) documentation of 'learning radical planning'. Participants do not start from a point of empowerment planning; they must first learn the individual methodologies of empowerment planning.

Empowerment planners focus on developing the capacity of neighborhood organizations to engage in PAR and community organizing. Skill and leadership development is emphasized in this model that increases residents' problem solving and political mobilizing capacities. Residents engage with the planner in a partnership of shared power. This facilitates shared responsibility and over time reduces the community's dependence on outside experts (Reardon, 1996; Reardon, 2005).

Empowerment planning does not follow the usual path of linear problem solving; rather it is recursive, requiring continuous action and reflection. If strategies do not produce the desired outcome, empowerment planners and residents return to the problem definition to reflect on how the problem was defined. As this process continues, residents' problem-solving skills increase (Reardon, 1996; Reardon, 2005).

There are many benefits to empowerment planning. Empowerment planning manages the limited fiscal resources available to low-income communities by creating opportunities for residents to volunteer their time and resources in community development activities. This also creates ownership in the plans that communities initiate. Furthermore, when residents have invested their time into planning activities they are more driven to see those plans develop. By facilitating the growth of a committed group of residents, empowerment planning minimizes the likelihood that outside interests overpower community interests. Local officials are accustomed to maintaining the interests of the elite but can be more receptive to community initiated planning proposals when large numbers of community members rally behind those plans. The considerable social distance that usually exists between planners and low-income residents is likely to produce ineffective solutions. Empowerment planning, on the other hand, reduces the likelihood of uninformed decisions made by outsiders by including residents in problem-solving processes (Reardon, 1996).

The empowerment planner as participatory action researcher and community organizer is quite different from the planner described at the beginning of this paper, with the radical planner being the exception. Though the literature on empowerment planning remains thin, with Reardon being one of the few academics tied to this approach, he has sufficiently laid the groundwork for a new theory of planning that extends radical planning into practice while also accounting for the critical work of capacity building that must precede implementation of transformative practices. Pulling from the above discussion on radical planning theory, community capacity building, community organizing, popular education, and PAR, we can build a better theory of empowerment planning (Reardon, 1996).

The methodology developed for this research introduces three community-driven interventions in Reid Park. This research intends to develop a better understanding of how participants engage in empowerment planning. Through this we learn how participants develop the capacity to engage in struggle, as well as the role of the planner within this process. The interventions are designed to build community capacity and increase participants' understanding of structural inequality as they engage in planning as social learning and planning as mobilization.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

There are alternative ways to address neighborhood decline that are more promising than the historical federal responses described in Chapter 1. Local planning initiatives have not produced much more success than their federal counterparts and often result in the displacement of low-income residents (Carmon, 1997; Macedo, 2009; Reardon, 2009). Examples of successful alternatives do exist; these examples value local knowledge as a starting point and build participatory processes for power (Beard, 2003; Reardon, 1996; Reardon, 2005). Concepts of agency suggest that residents of historically marginalized neighborhoods have the capacity (Dyck & Kerns, 2006; Harvey, 1985) to take control of neighborhood outcomes if there is a strong social fabric present and residents are able to access resources influence outside decision-makers (Temkin & Rohe, 1996).

As previously discussed, empowerment planning is a three-pronged approach to planning that embodies the principles of popular education (raising consciousness about structural inequality), PAR (learning research strategies that can be applied to problem-solving and planning) and community organizing (ensuring the ability to implement by creating "power" in numbers) into a single planning model. In distressed settings like Reid Park, where power is concentrated within institutions, resources are lacking, and traditional top-down approaches have failed, empowerment planning is recommended by some as the method of choice (Reardon, 1996).

Empowerment planning places residents at the center of the planning process because residents are more willingly to invest time in planning strategies and initiatives when they are community driven. To fully engage residents of struggling neighborhoods, community planners, must work with residents to develop initiatives that take a starting point in the neighborhood. The reasons for inclusiveness are well known to community planners: ownership (Reardon, 1996) and knowledge (Friedman, 1987; Reardon, 1996). In most planning processes participation of residents in struggling neighborhoods is minimal and token (Arnstein, 1969). In contrast, empowerment planning recognizes that residents possess valuable knowledge of local issues and when residents work with planners in fully inclusive ways, solutions can emerge that reflect the knowledge of both groups (Reardon, 1996).

3.1 Restatement of Research Purpose and Research Questions

This research explores empowerment planning (Reardon, 1996) for the purpose of adding to its body of theory, in order to build better more inclusive planning processes. Through this research I develop a more nuanced understanding of empowerment planning via experiences in Reid Park, as the community engages in empowerment planning to organize for the implementation of a community-driven neighborhood park plan. This case study is unique in that it breaks empowerment planning into its three individual methodologies—popular education (Freire, 1983); PAR (Lather, 1986); and community organizing (Alinsky, 1971)—and intentionally applies each methodology cumulatively to enable learning at each stage (Beard, 2003) via the introduction of three community-driven interventions. Each intervention is designed to develop participants' capacity to engage in empowerment planning so that participants learn the process progressively.

Much like Beard's (2003) critique of Friedman (1987) who suggests that Friedman does not explain how oppressed groups learn radical planning, Reardon also omits explanations of how residents learn to engage in each of the three methodologies and how the specific relationship between the three principles develops. Drawing from the work of Beard (2003) who recognizes that radical planning is a process that is learned cumulatively, I suggest that empowerment planning is learned through the progressive and intentional introduction of popular education, PAR, and community organizing in such a way that participants are able to gain competency of each of the three components in a cumulative process. Through this process, we also develop a more nuanced understanding of the contribution of each principle to empowerment planning and the interactions between them.

Over the course of this study, research questions emerged in response to participant observation data. To explore empowerment planning, the following research questions guided this study:

1. What is the role of social capital in neighborhoods? How can we build stronger relationships within communities? Why should we focus on building social capital within communities?
2. How does participants' understanding of power shape the way that they engage with other organizations? How did this understanding shift during this project?

3. How can we integrate popular education into neighborhood planning? How does this effect outcomes?
4. What are the contextual factors of the neighborhood that enabled participants to translate what they learned through popular education and participatory action research into community organizing?
5. How does democratic decision-making increase problem-solving skills and reduce dependence on outside assistance? How does democratic decision-making in a small group setting translate to increased decision-making power in broader political arenas?
6. Why do types of participation matter? How can we create opportunities for participation that increase relationships and understanding of structural inequality?
7. What does transformation look like? What does an increased understanding of transformation tell us about empowerment planning?

3.2 Research Design

A case study is an interpretive method of inquiry focused on a bounded system situated within the context of the case. Case studies are often longitudinal studies of case data collected from participant observations and interviews (Glesne, 2011). Frequently, case studies tend to be exploratory and descriptive in nature. During the analysis, a detailed understanding of the case emerges and the researcher interprets the data, relating the analysis back to the previously identified theoretical framework (Creswell, 1998). Part of the value of case study research is that it enables the researcher to “focus on the complexity within the case, on its uniqueness, and its linkages to the social context of which it is a part (Glesne, 2011, p. 22)." The case study as the method of inquiry is particularly appropriate here because it enables the in-depth exploration of capacity building, transformation, and empowerment and the way in which these emerge as residents practice empowerment planning.

The research engages residents of a marginalized neighborhood in a critical, reflective and transformative process while preparing them for community organizing (Reardon, 1996). This can also be described as social learning for mobilization (Friedman, 1987). The research design consists of three interventions that developed through intense interaction with Reid Park residents over a twelve-month period(process described in section 3.3). Two non-traditional planning interventions, a workshop for participants at Highlander Education and Research Center (where we 'learn' popular education—the first step in learning empowerment planning) and an oral history project (where we practice popular education and PAR—the second step in learning empowerment planning) pave the way for residents to engage with MCPR to implement a community-driven plan for a neighborhood park (a contentious issue with the county that the neighborhood has advocated in favor of for a decade—the third step in learning empowerment planning). Each stage also facilitates the development of capacity, transformation, and empowerment. These interventions are the setting for data collection.

At its core, empowerment planning is consciousness raising and intended to help participants understand the structural sources of oppression as a way to overcome oppression (Reardon, 1996; Reardon, 2005). My original hypothesis suggested that participants' engagement in popular education workshops to explore the structural roots of inequality would begin the process of planning as social learning (Friedman, 1987) and personal transformation (Jara H., 2010) that would later enable planning as mobilization (Friedman, 1987) for the radical transformation of structures (Klosterman, 1996). I then suggested that participants would begin to apply popular education during the oral history project as they learned PAR methodologies, and this would lead to an outwardly visible form of transformation as they transitioned from service recipient to service provider (Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993) in the NSP initiative. Finally, I suggested that participants would apply their learning from experiences within the NSP initiative as a starting point for community organizing as they engage with MCPR to realize the community-driven vision for a neighborhood park and transition into planning as mobilization (Friedman, 1987). Each stage was also expected to build participants' capacity in terms of increased skills, social capital (Hyman, 2008), and their ability to act collectively (Beard, 2003; Reardon, 1996) as they translate knowledge into action (Friedman, 1987; Lather, 1986; Reardon, 1996).

The case that is being studied is the West Charlotte neighborhood of Reid Park. It has been selected for three primary reasons. First, Reid Park is a marginalized community with a long history of tokenism level participation (Arnstein, 1969) with the school, city and other local institutions. This was previously discussed in Chapter 1 (sections 1.23-1.25) in my descriptions of the relationship that Reid Park has with outside service providers. Second, Reid Park lacks the capacity to effect change within their own community without the intense outside help of a professional. As discussed in the introduction to this dissertation, past efforts to organize the community and take steps towards an alternative future have been short-lived. Finally, through my work with

CHARP, I already had an existing relationship with Reid Park. This was the primary reason for selecting Reid Park as a case amongst many other historically marginalized neighborhoods in Charlotte.

Since 2009 CHARP has worked with residents of Reid Park using a capacity building framework. Residents have been research partners where their level of control of the research process falls somewhere in the middle of a continuum. At one end of the continuum, the researcher primarily controls the research. At the other end, the participants primarily control the research. Although our research there has been limited, we have engaged with them in service-learning projects where residents have identified issues such as limited neighborhood participation, lack of access to retail services, and poor neighborhood infrastructure. We have also worked together to develop survey questions to collect data on these issues and administered the survey in the neighborhood. While UNC Charlotte students were primarily responsible for organizing the data, residents did participate in data interpretation. From this, residents and CHARP students have developed and implemented interventions, based upon the data, to address the selected issues.

3.3 Data Collection and Interventions

Data was collected at 47 points during this research. Shown below, in Figure 4, is a graphic representation of the methodology that is described in the following subsections and provides an overview of the case study. The circles in the right hand column show the justification for the case study and the boxes in the left hand column show anticipated outcomes. Three outcomes, an empowered neighborhood, an increased understanding of empowerment planning and recommendations for planning practice were identified. The middle box situates the three interventions as individual action research projects that take place within the case study that are designed to contribute to our understanding of empowerment planning.

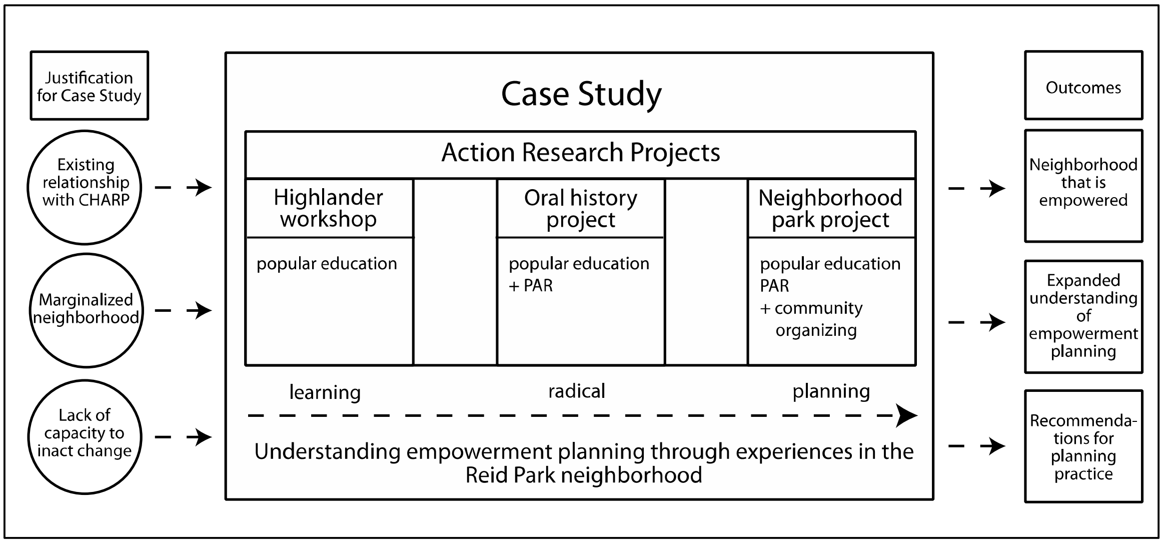

Justification for Case Study
Existing relationship with CHARP
Marginalized neighborhood
Lack of capacity to inact change
Case Study
Action Research Projects
Highlander workshop
popular education
Oral history project
popular education + PAR
Neighborhood park project
popular education PAR + community organizing
learning
radical
planning
Understanding empowerment planning through experiences in the Reid Park neighborhood
Outcomes
Neighborhood that is empowered
Expanded understanding of empowerment planning
Recommendations for planning practice

Figure 4: Case study justification, process and outcomes

The broad aims of empowerment planning are increased community capacity, empowerment, and transformation of individuals and systems of inequality (Reardon, 1996). At each of the 47 data collection points, I collect data on these three variables to assess changes during the course of this research. Pulling from the literature, I further subdivide the variables into fifteen operational definitions. Descriptions of evidence that I look for accompanies each operational definition as outlined in Table 7 below.

Table 7: Variables and operational definitions

Variable	Operational definition	Evidence	Source
Capacity	Social capital is being increasingly produced in the neighborhood	Tally attendance of residents at events	(Hyman, 2008)
	Participants develop effective problem-solving skills	Participants reflect on actions for their effectiveness and when necessary redefine problems	(Friedman, 1983; Reardon, 1996)
	There is a reduced dependence on outside experts as skills are built through repetitive cycles of action and reflection	Increase in leadership skills and leaders	(Reardon, 1996; Stall and Stoecker, 2008)
	There is a collective approach to leadership	Issues, goals, etc. are decided upon as a group and work loads are distributed amongst participants	(Beard, 2003; Reardon, 1996)
	Participants translate knowledge into action (applying know. Is trans.)	The groups is able to apply their knowledge to appropriate action to solve issues	(Friedman, 1983; Lather, 1986; Reardon, 1996)
Transformation	Residents report a new critical understanding of power and how power is used to maintain the status quo	Difference in understanding of the issue of power over time	(Freire, 1983; Friedman, 1983; Kane, 2010; Mandell, 2010)
	Participants create knowledge by combining local knowledge with technical knowledge in a mutual learning process with the planner	Both the neighborhood and the planner are contributing to the production of knowledge and engaged in social learning	(Friedman, 1983; Lather, Reardon, 1996)
	Participants are engaged in the research process	Resdients are actively taking on research roles	(Glesne 2011)
Empowerment	Increased sense of community evident in Reid Park	Responses/actions reflect that participants are more connected to each other and the community	(Wiggins, 2011)
	Increased participation in RPNA events and meetings	Residents are contributing to RPNA events and meetings in new ways	(Perkins, 1995; Wiggins, 2011)
	Participants are able to influence local agendas	Institutions and politicians are influenced by RPNA	(Saegert, 2006)
	Participants are able to gain access to resources and leverage those resources	The RPNA takes the initiative to identify the appropriate public officials to meet with, sets up the meetings, and establishes agenda	(Reardon, 1996)
	Partnerships reflect shared control of group processes including within RPNA	Issue identification, outreach, planning and other relevant activities emerges from a group process	(Friedman, 1993)
	Increased motivation to bring about change	Residents express a desire to bring about change	(Wiggins, 2011)
	Participants mobilize to challenge existing power structure	Residents are organizing and coming together to confront power structure	(Friedman, 1983)

Data was first collected during the fall of 2012. This data was used to inform the development of the three interventions for this study. In the fall of 2012, I co-taught the CPW course with Dr. Jose Gamez in the Department of Urban Design. The class is a graduate level service-learning course in community planning for both urban design and urban planning students. Given the initiative that was being implemented by the NSP partners to improve academic achievement and “empower” residents, we partnered with Reid Park for the service-learning component of the CPW class. We then developed the fall 2012 course into an action research project that became the foundation of this doctoral research project.

Because residents had little knowledge of the RPI, students in the community planning class interviewed representatives of the outside organizations driving the NSP including RPA, CityDive, Council for Children’s Rights, Mecklenburg County, and JLC. Reid Park leaders shared at the time that they believed it was necessary to bring Reid Park residents together for a visioning workshop with other stakeholders to develop a collective vision for the future of the initiative. The students hosted a workshop in November of 2012 for that purpose. Students recruited residents by implementing a door-to-door canvassing strategy and helped facilitate the small group discussion using a workshop guide that I developed (see Appendix B). Both the interviews and the workshop were approved through the Institutional Review Board (IRB) process (see Appendix C). All students in the planning course passed IRB training as a requirement of the class.

Twenty-four Reid Park residents and four outside stakeholders participated in the visioning workshop. Reid Park residents ranged in age from sixteen to 75. A steering committee of nine residents was formed to translate the data collected during the workshop into action. The data suggested that neighborhood projects focus on increasing community involvement, linking Reid Park and RPA, increasing skills, and including residents as decision-makers. The interventions that we engaged in during the doctoral portion of this research are informed by the data collected at the visioning workshop. Steering committee members participated in the development of these interventions, as described in the next few sections. Preceding this study, the steering committee members also participated in the development of a community vision plan for a new neighborhood park.

After the development of the interventions, I submitted a second IRB application (see Appendix D). The IRB ensures that all participants are treated ethically during the course of the research and that the data instruments used are appropriate for the research. All data instruments were submitted with the application. The research questions and variable table in Table 7 informed the development of three participant observation guides (one to correspond with each intervention, or stage of the research), an interview guide, and focus group guide.

Participant observation took place over a twelve-month period beginning with the Highlander workshop in November 2013. A total of 38 participant observations, totaling 103 hours of observations, were collected. A table summarizing all events where participant observations were collected is included in Appendix E. Participant observations include data collected during steering committee meetings, monthly neighborhood association meetings, and meetings with outside institutions, as well as the popular education workshops at Highlander Education and Research Center and the facilitation of the oral history project. Eight interviews were conducted within a two-week period of our return from Highlander. A three-hour focus group in June of 2014 was a significant point of data collection contributing to this study. A timetable of the three interventions and data collection is shown below in Figure 5.

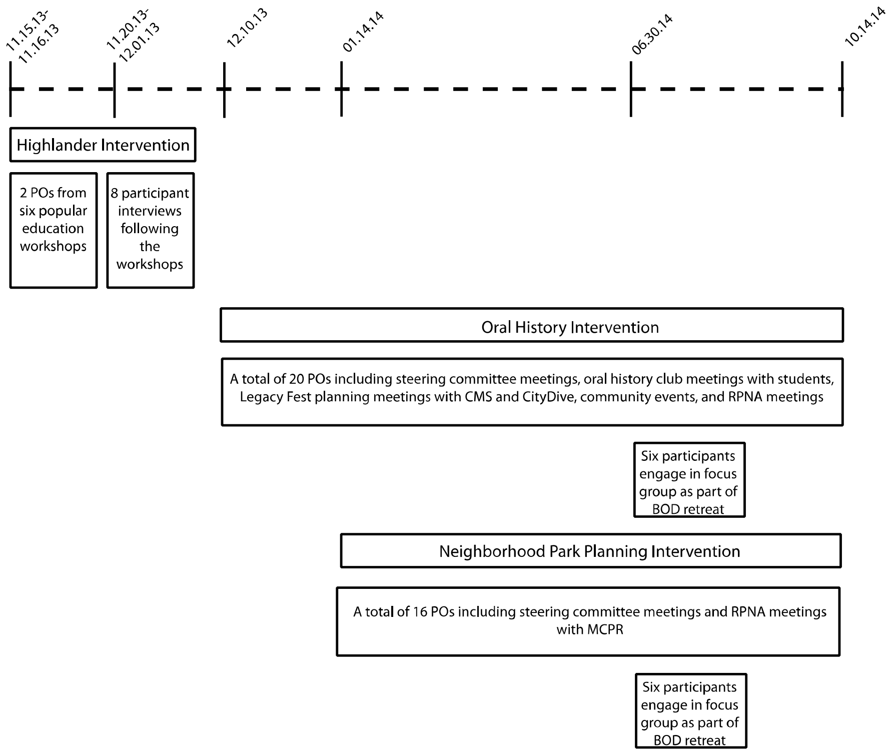

11.15.13-
11.16.13
11.20.13-
12.01.13
12.10.13
01.14.14
06.30.14
10.14.14
Highlander Intervention
2 POs from six popular education workshops
8 participant interviews following the workshops
Oral History Intervention
A total of 20 POs including steering committee meetings, oral history club meetings with students, Legacy Fest planning meetings with CMS and CityDive, community events, and RPNA meetings
Six participants engage in focus group as part of BOD retreat
Neighborhood Park Planning Intervention
A total of 16 POs including steering committee meetings and RPNA meetings with MCPR
Six participants engage in focus group as part of BOD retreat

Figure 5: Timetable of interventions and data collection

3.31 Research Participants

Eight adult residents participated in the Highlander intervention. An additional three residents signed up to attend, but they cancelled the morning of the trip. Five of the eight Highlander participants were consistently engaged throughout the study. Three residents stopped participating shortly after the Highlander intervention. Table 8 summarizes the primary participants involved at each stage of the research beginning with the steering committee members that was formed during the 2012 visioning workshop. Participants range in age from 22 to 62, but the majority of participants are in their 50s (see Table 9 for participant demographics). Two additional residents that did not attend Highlander, regularly participated in the second and third interventions. Six of the seven residents participated in the focus group. One resident was unable to participate in the focus group because of a family illness. All participants are black with the exception of one, Nina who is Nepalese. Their educational achievement ranges from less than a GED to a Master's degree.

Table 8: Summary of participants

Workshop Steering Committee	Park Vision Plan	Highlander	Oral History Project	Park Planning Project	Focus Group
Freddy	Freddy	Freddy	Freddy	Freddy	Freddy
Gloria	Gloria	Gloria	Gloria	Gloria	Gloria
Charity	Charity	Charity	Charity	Charity	Charity
Rhonda	Rhonda	Rhonda	Rhonda	Rhonda	Rhonda
Barbara	Barbara	Barbara	Nina	Nina	Nina
Carrie	Carrie	Carrie	Sherri	Sherri	Sherri
		Donna	Maggie	Maggie	
		Nina			

Table 9: Participant demographics

Name	Age	Race	Years in RP	Occupancy	Education	Empolopment	Community Role
Freddy	59	African-American	59	Owner	BA	Retired from social services	Current RPNA president and former president of the CDC; has been involved in grassroots community development since 1980's
Gloria	56	African-American	20	Owner	HS	Employed full-time in health care	Current RPNA secretary; became engaged in RPNA on limited basis in 2010
Charity	58	African-American	2	Owner	HS	Employed full-time in health care	Current RPNA treasurer; became engaged in RPNA as soon as she moved into her new home
Barbara	56	African-American	3	Renter	no diploma	Unemployed	Resigned as RPNA vice-president; was engaged 2012-2013
Carrie	21	African-American	3	Renter	no diploma	Unemployed	Participated frequently until Barbara (her mom) stopped participating
Donna	52	African-American	5	Owner	HS	Employed full-time in health care	Participated in a limited capacity between 2011 and Highlander workshop
Nina	33	Southeast Asian	2	Owner	MA	Works two jobs in hospitality industry	Became engaged in RPNA as soon as she moved into her new home
Sherri	46	African-American	6	Owner	HS	Retired from job in childcare	Participated on a regular basis since 2010
Maggie	62	African-American	17	Owner	MA	Retired from corporate job	Former RPNA president from 2004-2013
Janelle	38	African-American	3	Owner		Full-time teacher's assistant	Resigned as RPNA secretary; engagement is sporadic as she has two children at home

3.32 Highlander intervention and data collection

The Highlander workshop was the first intervention of the overall project. Eight participants attended the workshop, plus two youth, Dr. Janni Sorensen, and I. The purpose of the workshop was to: help participants develop a foundational understanding of structural inequality (Freire, 1983) through the exploration of neighborhood problems; examine power through the lens of the RPNA/CHARP partnership; develop a strategy for the implementation of the oral history project; and identify a committed group of residents as a small action group where leadership is shared (Friedman, 1987). The Highlander facilitator was primarily responsible for preparing the agenda. I communicated with her via phone and email for approximately two-months prior to the workshop. I shared our goals, contextual information with her regarding Reid Park and

CHARP, and also summarized the overall research project. She shared ideas for popular education methodologies that she believed were a good fit and then developed a draft agenda. Admittedly, in many ways Reid Park residents were left out of these conversations.

The popular education methodologies that were introduced included the mocktail, conceptual mapping, problem tree, and cultural sharing. We also participated in two focused discussions. The first was a discussion on the oral history project and the second was a discussion on the RPNA/CHARP partnership. Both the conceptual mapping and problem tree exercises focused on issues relevant to the Reid Park neighborhood.

A foundational understanding of structural inequality forms the basis for planning as social learning and must occur first if we want to effectively mobilize participants (Friedman, 1987) to challenge existing power structures (Klosterman, 1996). This is one justification for beginning with the Highlander workshops. For transformation to occur (Freire, 1983; Friedman, 1987; Lather, 1986; Reardon, 1996), residents and I participated in a consciousness raising exploration of the sources of structural inequality since emancipation from oppression requires familiarity with systems of oppression. The conceptual mapping tool and problem tree tool were used primarily to develop participants understanding of structural inequality.

The workshop was also intended to develop a small action group (Friedman, 1987) to facilitate the oral history project that follows. This core group of participants was necessary to implement the oral history project. In order to create and sustain this group, a sense of collective capacity, or empowerment, needed to develop within the group (Beard, 2003) since ultimately, participants needed to be able to make decisions, act collectively, and effect change to develop power. At the onset of the project, there was only a small group of active residents in Reid Park that were struggling to connect ideas to action and already there was evidence of burnout.

In order for the small action group to exert control of neighborhood outcomes, they needed to be able to influence other neighborhood partners including HH, MCPR, CityDive, and RPA. At Highlander, we created a space to focus dialogue on how the RPNA/CHARP partnership has functioned thus far and also identified shared goals between each organization. We believed that with the assistance of an outside facilitator we could openly explore the power dynamics and develop an effective and balanced partnership where work is evenly distributed and each voice receives equal weight. We also believed that the partnership between CHARP and RPNA was a safe place for residents to begin to practice power (Beard, 2003) and a starting point for practicing democracy.

During the Highlander workshop we also explored how an oral history project can be implemented with RPA students. We wanted to do more than document neighborhood history. More importantly, we wanted to use the oral history project as a vehicle for a critical and transformative inquiry into that history, while applying the principles of popular education that we learned at Highlander. We met with a second facilitator from Highlander who shared examples of an oral history project that he worked on with students in Knoxville. We then engaged in a discussion with the facilitator to develop ideas and strategies for our own oral history project.

The expected research related outcomes of the Highlander workshop were: residents begin to demonstrate a stronger sense of capacity (Freire, 1983; Friedman, 1987; Lather, 1986; Reardon, 1996); they exhibit the beginnings of transformation as demonstrated through a newly emerging critical understanding of social inequality (Freire, 1983; Friedman, 1987; Kane, 2010; Reardon, 1996); and begin to develop a sense of empowerment (Friedman, 1987; Perkins, 1995; Reardon, 1996; Wiggins, 2011). I designed a participant observation guide to be used at Highlander. The guide is included in Appendix F and is used to collect data related to the outcomes described above. Participant observation is a method of data collection used in qualitative research to systematically collect data about events or participant behavior (Marshall & Rossman, 1989). Participant observation can be thought of as existing on a continuum that reflects the researcher's role in the research process. At one end of the continuum is the researcher as observer where the researcher has little to no interaction with the community of interest and tries to preserve objectivity. In the middle of the continuum is observer as participant. At this point the researcher has limited interactions with participants but still remains primarily an observer. At the other end of the spectrum is full participant. The role that I assume, while very different from more traditional research roles of being objective and distant, is a traditional role for the researcher in action research. Under this role, I am fully engaged in the activities of Reid Park residents as related to this research study while also maintaining my role as a researcher (Glesne, 2011).

Within two weeks following the Highlander intervention, I interviewed the eight participants. I used a semi structured interview format to allow myself space to ask questions that emerged during the course of the interview. The interview guide is included in Appendix G. The purpose of the interviews was to collect in-depth data on participants' experiences at Highlander. The questions I posed in these interviews reflected the theoretical underpinnings of community capacity, transformation and empowerment that are guiding this study (Glesne, 2011).

Interviews are a type of data collection method frequently employed in qualitative research. They facilitate the collection of large amounts of data in a relatively short time frame and enable the researcher to triangulate their interpretation of observed data with participants' own reflections. Interviews can be understood as a form of interaction between the interviewer and the interviewee. Trust is necessary for effective interviewing. In order to acquire valid responses, it is important that the two parties have a relationship built on mutual trust so that the interviewee is comfortable revealing sensitive information. Effective interviewing also requires that the interview questions be appropriately worded to ensure that the interviewee correctly interprets them. Likewise, knowledge of the subject and familiarity with the research participant is pertinent if responses are to be understood as the interviewer intended (Marshall & Rossman, 1989).

3.33 Oral History Intervention and Data Collection

The second intervention is an oral history project facilitated by residents. The steering committee that formed at the visioning workshop developed the oral history project in response to data collected during the workshop. Reid Park residents developed the oral history project to offer an alternative to current school programming (Keth, 1996) that would connect the school and neighborhood, introduce Reid Park youth and other residents to the rich history of Reid Park, and demonstrate that they were not just service recipients (Krumholz, 1982) as defined in the current NSP model. Following the example of Beard's (2003) work in Indonesia, we begin not from a point of insurgency, but by presenting a non-confrontational alternative that seems to fit safely within the status quo. We applied for funding for the oral history project and received a $2500 grant from the Foundation for the Carolinas. The grant was managed by UNC Charlotte.

The participants and I were uncertain how to access youth for the oral history project. Given the limited available infrastructure for implementing community-driven projects in Reid Park, we decided to offer the oral history project as a club during family night at RPA. Family night is a program sponsored by ARK in the Park. A series of clubs such as golf club, science club, and health club are offered each family night. The clubs were scheduled to meet every other Thursday beginning in late January 2014 through the end of the semester.

From a research perspective, I was primarily interested in participants' transition from service-recipient to service-provider. This also became the focus of the PAR project. The research related outcomes that I am searching for is evidence of increased capacity (Beard, 2003; Friedman, 1987; Reardon, 1996; Stall & Stoecker, 1998), transformation (Freire, 1983; Friedman, 1987; Glesne, 2011; Lather, 1986; Reardon, 1996) and empowerment (Friedman, 1987; Perkins, 1995; Saegert, 2006; Wiggins, 2011).

The data collection methods include participant observation and a focus group. Participant observation for the oral history project began following the Highlander interviews. A copy of the participant observation guide is included in Appendix H. This includes data from steering committee meetings, oral history club nights with the students, neighborhood association meetings, and other events that occurred during the planning and implementation stages of the oral history project. The project culminates on May 30th, 2015 with the Legacy Festival, an event celebrating neighborhood history.

Participant observation is limited to adults and does not include data on the youth who participated in the project.

After the completion of the oral history project participants engaged in a focus group session. The focus group guide is included in Appendix I. Six participants were able to attend the focus group on June 30th, 2014. The three-hour focus group session was one component of the first annual RPNA Board of Director's (BOD) meeting. The focus group is a type of group interview. Focus groups are particularly useful in action research projects because they allow participants to share the plurality of their perspectives and experiences (Glesne, 2011). In many ways the focus group took the shape of a participatory evaluation piece of this PAR intervention (Stoecker, 1999) as we examined our execution of the oral history project and the power dynamics between CityDive, CMS, RPA, and RPNA as we implemented the project. Reflection is a key component to empowerment planning (Reardon, 1996; Reardon, 2005) and it is in this way that focus groups can serve in an emancipatory capacity. One drawback of focus groups is that participants may not always be willing to share their experiences in a group setting (Glesne, 2011). At this point in the research project, participants had developed enough intra-group trust that this was not a barrier.

3.34 Planning Intervention

A third intervention, along with the corresponding data collection, concludes this study. The final intervention is the implementation of a community driven vision for a new neighborhood park. The steering committee worked with a master's student in Urban Design and Geography during the summer of 2013 to develop a vision plan for the neighborhood park. The park is a contentious issue that residents have advocated for over a decade. It originally surfaced in neighborhood planning documents in the 1990s. At that time, the neighborhood traded land that was owned by the Reid Park CDC with MCPR to replace an abandoned park with a new centrally located park. The site of the former park is circled on the map below in Figure 6 and located on the parcel to the west. The circled parcel to the east is the lot that was exchanged by the CDC to facilitate development of the new park. Funding of $600,000 was allocated to MCPR for a new neighborhood park in Reid Park during the June 2013 budget planning sessions for Mecklenburg County's CIP.

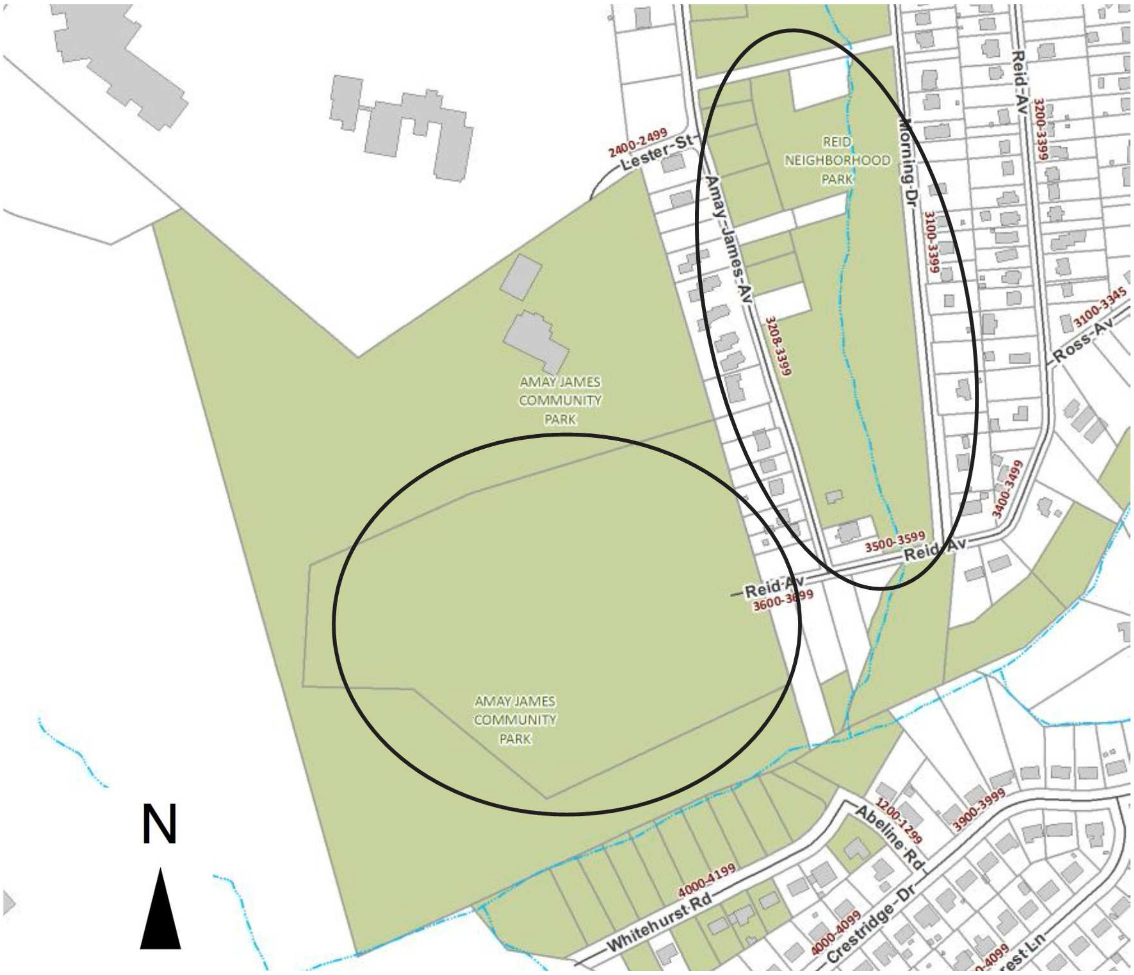

2400-2499
Lester St
Amay James Av
3208-3399
REID
NEIGHBORHOOD
PARK
Morning Dr
3100-3399
Reid Av
3200-3399
3100-3345
Ross Av
AMAY JAMES
COMMUNITY
PARK
3400-3499
3500-3599
Reid Av
Reid Av
3600-3899
AMAY JAMES
COMMUNITY
PARK
N
1200-1299
Abeline Rd
3900-3999
4000-4199
Whitehurst Rd
4000-4099
Crestridge Dr
4099
est Ln

Figure 6: RPNA-MCPR land swap from 1990s

Without intentional intervention, it is unlikely that residents will be able to realize their vision of a neighborhood park. Planners in the more radical traditions, such as empowerment planning, argue that traditional planning processes engage low-income residents in tokenism strategies. Instead of building citizen power, they tend to manipulate residents into approving outside remedies for neighborhood problems (Arnstein, 1969; Checkoway, 1984). The final intervention applies the knowledge participants acquire from engaging in planning as social learning during the previous two interventions to planning as mobilization (Friedman, 1987).

This intervention is less project-oriented than the first two interventions but at the same time, relates more directly to neighborhood planning since it assesses participants' ability to translate a vision into action. Data collection includes participant observations and the focus group session on June 30th, 2014. Data collected looks for evidence of: capacity building (Beard, 2003; Friedman, 1987; Hyman, 2008; Lather, 1986; Reardon, 1996; Stall & Stoecker, 1998); transformation (Freire, 1983; Friedman, 1987; Glesne, 2011; Kane, 2010; Mandell, 2010; Reardon, 1996); and empowerment (Friedman, 1987; Perkins, 1995; Saegert, 2006; Wiggins, 2011). The participant observation guide for the park planning process is included in Appendix J.

3.4 Data Analysis

Qualitative data analysis is an on-going process and occurs concurrently with data collection. Keeping memos in a field log, creating analytic files and developing rudimentary coding schemes are all part of preliminary analysis that begins as soon as data are collected. Keeping a journal encourages the researcher to continually reflect on the data collected and its relationship to the social phenomena of interest. As data collection increases, it can be useful to create analytic files that allow you to organize your thoughts. Examples of analytic files are introduction and conclusion files where ideas related to these pieces of the research paper are collected, or, for example, a quotation file that allows the researcher to keep track of valuable quotes pulled from the data. The process of sorting analytic files begins the preliminary step of rudimentary coding. Although codes are rather simplistic at first, they become more complex with time. Besides saving the researcher from an overwhelming amount of analysis at the end of data collection, preliminary analysis strategies described here help produce a study that is more relevant to the data collected, especially when beginning with a broad research focus (Glesne, 2011).

All interviews and focus groups were transcribed and entered into NVIVO software along with participant observation data. This is an on-going process and began after the first interviews were complete. Transcribed data was read through several times to identify emergent themes. Part of the process of thematic analysis means looks for connections within the data and making meaning out of the data. Data coding aids in this process. Coding is the process of making sense of the data as you continually sort and define pieces of data. Coding gives the researcher a systematic method for identifying themes, patterns, and relationships in the data (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996; Glesne, 2011). The variable table in Table 7 was used as a starting point for developing data codes. Qualitative research is an inductive process where the researcher takes their starting point in the data they observe and identifies patterns and irregularities to form generalizations and theories (Newman & Benz, 1998). As I began analysis, new codes and themes emerged that informed recommendations for future research that are included in Chapter 5 of this paper.

Throughout the process of coding, data was reassigned and codes were renamed. Once coding was complete, data was extracted from the source and reassembled by the assigned code. NVIVO aids in this process by collating the data according to the code that was assigned. Analysis of the data not only includes searching for what is present but also searching for what is missing. This process of data transformation enables the researcher to build theoretical explanations of the data (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996; Glesne, 2011).

3.5 Anticipated Findings

The analysis in Chapter 4 is organized chronologically (Glesne, 2011) by specific event. Discussions of themes are integrated into the analysis of the events. The organization of Chapter 4 was challenging given the narrative nature of this research study. Many examples of qualitative dissertations that I looked at used themes to organize data in the analysis. I felt that presenting the data thematically would confuse the story. The cumulative process was important to the research design and important to the analysis (Beard, 2003). Presenting the findings chronologically enabled me to maintain the narrative component and analyze the data as it emerged cumulatively.

Limitations also accompany this research. The interviews and focus groups rely on residents' self-reporting their behavior and perception. Because participants do not always self-report accurately, there is inherent bias in this type of research. I also have personal biases. Because I am heavily invested in this research, I'm driven to see it succeed. This bias could skew my analysis of the data in favor of empowerment planning and the methods used.

The completion of this research results in an applicable framework of empowerment planning that can be adapted depending upon the context. Each intervention was designed to increase the capacity of RPNA and build leadership. Social capital is expected to increase as well, both in terms of relationships within the neighborhood and relationships with others outside of the neighborhood such as RAP staff and administration, the county parks and recreation staff, City of Charlotte staff, and elected officials.

It was expected that residents would begin the process of transformation through the introduction of popular education and PAR. At Highlander they explored issues critical to Reid Park and related them to the structural causes and maintenance of oppressive systems. The intension of this intervention was also for residents to recognize that they possess valid knowledge. Following Highlander, problem-solving skills were expected to increase as they practice discursive action and reflection.

Anticipated outcomes also include an increased sense of community in Reid Park as residents build intragroup trust and identify common goals through their experience of empowerment planning. There should be evidence of increased participation at RPNA events and meetings during this research. With increased participation and social capital, residents are expected to gain access to additional resources and leverage those resources for further resources. Partnerships with other organizations should reflect shared power as issue identification, outreach, planning and other relevant actions begin to emerge from a group process. With each intervention, there should be evidence of an increased motivation to bring about change. When necessary residents should engage in community organizing techniques to influences agendas and acquire the necessary community and political support to enact their plans.

Several challenges could present themselves during this research. First is participation. This research hinges on establishing and maintaining a committed group of residents. Prior to the start of this research participation was increasing in Reid Park but their ability to maintain a consistent level of participation throughout this research is a challenge. It is be necessary to continue to build excitement in order to sustain participation. The overall implementation of all the interventions might also prove difficult. From experience, I learned that I am a better program developer than program manager. However, as residents' leadership skills increase, they are likely to take on additional responsibilities.

The lessons learned from this research can be adapted by grassroots community organizers, community organizations, schools, government planning offices, and those engaged in CUPs, to name a few. In particular, community organizers could adapt principles to increase the long-time sustainability of their organizing efforts. Public schools, city planners, and other institutions could begin to recognize the value of genuine community input and knowledge into community development and planning initiatives. Furthermore, they could adapt tools applied in this research to democratize participation and work with them in a shared process instead of exercising power over community organizations that they engage.

CHAPTER 4: ANALYSIS

The purpose of this chapter is to report the data collected for this study and present an analysis of those results. Data was collected over a 12-month period beginning in November of 2013. The IRB document for this research is included in Appendix D. The analysis contributes to our understanding of empowerment planning with the intentional introduction of popular education, PAR, and community organizing in a process that facilitates cumulative participation (Beard, 2003) to build community power.

The analysis is divided into three distinct parts: popular education, PAR, and community organizing. The three individual parts of empowerment planning are examined using a chronological approach (Glesne, 2011) to understand if and in what ways participants transform from a position of limited engagement to engaging in empowerment planning. Themes are identified within each of the subsections and then summarized in the conclusion of this chapter.

This study is meant to explore empowerment planning for the purpose of adding to its body of theory in order to build better more inclusive planning processes that are informed by practice. I develop an understanding of empowerment planning through a case study that carefully documents and reflects on experiences in Reid Park, breaking empowerment planning into its three components and intentionally applying those components in a step-by-step approach to enable competency at each step. The study enabled me to observe a process that engages participants in all three components of empowerment planning, with an end goal of an empowered community able to successfully translate a park vision plan into a new neighborhood park. In the text that follows, the term participant or participants refers specifically to those individuals who were directly engaged in this study. The participants are the individuals identified in Table 8 in section 3.31 of Chapter 3. The term resident refers to those individuals that did not directly engage in core pieces of the research such as Highlander, the oral history project, or the focus group.

The analysis that follows discusses the research questions that organically emerged during the course of this research project in chronological order of the interventions by integrating several themes that became evident in the research process. Building primarily on the work of Beard (2003), Friedman (1987), Reardon (2000; 1996; 1998), and Stoecker (1999; 2003), my work develops a more nuanced understanding that contributes to our knowledge of how historically marginalized populations engage in planning as social learning that prepares them for planning as mobilization. Ultimately they apply their learning to the planning process in a way that achieves real improvements in their communities, in this case the approval and implementation of a long desired neighborhood park.

The following research questions emerged during this research in response to participant observation data:

1. What is the role of social capital in neighborhoods? How can we build stronger relationships within the community? Why should we focus on building social capital within communities?

2. How does participants' understanding of power shape the way that they engage with other organizations? How did this understanding shift during this project?
3. How can we integrate popular education into neighborhood planning? How does this effect outcomes?
4. What are the contextual factors of the neighborhood that enabled participants to translate what they learned through popular education and participatory action research into community organizing?
5. How does democratic decision-making increase problem-solving skills and reduce dependence on outside assistance? How does democratic decision-making in a small group setting translate to increased decision-making power in broader political arenas?
6. Why do types of participation matter? How can we create opportunities for participation that increase relationships and understanding of structural inequality?
7. What does transformation look like? What does an increased understanding of transformation tell us about empowerment planning?

These research questions are discussed through the analysis.

The first intervention that was introduced to participants was popular education vis-à-vis the Highlander workshops. It is discussed in the next section. This served as a foundation for the development of critical consciousness as residents began to understand systems of inequality. The second component, PAR, is described next. Here, participants engaged in a research process that enabled them to deepen their understanding of power inequalities in their own local context. The final piece, community organizing, is examined as participants and residents engage with MCPR to realize the community-driven park vision plan. Following this, related events that took place during the research period but were not intentionally designed to be part of this research are analyzed.

4.1 Popular Education

The two-day popular education workshop at Highlander included several distinct planned activities. The most influential or significant activities occurring at Highlander and their contribution to a theory of empowerment planning are analyzed in this section. The data for this analysis consist of participant observations collected at Highlander and data from interviews with the eight Highlander participants. Major themes that emerged from the data are discussed within each activity. The core themes that emerged at Highlander are: power, partnerships, and horizontal hostility.

Prior to attending Highlander there was little social capital between participants, limited knowledge of structural inequality, overreliance on a single leader, reliance on outside experts, and limited motivation for change. These challenges were observed over the years prior to the onset of the dissertation research and were the motivation for initiating the research. They are shown as inputs in Figure 7 and correspond with the variable table in Table 9 of Chapter 2. These inputs were identified through participant observations and interviews.

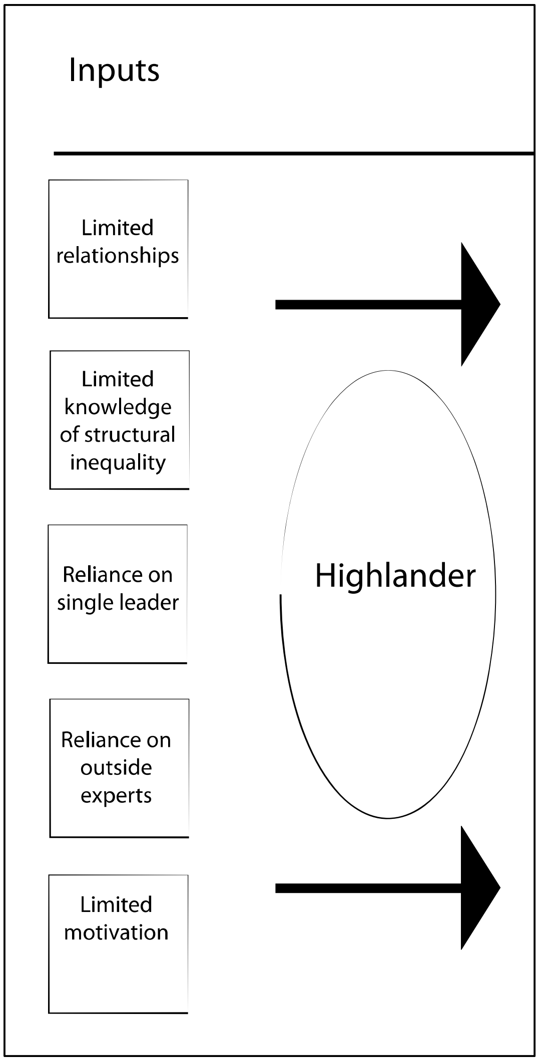
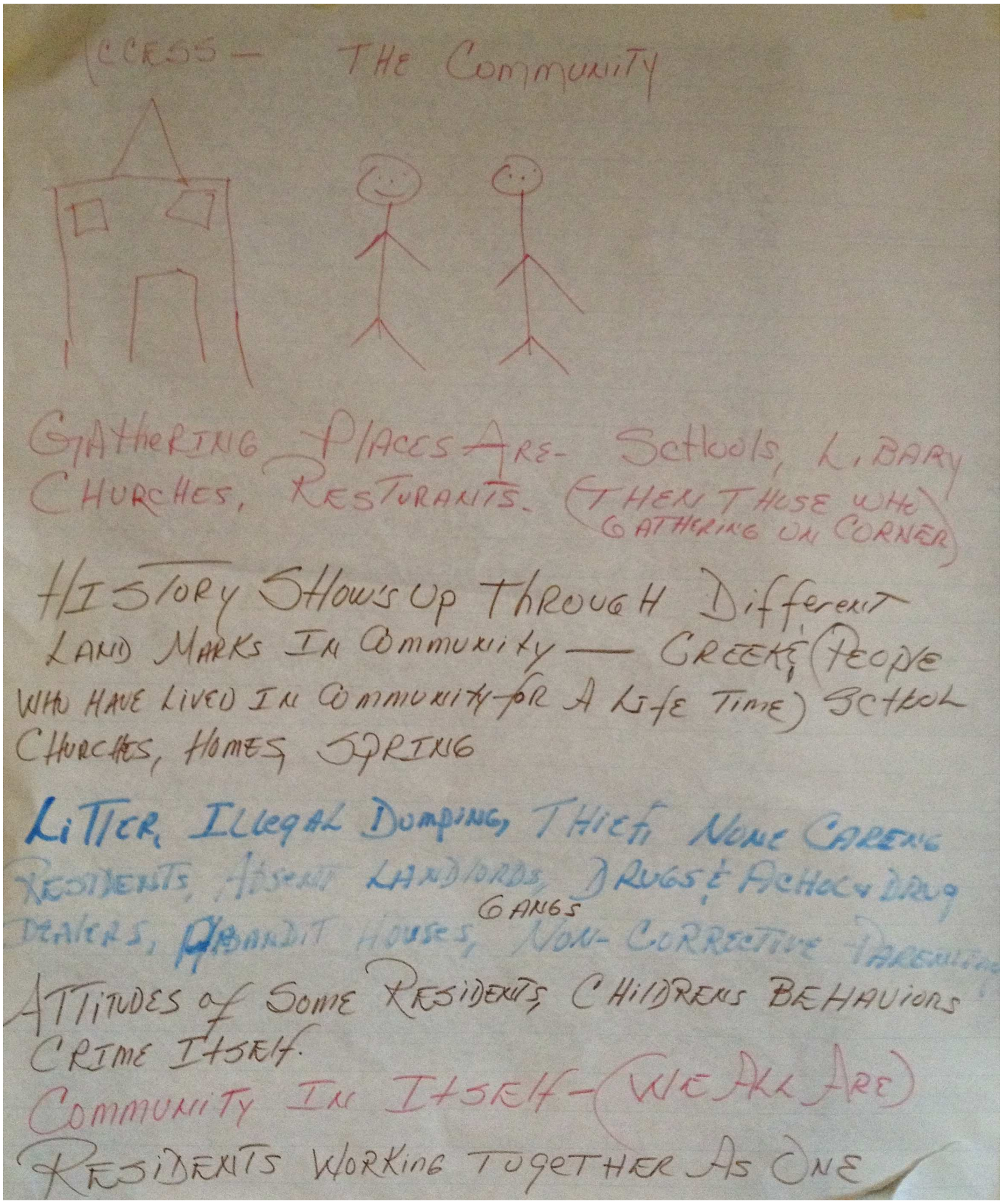

Inputs
Limited relationships
Limited knowledge of structural inequality
Reliance on single leader
Reliance on outside experts
Limited motivation
Highlander

Figure 7: Highlander inputs

4.11 Conceptual Mapping Exercise

A Highlander staff person facilitated a conceptual mapping exercise (Lynch, 1960; Walker 2011) after our introductions during our first night at Highlander. Still uncertain of how to juggle the role of researcher and participant during this first night, I did not participate in the activity, but stepped outside the group as an observer and researcher. Recognizing his influence over the other participants, Freddy followed suit and also opted to float and observe the others. The remaining participants were divided into three groups to visually conceptualize community gathering spaces, community assets, major players in the community, things that are harming the community, and where there is power in the community. Two examples of the cognitive maps are shown below in Figure 8 and 9.



CCESS – THE COMMUNITY

GATHERING PLACES ARE- SCHOOLS, LIBARY
CHURCHES, RESTURANTS. (THEN THOSE WHO GATHERING ON CORNER)

HISTORY SHOWS UP THROUGH DIFFERENT
LAND MARKS IN COMMUNITY — CREEK; (PEOPLE
WHO HAVE LIVED IN COMMUNITY FOR A LIFE TIME) SCHOOL
CHURCHES, HOMES, SPRING

LITTER, ILLEGAL DUMPING, THIEFT NONE CAREING
RESIDENTS, ABSENT LANDLORDS, DRUGS & ACHOL & DRUG
DEALERS, ABANDIT HOUSES, GANGS NON-CORRECTIVE PARENTING

ATTITUDES OF SOME RESIDENTS, CHILDRENS BEHAVIORS
CRIME ITSELF.

COMMUNITY IN ITSELF – (WE ALL ARE)
RESIDENTS WORKING TOGETHER AS ONE

Figure 8: Conceptual mapping example one

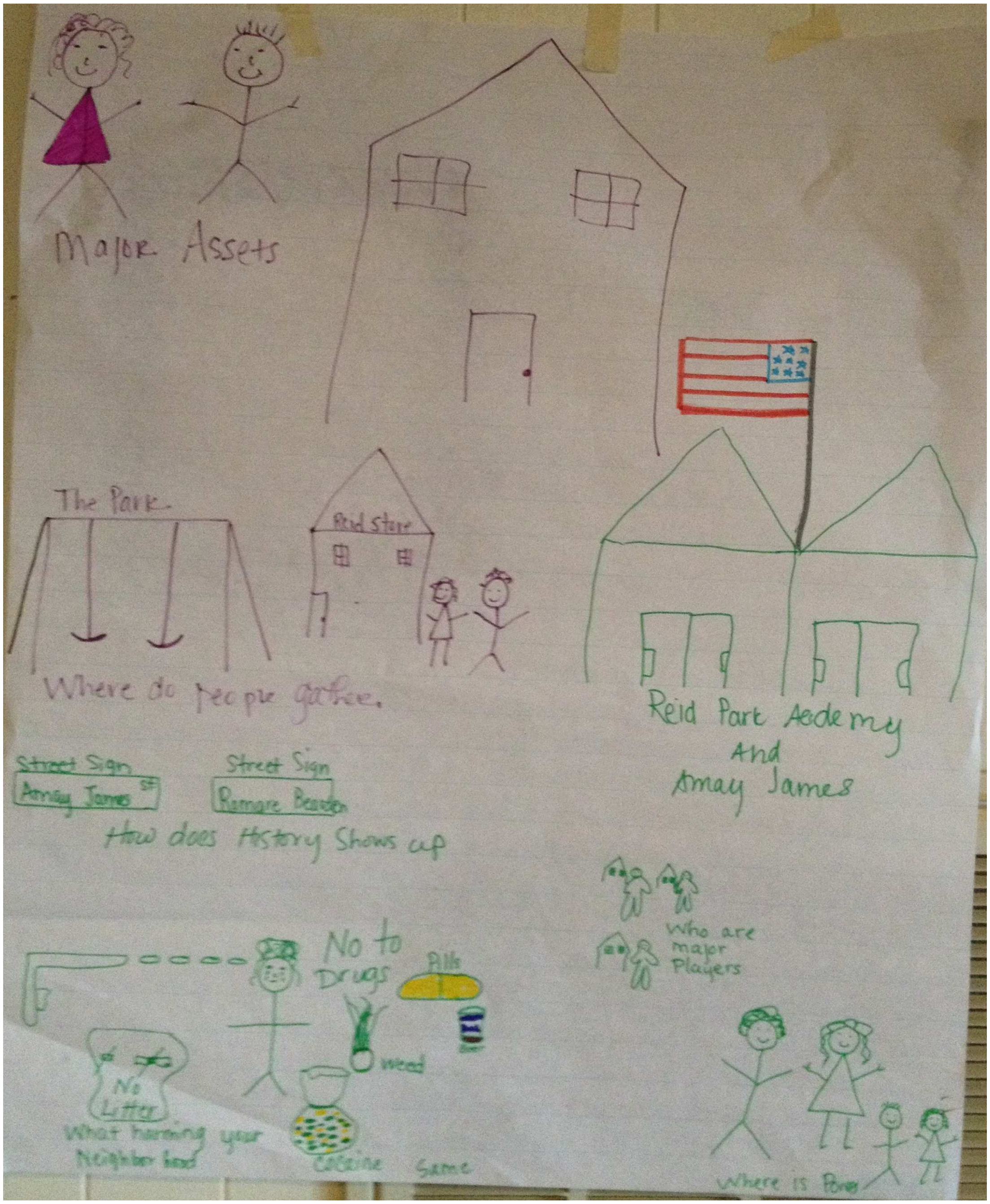

Major Assets
The Park
Reid Store
Where do people gather.
Reid Park Acdemy
And
Amay James
Street Sign
Amay James St
Street Sign
Romare Bearden
How does History Shows up
Who are
major
Players
No to
Drugs
Pills
weed
No
Litter
What harming your
Neighbor hood
Cocaine
Same
Where is Power

Figure 9: Conceptual mapping example two

Each group developed similar conceptual maps. The issues that they identify were consistent with what I had expected. Each group cited drugs and littering as issues harming the community. Other issues identified included thefts, guns, gangs, absentee landlords, and stray dogs, all of which are rather surface level issues and reflect the participants' limited understanding of or willingness to share thoughts of structural inequality prior to engaging in this research project.

After each group completed their mental maps, they presented and shared their maps to the larger group. The facilitator commented to the group that Highlander is about people coming together to solve their own problems; it is democracy in the making. The group then transitioned to reflecting on the maps that they created and began the problem-solving process. In other words, they explored what information they could pull from the maps to collectively solve the community problems identified in the maps and develop a common vision with practical applications to neighborhood planning in Reid Park. As they did this, the reliance on Freddy was obvious. Participants continually checked in with Freddy to ask if they did okay. Freddy replied that they did well, but "it's from their lens, not his". In his interview following Highlander, Freddy recounts his reaction to this overdependence on a single leader:

> That was one of the discussions that we had too…that I don't want you looking at me as if…you don't have...it in you. Collectively we (must) come together. Everybody (is) always looking at me, (but) I'm looking at you, and looking to develop (leadership) so that at some point, I can walk away and know that it's still going to go forward. When leadership becomes personality centered then that's no leadership at all. Leadership needs to be institutionalized and we always need to be looking at who is part of that leadership.

In other words, good leadership is collective leadership and was a fundamental component of collective capacity and necessary if the group was going to be able to act collectively to change neighborhood outcomes (Chaskin, 2001). In empowerment planning, we should be consistently trying to assist neighborhood organizations to develop collective leadership.

The cognitive mapping exercise also sought to identify community power (DiRenzo, 2008). Here participants indicated that the community had a significant amount of power. Many suggested that they had power because of their associations with elected officials. Freddy pushed the participants to think about what real power is. He agreed that they do have some internal power, but that "real power is having capital" and he used an example of rental dollars leaving the community in contrast to the rental dollars that stayed in the community when the CDC was building new construction in Reid Park. He also points out that there are outsiders in power who make decisions for the community. In many ways Freddy takes on an instructional role at Highlander as he pushes participants to think about the different ideas he suggests.

To better understand the participants' conceptualization of power and to triangulate the participant observation data I asked follow up questions during the interviews. I asked them to refer back to the cognitive mapping exercise and their suggestion that the residents have power. The majority of participants suggested that power is a group of people. In this excerpt, Charity says that power is the residents of Reid Park collectively coming together:

> into unity and speak(ing) up for what we want in the neighborhood. That's…powerful (when) you're making a statement (that) this is what we're standing for (and) this is what we're going to accept (and letting outside organizations know that they are) not going to come in here and do whatever

> (they) want to do in our neighborhood. Once we all get together in unity, then we'll be able to do all those things.

The quote illustrates an ideal of how the community would like to exercise power, but it is not reflective of the actual current state. Although in this quote, the participant connects power to a group of people acting collectively, the majority of responses do not. Instead, many responses, although they connect power to a group of people, do not connect power to action. While they are expressing a perceived sense of power, this does not necessarily translate to real power that is gained from successful engagement in political struggle (Friedman, 1987). They do not give specific examples of how Reid Park residents as a group currently exercise power.

4.12 Problem Tree

Another key exercise that we participated in at Highlander was the problem tree. The problem tree is a visual way to trace a problem to its source and help participants make sense out of and create knowledge of structural inequality through discourse so that they can mobilize against the appropriate political and social structures (Innes, 1996; Lather, 1986). Before the assistance of the problem tree, an adapted popular education methodology, the participants were looking at problems at the surface level as described in the conceptual mapping exercise. In his interview, Freddy describes how the problem tree pushes one to think about issues from a hierarchical perspective:

> (With the problem tree you) look at…what the problem is at the very top (on) the leaves, then you look at the immediate causes, and then the root causes. Often times we look at the leaves and never analyze it…from the immediate causes and then the root causes, which…is a more in depth look and analysis.

It is common for oppressed groups to look at problems only at the surface level. This often times results in band-aid solutions. When we look at how the causes are rooted in structural inequality we can focus on the source and produce more sustainable outcomes (Marcuse, 2009).

For the problem tree exercise the participants were divided into two groups. Pulling from the previous day's cognitive mapping exercise, each group worked collectively to identify an issue to explore. One group focused on education while the second group focused on crime and drugs. The leaves of the problem tree were populated by the symptoms that the participants observe in the neighborhood. Both groups easily completed the leaves. The trunk represents the immediate causes (i.e. lack of funding for education) and the roots are the structural causes of the problem (i.e. resources flowing elsewhere). Both groups struggled as they began to trace the causes down the trunk and into the roots of the tree. Freddy and I were in the same group and pushed other group members to think about the structural causes of the issue we were examining. I believe the fact that Freddy and I worked with the same group likely resulted in two very different looking problem trees. The other group only looked at issues from a superficial level and identified lack of communication and lack of parental support as immediate causes of crime. For the root causes, they suggested that a lack of parental discipline was responsible. Figures 10 and 11 show the two different problem trees (the post-it notes were added later to identify institutional sources of power).

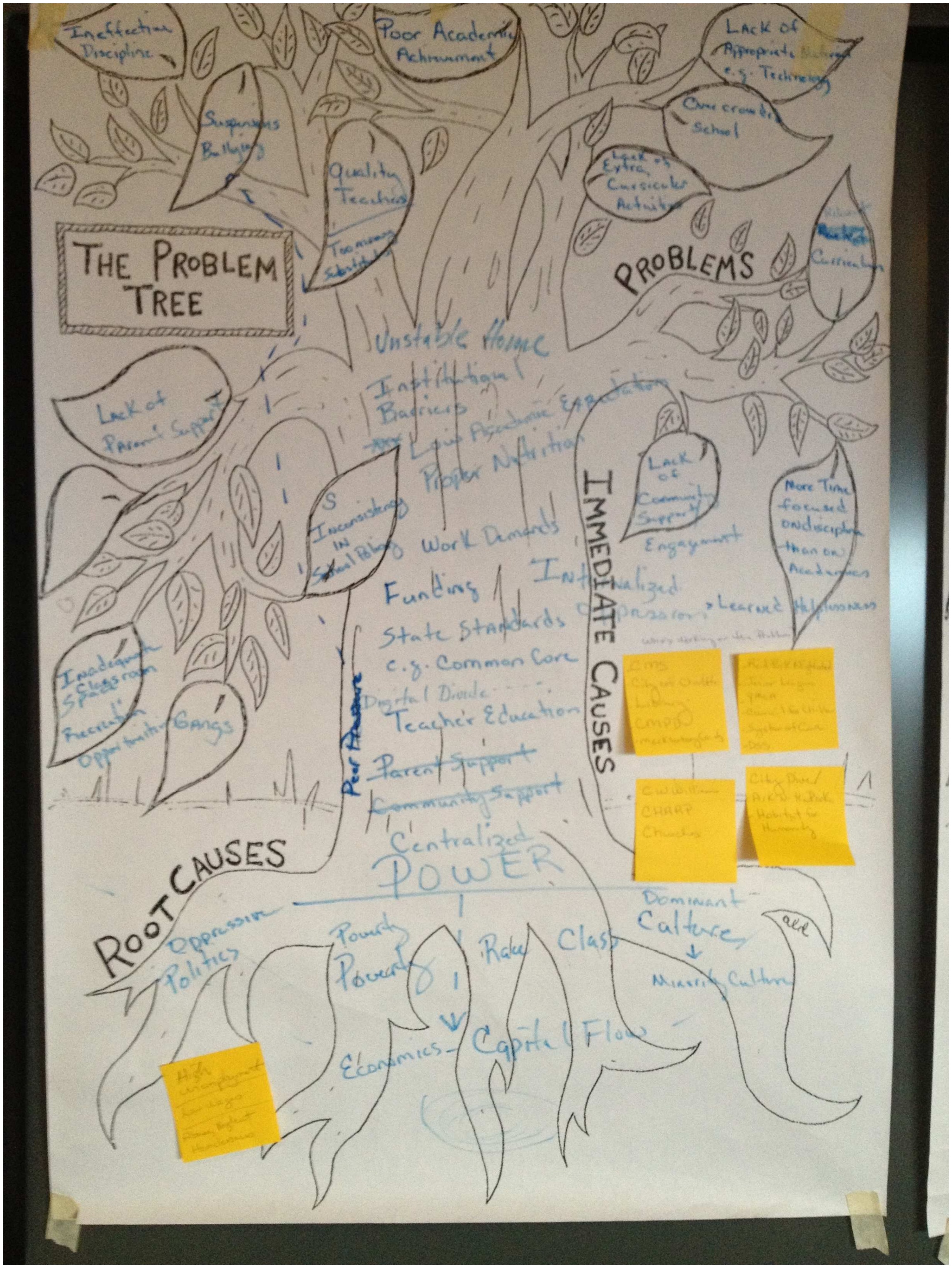

THE PROBLEM TREE
PROBLEMS
Ineffective Discipline
Poor Academic Achievement
Lack of Appropriate Materials e.g. Technology
Suspensions Bullying
Quality Teachers
Too many Substitutes
Overcrowded School
Lack of Extra Curricular Activities
Relevant Curriculum
Lack of Parent Support
Inconsistency IN School Policy
Lack of Community Support
Engagement
More Time focused on discipline than on Academics
Inadequate Classroom Space
Recreation Opportunities
Gangs
IMMEDIATE CAUSES
Unstable Home
Institutional Barriers
Low Academic Expectation
Proper Nutrition
Work Demands
Funding
Internalized Oppression
Learned Helplessness
State Standards
e.g. Common Core
Digital Divide
Teacher Education
Peer Pressure
~~Parent Support~~
~~Community Support~~
CMS
CMPD
CHARP
Churches
Habitat for Humanity
ROOT CAUSES
Centralized
POWER
Oppressive Politics
Poverty
Race
Class
Dominant Culture
Minority Culture
all
Economics
Capital Flow
High unemployment
Low wages

Figure 10: Problem tree: group with Freddy and I

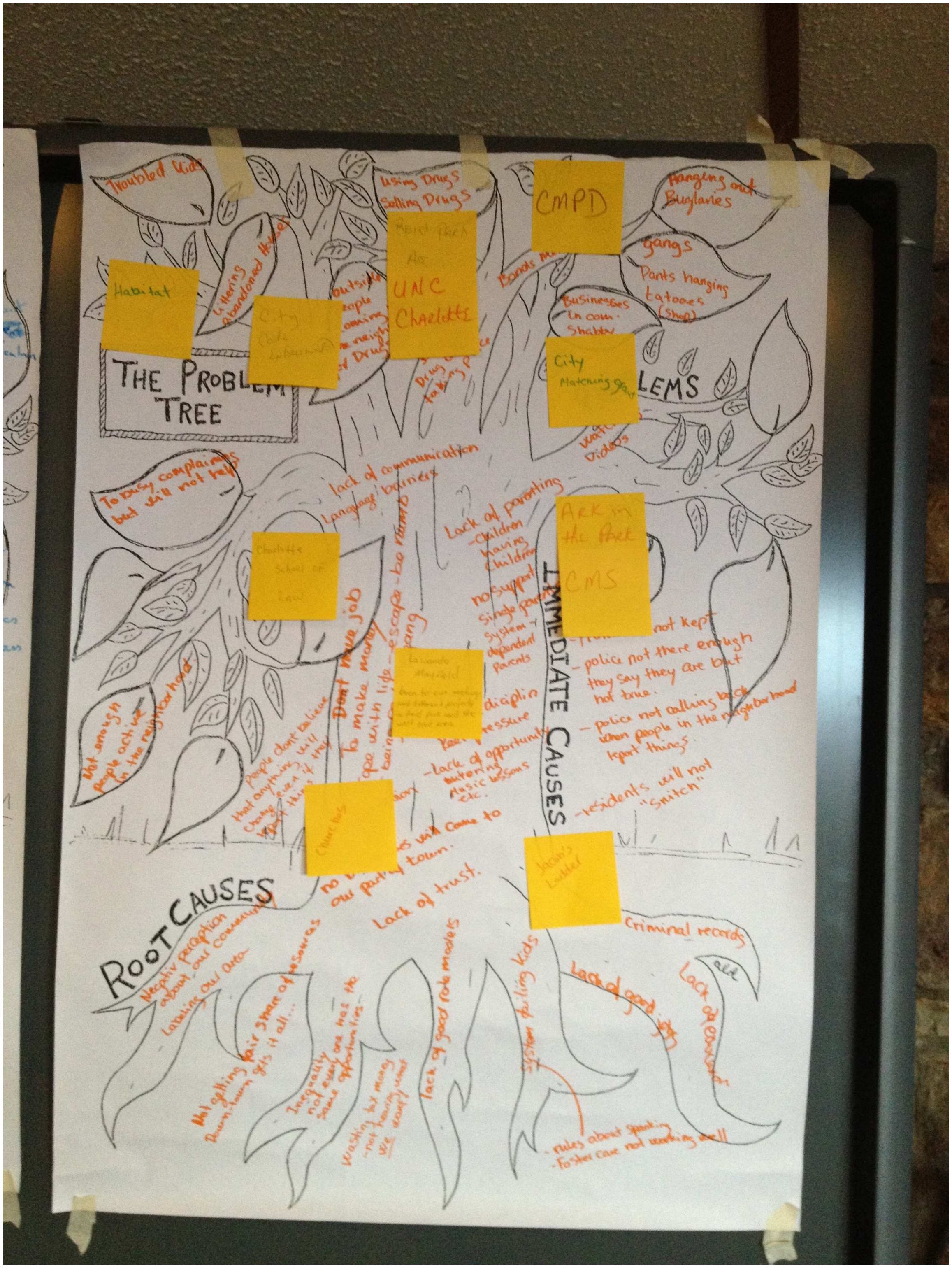

THE PROBLEM TREE
Troubled kids
Littering abandoned Houses
Using Drugs
Selling Drugs
Hanging out
Buglaries
gangs
Pants hanging
tatooes (Shop)
Businesses in com. Shabby
LEMS
Drugs taking place
Outside people coming neighb Drugs
To busy complaining but still not help
lack of communication
Language barriers
Lack of parenting
-children having children
no support
Single parent
System + dependent Parents
IMMEDIATE CAUSES
not kept
-police not there enough they say they are but not true.
-police not calling back when people in the neighborhood report things.
-residents will not "snitch"
Don't have job
To make money
escape with life-escape-be part of gang
disciplin
Peer pressure
-lack of opportunity tutoring Music lessons etc.
Not enough people active in the neighborhood
People dont believe that anything will change even if they report things
no will come to our part of town.
Lack of trust.
ROOT CAUSES
Negative perception about our community
Labeling our area
Not getting fair share of resources Down town gets it all...
Inequality not every one has the same opportunities
Wasting but many -not hearing what we want
Lack of good role models
System failing kids
Lack of good jobs
Lack of education
Criminal records
-rules about spanking
-Foster care not working well
Habitat
City Code Enforcement
Reid Park Ass
UNC Charlotte
CMPD
City Matching grant
Ark in the Park
CMS
Charlotte School of Law
Jacob's Ladder
Churches

Figure 11: Problem tree: group without Freddy or me

In empowerment planning we want to push the focus away from surface level issues. If we poorly define problems we will not be able to identify the structural causes of inequality that empowerment planning is intended to challenge. Planning problems are wicked (Rittel & Webber, 1973) and to make meaningful change it is problematic to treat symptoms only. The empowerment planner can help facilitate critical consciousness raising through the intentional integration of exercises like the problem tree.

Following the group work, we then engaged in dialogue around the two problem trees. Participants expressed that the activity gave them an opportunity to bond, as well as a chance to vent. One participant suggested that the exercise was a good opportunity for them to share information with one another about what was happening in the community.

To assess what participants learned from the problem tree exercise, I asked a series of questions during each interview. I began by asking each participant to identify several neighborhood issues or problems. I then focused in on one particular issue and pushed them to identify the causes of that issue to see if they were able to relate it to structural inequality. In many cases, when participants were pushed to dig down layer after layer, they eventually identified structural forces at work as the underlying cause of a particular neighborhood issue. The transcript excerpt below is an example of using popular education to encourage critical thinking to push participants to recognize the structural causes of neighborhood problems (Freire, 1983; Kane, 2010):

> Interviewer: What do you believe is the cause of burglaries in Reid Park?
>
> Charity: Lack of jobs…economical reasons. I know a drug addict don't really want to steal but he got (to) feed his habit. And then people who don't have a job.

> Some people don't have a job because maybe the company went out or whatever…so um they may not have a job. Then some people (are) just lazy. They want to just take, take, take, (and) they don't want to go find a job.
>
> Interviewer: Why do you feel like there aren't jobs over here?
>
> Charity: So um, what do we have around here? We got Family Dollar, and we got Wal-Mart. They already filled up with employees probably. You got Bojangles. You don't have anything really around here for the people to get jobs at. I think that by us not having the factories and all that stuff that we had when I came here, which was 18 years, then…you just hear over the news a lot of companies have left so people don't have jobs.

Although she did not go as far as identifying trade policies, etc. as the root cause, she did recognize that employment was limited because of a shift in the economy. Also significant is the minimal evidence of horizontal hostility that was evident at Highlander during the cognitive mapping exercise as she shifts blame away from criminals. Horizontal hostility is the tendency of marginalized groups to hold other marginalized groups accountable for problems as opposed to recognizing structural inequality as a root cause (Freire, 1983).

In many participants' responses to this line of questioning, I notice a similar reduction in horizontal hostility, although it is still evident in some interviews as shown in the except below:

> Interviewer: What are major issues or problems you see in the neighborhood?
>
> Donna: I just think that there are too many people in groups that hang, and I just don't feel like they're up to any good.

> Interviewer: Why do you think there's so much loitering?
>
> Donna: Because I feel like that group of people…feel(s) like (other) residents don't care and that they can just loiter and hang around and do whatever because nobody is going to say anything to them.

I then push her to identify the causes of crime:

> Donna: I think a lot of the crime has to do with drugs, you know, breaking in and stealing to get money. Because I noticed that there are a lot of…people that it seems like (they) don't work in the neighborhood.
>
> Interviewer: So high unemployment?
>
> Donna: Yeah
>
> Interviewer: Do you think that unemployment in Reid Park (is) by choice or
>
> Donna: Yes
>
> Interviewer: By circumstance?
>
> Donna: I definitely think that it's by choice.

She fails to relate this to structural inequality. This participant was much less engaged in the neighborhood than the other participants, which could be a contributing factor.

Freddy, on the other hand, quickly began digging down to the root causes of neighborhood issues. He came to Highlander with a better understanding of structural inequality than the other participants. He attributes this to the time that he has spent doing grassroots community development work. Other residents confirm that the Highlander workshops helped them develop a more critical understanding of neighborhood issues. Without the intentional integration of popular education into a model of empowerment planning it is unlikely that participants will recognize structural inequality. The data collected indicates that not all participants will begin to recognize structural inequality immediately. The continued application of popular education should be present throughout empowerment planning.

Several participants indicated in their interviews that they had a better understanding of neighborhood problems since participating in the Highlander workshops. Carrie concludes that the problem tree exercises enabled her to "think much deeper than what (is at) the surface." Gloria confirms this during her interview and states: "(the problem tree) gives me a little more understanding and a little bit more patience and concern for the problems that's going on." Her response also indicates a shift away from horizontal hostility. There is also evidence of a willingness to stay engaged, a critical component of this empowerment planning model.

4.13 Partnership Dialogue

At Highlander there were also discussions on the partnership between CHARP and RPNA. This was intentional, as we wanted to begin the intensive work related to this project from a position of shared power (Reardon, 1996). To do this, we needed to reflect on the current partnership, establish guidelines, and identify the direction we wanted the partnership to go. For this discussion the two organizations met separately to discuss what is working within the partnership and what is not working before reconvening as a single group to share our thoughts.

Dr. Sorensen began the conversation by identifying CHARP's priorities and constraints. She reminded participants that CHARP fits within a larger university structure and for us to be successful in that environment, we must produce research, teach relevant courses, and actively engage in service within the community. Through the dialogue that followed, we were able to identify shared goals (Sorensen & Lawson, 2012) for the RPNA-CHARP partnership that included action research and grant writing.

Pulling from experience with other partners, participants expressed a desire to be actively engaged in the community-university partnership (Sorensen & Lawson, Evolution in partnership: Lessons from the East St. Louis Action Research Project, 2012). They are accustomed to other partners making decisions on their behalf and recognize that this is not how our partnership operates. Carrie believes that the RPNA/CHARP partnership is distinctive from other partnerships in that CHARP does not:

> try to dominate, they don't…come in and (say) 'this is what we're going to do and you have no say so whatever'. But, you come in (and) you say 'what would you like to see in your neighborhood?' And, you talk with us.

Donna supports this statement and says:

> I think that the (partnership) is building good rapport within the community. It seems like sometimes different organizations or different groups want to have power (and) they want to have more say over what goes on and then when things don't come together, they pull out. It seems as though CHARP, or UNCC, continues to work within the community.

These and other statements support the conclusion that there is trust in effect in the RPNA/CHARP partnership. The role of the planner in empowerment planning differs from many other models. As empowerment planners engage in co-planning with participants they should develop deep relationships with participants through willingness to listen and validation of local knowledge (Friedman, 1987; Lather, 1986; Reardon, 1996). Building trust with groups is essential to empowerment planning.

At the time of the interviews many participants reflected positively about the relationship between RPNA and both RPA and CityDive. For example, Charity states:

> I would say it looks, it looks, um, it looks very good I would say that it's…working it's…coming together because there again…we here in Reid Park we want to have what we want and say what we want but still…we can't do it by ourselves. So (we) need community organizations to help us get where we…want to go.

With the exception of Freddy, who stressed at Highlander the need for RPNA to have input into the education of youth and the use of the rec center and adjacent annex, many participants confirm that they believe that RPNA is engaged in decision-making processes with both CityDive and RPA. When I pushed participants to give examples, however, they were unable to do so. This perspective is something that changes significantly over the course of the oral history project and is emphasized in Section 4.2 and 4.4.

The participants also recognize that they are building leadership development (Sorensen & Lawson, 2012) and increasing social capital through the partnership (Hyman, 2008). There was still some push back that Freddy experienced as the participants discussed the partnership at Highlander. This is captured in his reflection during the interview as he discusses other participants' perception for the need of outside experts:

> We were talking about the relationship (and) there was a lot of discussion because there was this notion, (that) we don't need anybody, we want to do it on our own. (And), I said wait a minute, if not for this relationship…you're grasping for straws, because, for one, the credibility is not there.

This indicates his understanding that there are still things to be gained from the partnership between CHARP and RPNA and that there is more to learn from the assistance that we currently provide. He also expresses a desire to move beyond the need for us in the future. His quote reflects his acknowledgement that organizations like RPNA have to build credibility to gain access to resources and perhaps this is also acknowledgement on his part that there is a negative outside perception (Reardon, 1994) of the capacity of RPNA. He also recognizes the exchange of knowledge that occurs between CHARP and RPNA.

In addition to asking interview questions related to the CHARP/RPNA partnership, I asked participants to reflect on the neighborhood association's role in other partnerships. In referring to the RPA partnership, Barbara states that:

> The staff has more power than the parents and families (and) they say they're trying to build a relationship with the parents and the youth so that they can come up and we can work the difficulties out together. But still, it's never going to be a 50/50 thing.

This reflects her previous experience as a parent partnering with the Parent Teacher Organization (PTO) and indicates that she has little hope that parents would be treated as equal decision-makers.

4.14 Knoxville Oral History Project Example

Time at Highlander was also devoted to discussing ideas and developing a framework for the oral history project that was to commence only a few months following our trip. An additional Highlander staff person, joined us for this exercise and shared with us an example of an oral history project that he had facilitated with youth in Knoxville. He stressed that he was not the youth's teacher, but instead he and the youth taught each other, a principal of popular education (Freire, 1983). Pulling from this, Charity makes the recommendation that we should work with teachers, counselors, and students to develop the goals for the oral history project. This example is early evidence that participants are beginning to apply their knowledge through problem solving and decision-making (Friedman, 1987; Lather, 1986).

Through the discussion partially facilitated by the staff person, we worked together to try to build a methodology for the oral history project. For the most part, in contrast to the previous day when participants were continually checking in with Freddy, everyone contributed to the dialogue. However, when the facilitator asks about the history of Reid Park, Barbara replies "come on, Freddy, that's your part." Although this is a reasonable expectation given his length of residence in the community, it still indicates overdependence on a single leader.

As opposed to developing a methodology for the oral history project, participants tended to focus on nuanced details of the project such as what questions they would ask. Their suggestions were often times very detail oriented. For example, some participants wanted to jump in and brainstorm interview questions as opposed to developing a strategy to facilitate a lesson with youth to identify interview questions. What begins to happen during this session and is worthy of emphasis as it later contributes significantly to the increased capacity of RPNA, is that participants are beginning to practice collective leadership and develop a common vision for the community.

4.15 Cultural Sharing

All participants were asked to bring a cultural item of special significance with them to Highlander. The facilitator suggested that they could bring items such as a family photograph, recipe, or book, etc. We concluded the evening with the cultural sharing session to help build relationships between participants (Mandell, 2010) and then we transitioned into a discussion on what's next for this group of leaders and what they learned from Highlander. For the cultural sharing session, each participant took a turn sharing the personal story behind his or her item. Cultural items included a family bible, a bread recipe, family picture, and pictures of a Nepalese festival. The activity gave participants an opportunity to further develop relationships while also developing a sense of value for inclusiveness.

Freddy reflects back on the activity during his interview. He indicates that the cultural sharing session was "an opportunity to bring people together across cultural boundaries" and suggests that we should adapt this activity in the future. One of the goals of empowerment planning is inclusiveness. A model of empowerment planning should be conscious of diversity and integrating multiple voices into the planning process. Activities such as the cultural sharing exercise can help facilitate this.

4.16 Analysis/Conclusion

This section summarizes the immediate outputs of the Highlander workshops: increased relationships; increased knowledge of structural inequality; emergent collective approached to leadership; increased sense of community; a common vision; and increased motivation. Also evident is a more clearly defined partnership between RPNA and CHARP. These outputs are shown in Figure 12. In Section 4.2 and 4.3, I refer back to these outputs and reflect on the way that they contribute to other pieces of the project. Essentially, these initial outputs become inputs into the oral history project and the park planning intervention.

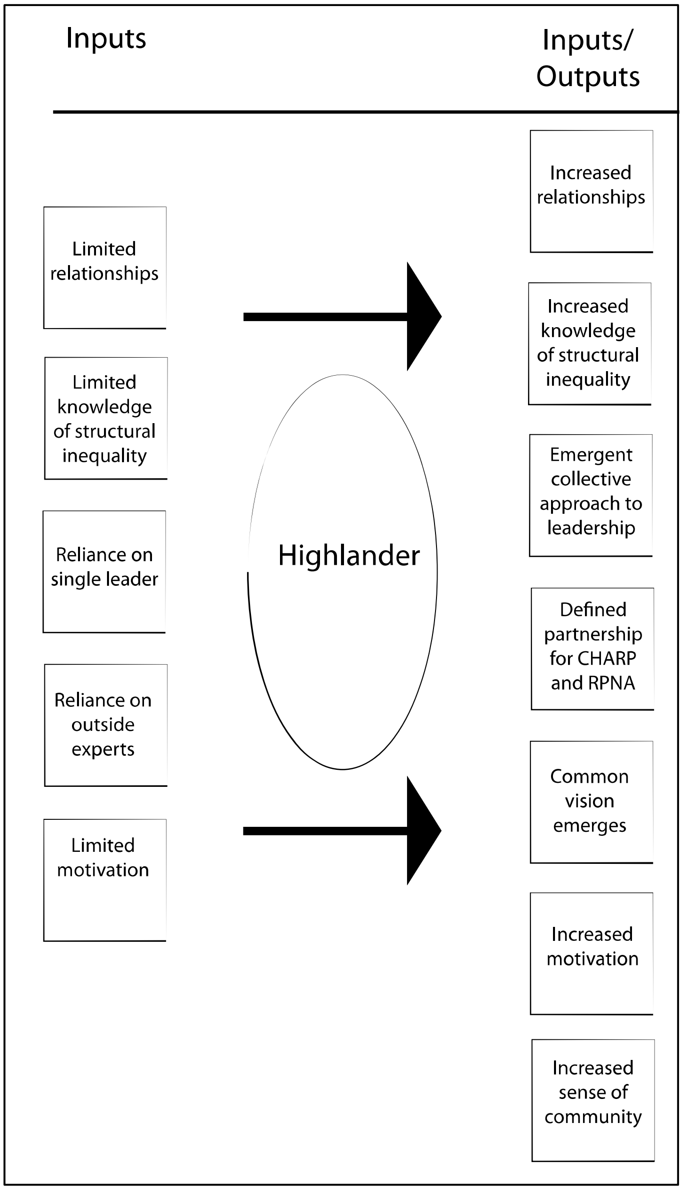

Inputs
Inputs/ Outputs
Limited relationships
Limited knowledge of structural inequality
Reliance on single leader
Reliance on outside experts
Limited motivation
Highlander
Increased relationships
Increased knowledge of structural inequality
Emergent collective approach to leadership
Defined partnership for CHARP and RPNA
Common vision emerges
Increased motivation
Increased sense of community

Figure 12: Highlander inputs and outputs

The transformation in the participants' approach to leadership that began to emerge at Highlander is one of the most significant findings. It later contributes to the implementation of both the oral history project and park planning process. From an over reliance on Freddy during the first night at Highlander, I observed participants beginning to contribute more to the dialogue as our time there increased. The popular education methodologies that we engaged in encouraged participants to recognize and value their own knowledge (Moyers & Horton, 1982). Participants paid attention to the facilitator's opening remark and began working collectively to solve problems. By the time we left Highlander, participants were much more engaged in the leadership process.

Participants recognize the need for a strong sense of community and suggest that Highlander contributed to an increased sense of community. In her interview, Charity elaborates on the benefits to an increased sense of community as she says, "no man is an island and no man can live alone. It's (not just) me and my husband (here, because) guess what, I know I got Gloria down the street if something happened." In the quote below, Sherri confirms that she believes that Highlander helped build social capital and create a stronger sense of community amongst participants:

> It seemed like that day we left, Sunday when we left, it's just like to me, I could say all the men and women that I was with, it's just like to me, I can really call them my friends (and) if I ever need…anybody to look out for me or…to look out for my house, I can call Gloria, I can call Freddy, (or) I can call (Barbara).

Participants reflect on this in their interviews and suggest that the activities and time together at Highlander contributed positively to an increased sense of community as in the following quote:

> One thing it was good to see Nina, it was good to see her and get to know her. I've seen her a couple of times at the meetings, but (I have not been able) to sit and talk with her. So, it was good to talk with her and learn a little about her family and her nationality and stuff like that.

Participants indicated that "just us being able to spend more time together and you know really talk to each other" facilitated the changes in social capital. This suggests that allowing time outside of the typical neighborhood or steering committee meeting setting increase social capital and a sense of community. This evidence should inform the types of participation that we develop as empowerment planners. We should focus on creating opportunities to build social capital in neighborhoods.

Additionally, they speak about the impact of having a unified vision of the community and how this contributes to an increased sense of community amongst them. This vision is summarized in Table 10 below. Participants affirm in their interviews that a common vision is a precursor for collective action (Stall & Stoecker, 2008; Stoecker, 2003). Donna states, "if we stand as one, and we all have the same (vision) and stand for the same thing, then we can get it done." This theme of a common vision and its capacity to facilitate community building is a theme that participants emphasize throughout this project as we begin to implement the oral history project.

Table 10: Highlander vision

Oral History Project	Collaborate with teachers and students
	Share history with RPA youth
	Host community festival
Partnerships	Shared power
	Create sustainable neighborhood org.
	Money stays in the communinty

The following excerpt summarizes what many other participants reported. It indicates that the relationship building that occurred at Highlander, along with the group's ability to reach a common vision for the community, will contribute positively to the group's ability to work collectively. In reflection, Gloria says of Highlander that she:

> was just happy to see everybody get their feelings, what they were thinking, out in the open and out on the table so we could all…get started on our vision for our park that we are working on. I think it was really good and it (brought) everybody closer together because, just like they say, we see each other every now and then (at) the neighborhood meeting or something that's going on and that's all we see each other. But, never have we been…on a weekend trip…with each other like that.

She goes on to emphasize the importance of sharing feelings. She believes this facilitates collective action and enables the group to work towards a common vision. In reflection she says, "(sharing feelings) brings people…closer together. It lets you know that we're all serious about what we're setting out to do, you know, and everybody can be on one page and everybody can be on one accord." Gloria's reflection also suggests that a common vision enables collective action. By being inclusive of multiple voices, empowerment planning can generate a public interest (Carp, 2004; Sandercock & Dovey, 2002) worth pursuing.

Our first night at Highlander, the facilitator introduced us to the history of the center, which included Highlander's history of organizing in the south during the civil rights movement. This reminded participants of the power of collective action (Alinsky, 1971). All Highlander participants reported an increased motivation to push their collective vision forward following the workshops. Immediately following our trip to Highlander there was an evident increase in participants' motivation to bring about change. Each participant was asked if they felt more motivated after returning from Highlander. They all confirmed that they did feel more motivated. Gloria felt like everyone was "more energized…and willing and ready and able to do whatever it takes to take it to the next level" after the Highlander workshops.

I attribute this to an increase sense of empowerment brought about from our experiences at Highlander. During the workshops and in the interviews participants reported a sense of power within numbers. One of their goals after Highlander was to motivate others to become more involved. They wanted to get residents excited about participating in positive change in the neighborhood. Although their perceived capacity to enact change was higher than actual capacity, they nonetheless recognized their agency to effect positive outcomes in the neighborhood (Harvey, 2009; Temkin & Rohe, 1996). Nina also indicated that she was more motivated to talk to her neighbors in Reid Park to encourage them to participate.

During the post-Highlander interviews, nearly every participant brought up a recent event in the neighborhood where a shooting had occurred. The participants were in contact with one another and discussed how to respond to the shooting. Charity reflects on this:

> When we came back and we heard about the shooting, I told our president, Freddy, I said, 'look we need to get a move on. We need to get a bull horn (and) walk up and down these streets and let the people know…this is a community that's going to change and we ain't taking it'.

Although this did not translate into action, it is still representative of the impact that Highlander had on participants immediately after returning to Reid Park. It also suggests that participants were still looking at problems in terms of the leaves on the problem tree. Thus, the action that they sought was directly tied to the leaves as opposed to being tied to the underlying structural or systemic cause.

It can be concluded that in order to get residents to dig down to the roots, we need to purposefully engage in dialogue as a group that uses popular education methodologies to force participants to think critically about structural inequality. This is not typical of most planning practices, but, with justice as the core value (Fainstein, 2009), empowerment planning pushes participants to develop an understanding of structural inequality so that solutions are not focused on symptoms. Popular education should be continuously integrated into empowerment planning to help develop critical consciousness of systems of oppression to shift the dialogue away from symptoms to the causes of oppression.

These data suggest that RPNA should focus on developing social capital to engage in critical dialogue from which a common vision of the neighborhood will emerge. At that point they we can expect that they will be able to increase the motivation of others. To do this, participants should draw from their experiences at Highlander and employ these methodologies as they implement the oral history project and park planning process. They should also continue to develop collective leadership skills at the micro-level (within the steering committee) and at the macro-level (within the broader Reid Park community context), which will require recruitment and training of additional leaders from the neighborhood. Collective leadership includes not only collective decision-making but also includes sharing in responsibilities of the organization and collective action.

4.2 Participatory Action Research

Participants began to plan for and implement the oral history project after we returned from Highlander. In this process, they build on the skills developed at Highlander as they transition from service recipient to service provider (Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993). Most significantly, over the course of the oral history project, participants' collective leadership skills increased as they utilized strategies learned at Highlander, their understanding of institutional power increased while they engaged in the NSP to implement the project. Their motivation to gain control over neighborhood outcomes increased as they reflected on their limited power in the NSP. These outputs are explored in addition to several emergent themes including: the impact of practicing leadership skills; the impact of an increasing demand on the participants because of new projects in which they were engaged; and a negative outward perception of the participants' capacity to successfully implement projects.

The research focus of the participants in this piece of the project (PAR) shifted from a focus on neighborhood history to a focus on how participants can increase power through better partnerships (Marcuse, 2009). Participants originally intended to engage in a PAR project with RPA youth, where they would collect oral histories, analyze the histories through a social justice lens, and then make neighborhood planning recommendations based upon what they learned. Because of time and other constraints that are analyzed in this section, the oral history project itself did not evolve the way we intended. Instead, the PAR project focused on understanding several processes and there outcomes as participants worked with three strong institutions—CMS, RPA, and CityDive—to implement the oral history project. The following recounts the major events from which lessons were learned, that applies to a theory of empowerment planning. These events are summarized in Table 11 below. A summary table of all participant observations and meetings is included in Appendix E.

Table 11: Summary of selected oral history participant observations

Meeting Date	**Type of Meeting**	**Attendance**	**Data**
2/26/14	SC	5	Participants develop agenda for upcoming oral history club mtg. and identify priorities for mtg. with HH.
2/27/14	OHC	20	Daisy facilitates the Mocktail activity at the first OHC mtg.
3/6/14	SC with COAA	10	Participants learn strategies for the next OHC mtg. from Jean-Marie and Beth. They reflect on what worked well previously.
3/13/14	SC	5	Participants develop agenda for upcoming oral history club mtg.
3/20/14	OHC	17	Participants facilitate the second OHC mtg. with little outside assistance.
3/22/14	Block Party	37	Little relationship building between residents is evident.
3/27/14	SC	6	Participants prepare agenda for the third OHC mtg. They express frustration with CMS, CD, and RPA.
4/9/14	CMS/CD	12	First planning meeting for Legacy Fest. CMS prepared agenda for mtg.
4/24/14	OHC	31	Youth and SC interview RP residents during the Interview Night.
4/29/14	SC	6	Participants reflect on obstacles experienced during OHC and identify strategies for providing programs in the future.
5/5/14	SC	7	Participants plan for the upcoming Legacy Fest and reflect on their limited control in the process.
5/21/14	CMS/CD	7	Limited attendance by participants because CMS/CD change mtg. time for planning Legacy Fest.
5/28/14	SC	6	Participants reflect on partnership with CMS/CD, expressing frustration. They also return to issue of participation.

4.21 Preparing for the Oral History Project

When participants returned from Highlander they decided to have a Holiday Party in place of the December RPNA meeting. They reflected on their experience at Highlander and wanted to host a party that celebrated neighborhood diversity. There was little time available to plan for the event, but they also hoped to use it as an opportunity to recruit additional participants for the oral history project. Building on experience at Highlander, participants recognized that nurturing relationships was fundamental to increasing participation and building a common vision for the community. In response, they adapted the cultural sharing exercise from Highlander and invited residents to bring a cultural food dish of special significance.

It was also suggested that residents could submit a recipe and we could do a cultural sharing exercise like we did at Highlander, but this never actually materialized. There was a large turnout for the event (45), but, somewhat consequently, there was little opportunity to build social capital. With the exception of Barbara, there was little interaction between the Highlander participants and other residents, although participants did actively take on leadership roles such as setting up the buffet line and raffling off prizes. Barbara brought several residents who are usually loitering on the street corners to the Holiday Party. Her experience at Highlander was helping to pull her away from horizontal hostility and blaming others in the neighborhood for neighborhood problems. In other words, she views jobless individuals or those addicted to substances as the victims of structural inequality. Overall there was very little interaction between residents at the Holiday Party.

This party was also an example of RPNA exercising power within a partnership. HH approached the organization suggesting that social service vendors be included in the programming, but this was inconsistent with the participants' vision. They did not want to host an event where community members were cast as service recipients. Instead, they wanted to celebrate neighborhood diversity. Freddy indicates that the goal was to "make it about the community and that's exactly what I said. I said, what we'd like and what we talked about at Highlander was (to bring) the residents together across cultural boundaries because I talked about the…sharing session." Participants rejected the idea of seeing themselves as service recipients, stuck to that vision, and as a result, no service providers were at the event showcasing their services (Jara H., 2010).

At the January RPNA meeting, we introduced a strategy to help build a vision in the community for the oral history project. The process was ineffective because it did not first build social capital to facilitate critical dialogue that could have generated a community vision. In other words, the participants and I did not apply what we learned from experiences at Highlander. Furthermore, there was little opportunity for leadership development since Freddy, Cindy and I primarily developed the activity since we did not set sufficient time aside beforehand to work with participants to develop the activity.

There was some evidence of leadership development at this meeting. At this point in the research, meetings were more structured as Gloria shared the minutes from the previous meeting and Charity updated the community with the treasurer's report. Two lessons for empowerment planning can be learned here. First, the importance of not engaging participants in the development of activities indicates that empowerment planners should not rush things to ensure that participants are engaged in planning.

Second, the activity used at the January RPNA meeting tried to push the residents straight towards dialogue, without first introducing short icebreaker activities to develop social capital.

During the months following Highlander, I am in communication with Ms. Long, the Sixth Grade Language Arts teacher at RPA that will be working with participants and me to implement the oral history project. Participants decide that we should introduce the oral history project as a club during ARK in the Park since this provides a structure for accessing students. Ms. Long has agreed to reach out to her students to recruit them for the club, and she has also agreed to work with us to pull together the curriculum.

4.22 Oral History Club Meeting One

I was responsible for the majority of the planning and preparation that went into coordinating the oral history project. This included reaching out to Ms. Long and to the leaders at CityDive. The reliance on me to handle logistics like this is important to empowerment planning. I had hoped that more of this leadership would have come from the community but perhaps plans were too ambitious for the short time frame of this research. Many of the participants work full-time jobs that they must juggle with the demands of volunteering. As empowerment planners we should be conscious of this as we work with communities to plan interventions and continue to focus on broadening and increasing participation. We should also be constantly checking in with participants to assess if they are being pushed too far in terms of time demands.

When I first approached CityDive I was informed that the RPA principal would have to approve the club because all clubs needed to have an educational focus. Although this request seemed reasonable enough, participants still reported that they felt as though they had to promote the project to other organizational leaders. In other words, unlike other groups such as the JLC, RPNA had to convince others that they had the capacity to facilitate a project with an academic focus (Reardon, 1994). This becomes somewhat common over the course of this research where it is evident that there is a negative outward perception regarding the organizational capacity of RPNA.

The first meeting of ARK in the Park was originally scheduled for January 16th, 2014 but was postponed twice before commencing on February 27th. The steering committee met prior to this to develop an agenda for the club meeting. The appropriate amount of time was allowed to plan for this event, which facilitated leadership development, unlike the planning that took place for the Holiday Party. At the February 26th steering committee meeting, residents and I reflected on the activities that we enjoyed at Highlander as we began to brainstorm activities to use with the youth. Gloria suggested the participants use the Mocktail exercise learned at Highlander. In the Mocktail activity, residents write descriptive adjectives about themselves using the letters of their names (ex. Delightful, Artsy, Intelligent, Sassy, Young). This is an example of an icebreaker that can be used to warm up participants and build relationships. They then used this activity and the cognitive mapping exercise from Highlander at the first oral history club meeting. Although Gloria facilitated the Mocktail exercise, I facilitated the remaining three exercises (review of the project, cognitive mapping, and decision-making regarding next steps).

When we arrived at the school for this first club meeting, it is clear that Ms. Lomg had already prepared her own lesson for the youth without our input. She had the students writing essays that they then read to us. This was not planned, and it translated into us having less time to facilitate the activities that we had planned. We were still able to begin to build social capital with youth through the planned exercises, as both youth and residents were responsive to the activities. Here, at the beginning of the oral history project implementation, we began to see evidence of collective leadership beyond decision-making, as well as an increase in social capital between youth and participants, although participants were not effective at building social capital with other adult residents.

4.23 Oral History Club Meeting Two

By the time of the second oral history club, there are significant changes to the leadership amongst the participants. The role of the steering committee transforms between the first and second oral history club meetings. At this club meeting three residents (Maggie, Freddy, and Charity) facilitated 4 activities with youth demonstrating a decrease in dependence on outside experts (Reardon, 1996) and also a collective approach to leadership (Beard, 2003; Reardon, 1996). They demonstrated their ability to take control and ownership over the agenda as opposed to the first club meeting that was nearly coopted by the teacher.

Prior to this club meeting, we met on March 6th, 2014 with two faculty members, Dr. Elizabeth Murray and Dr. Jean Marie Higgins, from UNC Charlotte's Theatre Department. Interdisciplinary integration into empowerment planning can increase the tools of the empowerment planner. Providing a range of opportunities via the arts also increases the likelihood that more participants are affected since there are multiple learning intelligences as indicated by the work of Gardner (1983). The theatre instructors walked us through a series of exercises including 'shoulder-to-shoulder', 'question with a question', and 'concentric circles'. The participants then reflected on each of these exercises and our experiences during the first oral history club meeting. They engaged in a group decision-making and problem solving process (Friedman, 1987; Reardon, 1996) to choose the exercises for the second club meeting that they believed would be most effective to get participants warmed up, build relationships, and develop interview questions. The participants reflected on their experience working with outside experts at the focus group. Freddy says:

> When for example, your cohort from the university came out and we went through the exercise(s)…We tried on things that we were going to (implement) with the kids to give them the sense of you know the different kinds of questions and trying to focus questions, so we had to as community leaders try those skills on before we actually got to the kids and (we were) working with them directly.

This quote illustrates the transfer of knowledge and skills and a reduced dependence on outside experts as a result, as well as an increase in problem solving skills since participants reflected on what previously worked and did not work with the youth. The data also suggests that when participants practice new skills their dependence on outside experts decreases. We also see how this interacts with leadership development as participants indicated that they were better prepared to take on new leadership roles after having the opportunity to practice the exercises.

Following the session with Elizabeth and Jean-Marie, I put together a tentative agenda with a step-by-step guide for utilizing each exercise. At the next steering committee meeting on March 13th, 2014 we further refined this agenda and residents signed up for various roles. The participants successfully facilitated the whole agenda for the second oral history club meeting without the assistance of outside experts (Reardon, 1996; Stall & Stoecker, 2008) demonstrating a significant increase in collective leadership (Beard, 2003; Reardon, 1996) from the previous oral history club meeting.

Over this time period following the first oral history club meeting, participants were increasingly expressing discontent towards CityDive and RPA. It was especially challenging because we did not have our own structures in place to access students and facilitate the project. Participants continued to be excluded from decision-making regarding ARK in the Park. The ARK in the Park sponsored club nights were cancelled and rescheduled without consideration to the schedule that we had developed for the oral history club. This eventually leads to a process of inquiry into the partnership and the process by which outside institutions and organizations maintain control of decision making in neighborhoods like Reid Park (Marcuse, 2009).

4.24 Oral History Club Meeting Three

The purpose of the third oral history club meeting was to conduct oral history interviews of residents. Because of the many ARK in the Park cancellations, we had little time to prepare students. At the previous club night, we had to both develop interview questions and practice interviewing skills, leaving youth and participants underprepared for the interview night. We had to reschedule the interview night twice because of ARK in the Park cancellations. This, coupled with an increasing demand on participants tied to other RPNA commitments that were piling up, had a negative impact on the oral history project.

While there is evidence that participants were building social capital with the youth engaged in the oral history club, evidence of their ability to effectively build social capital with other residents during the oral history project is limited. Participants did not, as hoped, practice strategies for building social capital with other adult residents. Essentially, the project is not yet translating into increased social capital outside of the steering committee. One of the primary goals of the oral history project was to engage new residents in Reid Park activities and increase overall participation, a necessary goal if residents are going to be able to take control of outcomes and neighborhood change in Reid Park. The project was intended to be inclusive, recognizing that all residents, regardless of origin and length of time in Reid Park, are important contributors to the future of the neighborhood. The participants felt that this was important to moving towards a common vision.

This particular goal is one that participants were not successful at reaching and the residents that did participate in the interviews were above the age of 60 and had lived in the neighborhood for many years. Nine residents were interviewed during the interview night. The residents that were interviewed for the oral history project had lived in the neighborhood for decades. Newcomers did not participate. Additional residents had agreed to be interviewed, but after repeated rescheduling by ARK in the Park, it became difficult to keep their interest and trust. Further more, participation as an interview subject, did not translate into additional participation in neighborhood activities. In other words, those that were interviewed for the oral history project are not participating in new ways in the neighborhood. All of the interviewees were seniors and their engagement after the oral history project is relatively the same as prior to the project. Participants did not follow up with interviewees after the project to continue to try to build relationships.

Overall we struggled to recruit new residents to directly participate in project development and implementation of the oral history project or other neighborhood projects. Recruitment and planning still fell largely upon Cindy, Freddy and me throughout this project. The below quote illustrates how relationship building, a community organizing skill, still needs development, especially considering the key role that we have observed of social capital as a strategy for increasing participation. In referring to recruiting residents to participate as interviewees in the oral history project, Gloria says, "but, you know it wasn't too hard for you to go out and you ask them to come and tell how it was back then." At this point I pushed participants to reflect on this:

> Interviewer: So what do you mean it wasn't too hard to go out and ask people to come in and speak about themselves?
>
> Gloria: I mean certain people that like Freddy knew a lot of people who…he grew (up) under.
>
> Interviewer: Right, right.
>
> Gloria: And he knew they'd been here for years and he went to talk to them and ask them and told them what this project was going to be about. How it was going to help the children at Reid Park school and also help others.
>
> Interviewer: Who did that work?
>
> Gloria: Uh, well, it's all of us.
>
> Interviewer: Who recruited? Who recruited people there?
>
> Gloria: We all did. We all had a piece of paper with a number of people to call and say can you help us make this history project a big success.

Interviewer: Are you sure that everybody was able to bring people there? Do you know specifically that you called people on that list and, and you continued to follow up with them, and they came out and participated?

Gloria: I called people, um on that list, that it wasn't um, I mean, they would say that they would do it, but then you know, things change.

Interviewer: So maybe it wasn't so easy?

Gloria: No. Not too easy.

This excerpt reflects acknowledgement of skills that still need developing and areas where they are still dependent on outsiders and still dependent on the leadership of Freddy. Although participants did engage with other residents in the neighborhood in an effort to recruit others to be interviewed during the interview night, they were not successful. This is not to diminish the amount of work that participants are investing in the community. The data does suggest that this is a skill that needs to be practiced if the participants are going to reach their goal of increasing participation within the neighborhood. We should also identify other strategies for recruiting such as intentional canvassing or setting up a call night where we meet at a common location and call residents on the phone to recruit them.

There was some successful leadership development evident during the interview night. For example, six participants helped to facilitate the event. Each paired up with a student to interview another resident. Primarily Cindy and I carried out the logistical planning that went into the event and this is where the bulk of the leadership occurred. The role of the planner was in coordinating the logistics that facilitated the event.

Without that facilitation, the event would not have taken place. This role still largely differs from the traditional rational planner (Brooks, 2002).

The limited amount of collective leadership that is evident at this time is likely a factor of a significant increase in the neighborhood commitments of RPNA. These demands included a block party in March, a $32,000 grant from the Arts and Science Council (ASC) for public art in the new park, MCPR planning meetings, a $500 grant from Sustain Charlotte, a tree planting with Tree Charlotte, two new grant applications, and a neighborhood cleanup, to name a few. On top of all this was the upcoming Legacy Fest that would culminate the oral history project. These commitments placed a lot of demand on everyone and dependence on outside experts consequently began to increase. The community planning initiatives integrated into empowerment planning increases the pressures and demands on volunteers (Lawson & Sorensen, 2010), also increasing the need for broader participation. A sense of burnout was also evident which has a negative impact on the research project. A great deal of time was spent at steering committee meetings discussing these other commitments. This also limits the time that we were able to spend reflecting on the oral history project. In many ways participants equate leadership with decision-making. The amount of time put into collective decision-making is somewhat prohibitive of accomplishing other tasks such as developing community organizing and relationship building skills.

4.25 Legacy Festival

As part of the oral history grant application, participants planned to host a festival at the end of the oral history project. The festival was meant to share the results with other residents and celebrate neighborhood diversity. While Cindy was attending an

ARK in the Park meeting at RPA she learned that NSP organizational members CMS, RPA, and CityDive were planning an end-of-year celebration. It is unclear to me exactly who suggested that RPNA collaborate with the NSP, but a phone call in March from Cindy to me indicated that she was supportive of the collaboration. The steering committee decided to move forward and partner with the NSP to host the Legacy Fest.

Three residents attended the first Legacy Fest planning meeting with CityDive and CMS in April. A leader from CMS had prepared an agenda for the meeting. Prior to the meeting, the steering committee had developed a well-conceived vision for the Legacy Fest. We anticipated that we would need to be firm with our vision, otherwise others would take over the festival planning. After Highlander, participants stressed the need for a common vision and unity within the community. The vision for the Legacy Fest included resident booths to showcase local entrepreneurship, a performance by the youth, and activities such as trivia or bingo to engage residents in the history of Reid Park. Because participants worked collaboratively to develop the vision, Maggie was then prepared to express the vision firmly and make it clear to the other organizations present at the planning meeting. This collective vision and the time dedicated to preparing for the meeting was a contributing factor to the collective leadership that was evident at that meeting as each participant contributed to the dialogue with CMS and CityDive.

Things quickly shifted following this. After the first planning meeting, meeting times were scheduled at the convenience of CityDive and CMS employees prohibiting Reid Park participants from attending the meetings. Consequently, Cindy attended the planning meetings and served much like a liaison between the steering committee and the

NSP Legacy Fest planning meeting team. In many ways she is an advocate for them (Davidoff, 1965). Over these months, we spent a significant amount of time during steering committee meetings discussing the event planning and making decisions. These decisions included developing survey questions to add to the CMS survey, writing a program of show for the youth presentation, identifying food for the festival, and identifying booths to set up at the festival, to name a few. All of these decisions required a substantial amount of time on the agenda dedicated to discussing the Legacy Fest, which took away from time needed for reflection. Time constraints and the expectation of volunteers is a considerable barrier to empowerment planning.

The experiences of steering committee members during the oral history project (scheduling, etc. as related to the ARK in the Park club nights) and planning for the Legacy Fest provided us with an opportunity to analyze power during the three-hour focus group session. Although participants dedicated significant time to decision-making, the decisions that they agreed on during steering committee meetings were not always realized because of the power that CMS and CityDive maintained over the planning process. For example, Cindy made repeated requests for the list of vendors that the NSP were inviting to the Legacy Fest. At the last minute (which we think was deliberate) they provided a list that included service providers that we had repeatedly asked not to be included.

Another example is the survey. The steering committee worked with Cindy to develop survey questions. The survey was one of the impetuses for RPNA's collaboration with CMS and CityDive. Participants wanted to administer a survey on neighborhood participation and CMS wanted to administer a parent survey. Johnson C

Smith University (JCSU) had a paid contract with CMS to design and administer they survey. CMS requested survey questions from the community via Cindy approximately one month before the festival. Cindy submits it and repeatedly requests a copy of the CMS survey, but they never provide it. At the festival, the participants and I learn that the CMS survey, administered by a "sea of students in blue" (as quoted by Gloria at the focus group) JCSU polos, is over twenty pages long and takes community members over 30 minutes to complete.

Participants expressed frustration over this partnership throughout the spring and summer of 2014. My sense was that this partnership would provide a good opportunity to reflect with participants on the process by which power exchanged hands as we planned this event with CMS and CityDive. During the focus group session held at the end of June, I walked residents through my experience of the oral history project, in particular planning for the Legacy Festival (see focus group guide in Appendix I). This was an exercise in popular education that forced participants to critically and intentionally examine their experience. Afterwards, I presented several questions to them and together we analyzed the way that power had been transferred from the neighborhood to the NSP as we tried to execute the oral history project and Legacy Fest.

At the focus group session there is evidence of the cocreation of knowledge, as well as evidence of an increased understanding of the means by which outside institutions can maintain power over decision-making in low-income communities. As I presented my interpretation and experience of events, the participants also reflected on their experience and together we developed a combined understanding of how power was taken from RPNA by CMS and CityDive as we planned those events. The purpose of this learning was to expose participants to a situation where they could experience power through a critical lens and eventually connect that power to structural inequality (Marcuse, 2009).

The limited influence over the NSP agenda, especially as it relates to the Legacy Fest is evident. From what we could tell, CMS was focused on the survey and did not allow input from the participants into the survey. In many ways participants were not able to influence these partners while planning for the Legacy Fest. It became obvious that they had their own set of goals which ended up overshadowing our own goals for the Legacy Fest. Participants acknowledge this at the focus group. Freddy captures this sentiment best when he says that CityDive is beginning "to look like an outside institution who wants significant influence over what the school does, and that's just my assessment. So, it kind of overshadowed us."

Prior to beginning the oral history project, some participants reflected positively about the relationship between RPNA with both RPA and CityDive. For example, in her interview following Highlander Charity states that:

> I would say (the partnership) looks…very good. I would say that it's working, it's coming together because there again, we here in Reid Park, we want to have what we want and say what we want, but still you know we can't do it by ourselves so (we) need community organizations to help us get where we may want to go. And so…you have to partnership with somebody who may know how…to get what you want.

Other participants also confirm that they believe that RPNA is engaged in decision-making processes with both CityDive and RPA. This participants' analysis of the partnership raised concerns for me at the start of the research because I suspected that their perceived sense of power could be potentially damaging, especially since the reality was that they had so little power. Their original assessment does provide a benchmark by which we can gauge change. It is also unclear from this statement if there is a negative internal perception of the capacity of Reid Park. In other words, to accomplish tasks, do they feel as though they must rely on outside assistance?

As we begin to implement the oral history project, it is clear that this perception is changing. Participants do not feel as though they are included in decision-making processes. They also feel as though they have to advocate for the oral history project to be included in the ARK Family Nights. An informal interview with Ms. Long indicated that the school principal was reluctant to allow the neighborhood organization to present the oral history club. Freddy indicated in the focus group that he and Barbara had met with CMS and City Dive prior to the oral history project to market the value of the project as if they needed validation or approval. This is consistent with the outside perception that there is limited capacity within Reid Park to successfully implement programs that would have a positive impact on Reid Park youth.

The group planning process that we engaged in with CityDive and CMS in regards to both the Legacy Fest and ARK in the Park club nights is reflective of the limited amount of shared control in this partnership. The same is true of the relationship with RPA. We were not able to engage Ms. Long in a shared group process as we had decided to do at Highlander. When residents later reflect on this at steering committee meetings and during the focus group, they acknowledge that their experiences implementing the oral history have caused them to come to different conclusions about the partnership. For example, Gloria says several times over the course of the project that outside institutions "are coming in and taking over."

Freddy states at the focus group that we are open to partnerships, but these partners "were more concerned about…their own agenda rather than our agenda." They also had limited capacity to influence this agenda. Constraints included the scheduling of planning meetings and lack of transparency by the other partners described above. Gloria expresses similar sentiments during the focus group, as well. She says:

> We came up with this project, and when we said, 'let's partner with Reid Park (Academy) to teach them and to teach our children the nature and the history'. Well, the people at Reid Park (Academy and) at ARK in the Park all of the sudden, they jumped in, but then they didn't have the audacity to come and say we got some ideas, too, 'let's go to the meeting, with Reid Park and we all collaborate together, bring us together, and ask them can we bring this person in and that person'. All of the sudden, people started coming in and they started (exercising) control, and other people were taking over and running things. Then when…(Cindy) would go back to them, and say, 'no we're not going to have this, we want this or we want that', then you can't find them. You can't get in contact with them. Then, all of the sudden they done come up with something else. Like they changed the (name from) Mayfest. They changed the name! Our kids came up with that that name!

The name was just one of the changes made by the other partners. A second important change was the location of the festival. It was moved from the rec center, where RPNA traditionally hosts events, to the school grounds. An effective model of empowerment planning needs to consider these barriers and identify tools for identifying power dynamics, especially in partnerships, so that participants have strategies to overcome this power.

While the inner workings of RPNA may reflect shared control of group processes, particularly in terms of shared leadership and decision-making, there is limited evidence of this in their interactions with CityDive and CMS. These organizations still maintain control over decision-making processes as the participants prepared for the Legacy Fest. However, it is the overt nature of this power as it surfaced over the months implementing the oral history project and planning the Legacy Fest, that catalyzed critical reflection of these power dynamics. This is important because it facilitates an increased understanding of power. At the time of this research, it does not fully translate into an increased understanding of structural inequality, but the potential is there (Marcuse, 2009).

4.26 Analysis/Conclusion

The outputs from the oral history project include increased relationships, increased sense of community, increased knowledge of power, a collective approach to leadership with less reliance on experts, increased problem-solving skills, and increased motivation. These are summarized in Figure 13. Major themes that ran through the data included an increased demand on time commitments from participants that had compounding effects and horizontal hostility. Participants' also shift their perspective of the NSP after engaging in the oral history project.

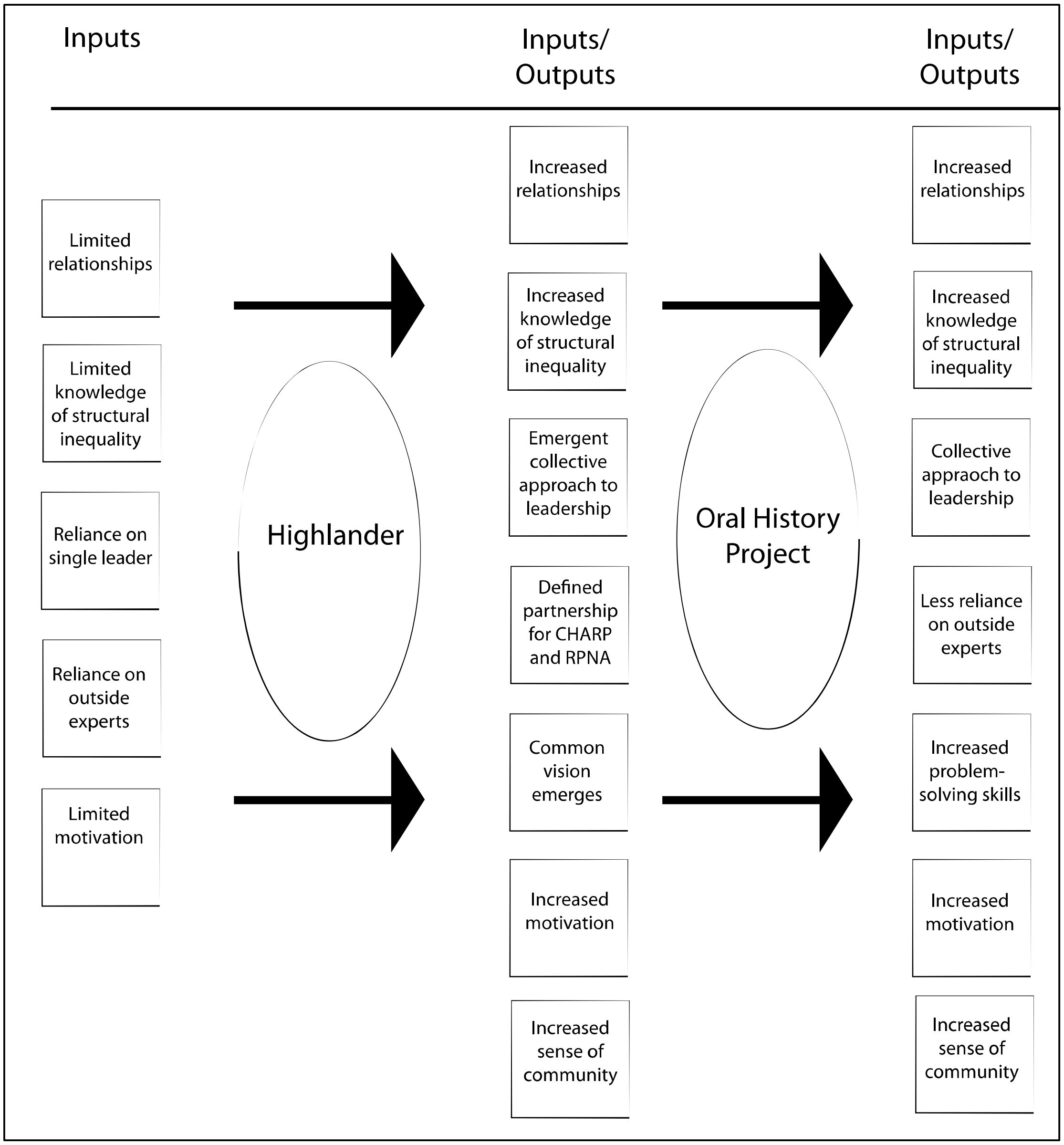

Inputs
Inputs/ Outputs
Inputs/ Outputs
Limited relationships
Limited knowledge of structural inequality
Reliance on single leader
Reliance on outside experts
Limited motivation
Highlander
Increased relationships
Increased knowledge of structural inequality
Emergent collective approach to leadership
Defined partnership for CHARP and RPNA
Common vision emerges
Increased motivation
Increased sense of community
Oral History Project
Increased relationships
Increased knowledge of structural inequality
Collective appraoch to leadership
Less reliance on outside experts
Increased problem-solving skills
Increased motivation
Increased sense of community

Figure 13: Oral history inputs and outputs

In many ways, the focus group took the form of a participatory evaluation component of a participatory action research process (Stoecker, 1999). For the focus group, we reflected on our own capacity to implement the oral history project. We looked back at the objectives for the project then evaluated our efficacy at meeting each of the objectives. This process enabled reflection on what was successful and what was not successful during the project. Participants were then able to recognize areas that needed improvement, such as relationship building.

One of the major outcomes of the oral history project is an overall increase in collective leadership, especially in the form of group decision-making. We reflected on these decisions during the focus group and the participants identified the following types of decision-making relevant to the oral history project:

> Charity: So we made decisions of where to distribute the money, to whom, and how much.
>
> Freddy: We also had to decide what did we, we wanted to decide ok, what does this oral history project look like or what was it going to, in the end, what was it going to achieve.
>
> Group: (Agrees)
>
> Interviewer: And, that's one of those things that you do up front, right? You decide what that final product is going to look like and you kind of work backwards. So first you decide what the final product is going to look like and then what do you have to do? We're setting agendas from day to day?
>
> Sherri: Steps.
>
> Interviewer: Establish the steps, which is essentially putting together a calendar, as well, or a schedule.

We then reflected on what contributed to their ability to share leadership during the oral history project. Nina suggests that “having good team spirit” contributed to collective leadership. The trust that was developed from their Highlander experience was also cited. Participants said that practicing methodologies at Highlander helped them to share leadership roles, particularly during the oral history club meetings that they facilitated. There are important implications to practicing new skills from this research. Participants are more effective at a new skill when they practice first.

Collective decision-making also occurs in settings other than just the oral history project. For example, participants spent time at multiple steering committee meetings collectively making decisions regarding several grant applications and the HH partnership. Although leadership primarily came from Freddy, who facilitated the Febraury 26th, 2014 meeting, participants prepared a list of concerns and requests for HH. They then met with HH on March 25th, 2014 and collectively presented a list of talking points to them. It was evident that participants had a common vision for the HH partnership and they worked collectively during the meeting to share their vision. The vision included increased opportunities for community economic development. Participants suggested that residents be employed to maintain vacant HH properties and be provided workforce training opportunities through the construction of new HH homes in Reid Park. They also recommended that HH integrate variations to housing style within the neighborhood. Here there is evidence of a shift away from advocacy planning. We set sufficient amount of time aside so that I was able to work with them to develop their request into specific action items that they wanted to see. They developed argument skills and applied these at the meeting with HH. This is important to empowerment planning as we increase leadership skills, we should also focus on developing technical skills (Reardon, 1996).

There is also evidence of burnout. During the focus groups Freddy expresses that there were "hundreds of steering committee meetings" over the course of the oral history project. I described above how there were increasing demands being placed upon participants because of the overwhelming amount of projects that were occurring at once. This emergent theme became increasingly evident during the course of the oral history project and likely limited the outcomes that are described below. This is another broad barrier when we want to produce sustainable neighborhood outcomes. Outside organizations continued to approach the neighborhood with expectations of volunteerism from participants.

With the issue of participation, the steering committee is still unable to translate knowledge into action even though we came up with recommendations to increase participation during the focus group. When we try to reflect on the lack of participation, there is a sense of horizontal hostility. It is suggested that other residents do not care or that they are too lazy to participate. The continued emergence of this theme could be related to the limited popular education that we engaged in following Highlander and suggests that empowerment planning should continue to integrate popular education throughout planning processes. Participants are not trying new strategies to get other residents to participate in neighborhood meetings and events. They are trying the same approach over and over again with the same results. Participants pass out flyers and invite people they see out walking on the streets, but that is the extent of it. Here, the data suggests that residents are more effective when they practice new skills, yet they were often times resistant to practice even though during the focus group they recognized the value of practicing.

The block party was an attempt to increase participation and the residents were excited about the turnout at the block party, which was relatively significant (37).

However, this does not translate into increased participation in other aspects of RPNA. For events to be effective they must be more than just ‘feel good’ events. Empowerment planners should integrate popular education and social capital building into community social events and allow plenty of time to plan for the event so that participants develop effective leadership skills in the process.

Although there is in general more participation (as in people showing up and signing in at monthly meetings and attending events such as the block party) there is limited evidence supporting an overall increase in sense of community at this time in Reid Park. I return to this in Section 4.31 and 4.35. Participant observations do not reflect that there is only limited social capital outside of the steering committee. Social capital building was an important component for the increased sense of community that emerged amongst participants after Highlander.

With a few exceptions, participants are not translating their knowledge of community building that they formulated based upon their Highlander experience into action to effectively increase participation and a sense of community amongst other residents. Although there is good turnout at the block party, residents are doing little to interact with one another. The increased sense of community that is evident is primarily limited to the participants who went to Highlander and serve on the steering committee. I account this largely to the types of participation that are available during neighborhood gatherings. At these gatherings, there are limited opportunities for the type of relationship building that took place at Highlander. Though there was good turn out at the block party, this type of participation is not translating into increased participation, increased social capital, or an increased sense of community.

There are examples where knowledge has not yet translated into action, but instead where knowledge formulated over the course of the oral history project and Legacy Fest will be used to inform future action. Much of this data relates to future partnerships. Many of these recommended action steps emerged from the focus group session. Charity suggests that they apply their knowledge of how they loss power in the NSP and be insistent in the future to stand their ground. Freddy agrees with her and says, "We need to be persistent in terms of implementing the community planning process. I mean cause the park plan was a great example of the community planning process and that's the model that we want to put forth going forward." In other words, participants have reflected on the community planning process, acknowledged that it is effective, and agreed that they should follow this process in the future.

4.3 Community Organizing

The park planning process was a community process that began in the summer of 2014 and enabled residents to develop a collective vision as they worked with an urban design student to create a physical plan for the park. Shortly after the Highlander workshops, Reid Park began the planning process with MCPR. Participants were confident that their plan was reflective of the community and were concerned that MCPR would not honor their vision. Participants engaged with MCPR over a period of ten months during this research. This section includes analysis of steering committee meetings and RPNA meetings. As we engage in this process, participants bridge the gap between planning as social learning and planning as mobilization as they work with other residents to exert control over neighborhood planning in Reid Park. During this process, there is evidence of an increased sense of community, increased relationships, increased influence over local agendas, partnerships are better reflecting shared group processes, an increased motivation to bring about change, residents begin to mobilize for change, and participants are translating knowledge to action. The primary theme that emerges here is the park as physical capital. Power is also a theme. A summary of meetings discussed in this section is in Table 12 below.

Table 12: Summary of selected park planning process participant observations

Meeting Date	Type of Meeting	Attendance	Data
1/14/14	RPNA with MCPR	33 (25 residents)	MCPR presents on upcoming process. Angela leads mtg. Residents raise concerns about limited park funding.
3/25/14	SC with HH	9	Participants present priorities to HH to influence HH local model in RP.
4/21/14	SC with CMPR/ASC	14	Participants work with CMPR and ASC to develop timeline and location for GW public art project.
5/15/14	SC	5	Participants are struggling to increase participation. There is evidence of burnout. We work collectively to prepare talking points for upcoming BOCC mtg.
5/20/14	BOCC mtg.	19 (16 residents)	Three participants present argument to BOCC for additional funding for the new park.
5/31/14	Legacy Fest	111	Many outside volunteers are present. There is little opportunity for relationship building.
6/6/14	SC mtg	6	Participants prepare scorecard for upcoming RPNA mtg. with MCPR. They develop outreach strategy to increase attendance and participation at mtg. but are not willing to practice recruitment strategy.
6/10/14	RPNA	37 (27 residents)	MCPR information session. Residents provide feedback to MCPR plans for the park.

4.31 First Park Planning Meeting with Mecklenburg County Park and Recreation

At the focus group, the participants reflect on their partnership with MCPR as they engaged in the planning process. Charity and other participants reported that they "had some power with…park and rec, you know, well just saying, 'well, this is what we want and this is how we want'." They attribute this power to the park vision plan that they developed with the urban design student. Without that plan, participants did not believe that they could have as clearly and effectively communicated their vision to MCPR.

The plan helped the residents to influence the local agenda of MCPR. Participants had multiple steering committee meetings with representatives from MCPR. We met with MCPR at their office before they initiated their formal community engagement process. This meeting helped us develop a better understanding of park funding processes and the community engagement process that MCPR uses. This access to information helped to prepare us for later influencing what MCPR's planning process would look like with Reid Park.

The first official community-wide meeting with MCPR was on January 14th, 2014 during the monthly RPNA meeting. Usually, participants work together to prepare an agenda for the meeting. We requested an agenda from MCPR and it appeared that they had intentions of running the meeting. Participants responded by integrating MCPR's agenda into their own agenda for the RPNA meeting. Leadership development is evident at the meeting, as well. In Freddy's absence, Barbara facilitates the meeting as the vice president of RPNA. Prior to the meeting she expressed anxiety so I worked with her to help her prepare. She also had expressed that she felt as though Cindy had assumed the responsibility of the president while Freddy was recovering from surgery. In response, she set up a meeting with HH and other participants to express her concerns and discuss the roles of the steering committee members.

There is a great turnout for this meeting including both residents and people from outside the neighborhood. This included people from the health department who were looking for opportunities for programming in the community and NBS. For the most part, these outsiders did not actively participate in the meeting. Residents were excited about the park, but they were also cautious about the reality of this park and it was evident in the questions that they raised to MCPR related to safety, connectivity, and amenities. They appeared to realize that the funding was not adequate to obtain the park that they wanted and there were questions about the long-term outcome of a half funded park.

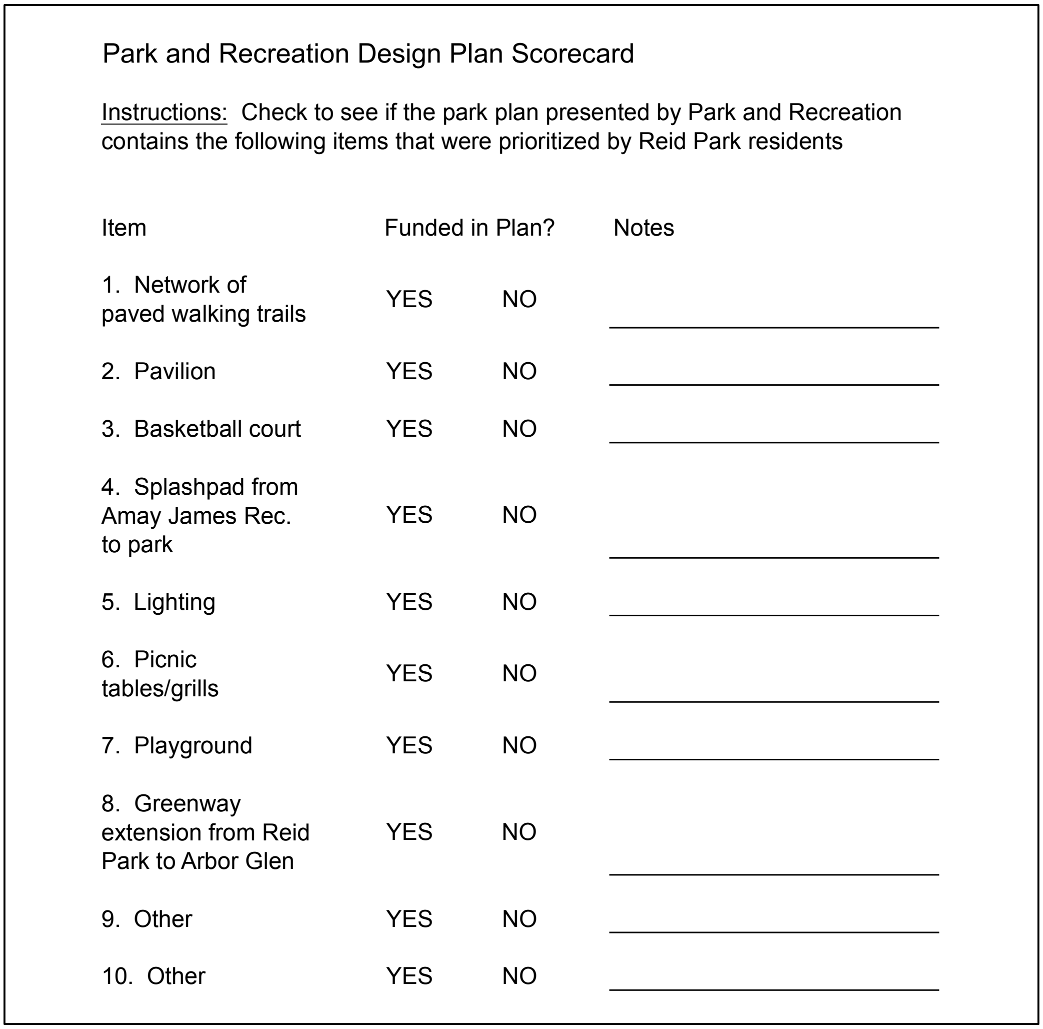
There is some evidence to suggest that there is an increased sense of community that is building around the park planning process as residents engaged in the park planning process demonstrated a sense of emotional connectedness, in other words the park was something that was critical to everyone, and they also demonstrated a sense of influence, or they show up at meetings because they feel that their participation matters (McMillan & Chavis). This argument also uses participants' conclusions that formulating a unified vision for the community at Highlander helped them to develop an increased sense of community amongst themselves. The collective park vision of Reid Park residents enabled them to stand together collectively and voice concerns during meetings with MCPR.

Participants meet with MCPR and other stakeholders at a steering committee meeting on April 21, 2014. MCPR contacted Freddy at the last minute to request that RPNA pull together a priority list of amenities because of the limited funding. Planners are trained to be politically savvy and this could have been an intentional maneuver, knowing that Reid Park had limited time to prepare a priority list (Brooks, 2002; Carp, 2004). Participants requested that the engineering firm create two alternative designs and include in the design future add ins to the park that would not be covered by the current $600,000 allocation. Shortly after this steering committee meeting I was told by MCPR that these meetings were slowing down the process.

4.32 Second Park Planning Meeting with Mecklenburg County Park and Recreation

Our process of engagement was effective and again, there is evidence of RPNA influencing the community engagement process with MCPR. The engineer and MCPR presented two alternative designs at the RPNA meeting on June 10, 2014. They refer to the meeting as an information session. At the meeting, the break out sessions facilitated by MCPR do little more than share information with residents, suggesting that residents are recipients of information (Arnstein, 1969) as opposed to participants who cocreate knowledge with planners through joint processes of interpreting the world around us (Friedman, 1987; Lather, 1986; Reardon, 2000). MCPR's strategy differs from the strategies that we have implemented throughout this project where participant voices are integrated at all stages. As empowerment planners, we should look for alternative methods of engagement that deviate from traditional methods like the break out session facilitated by the park. Empowerment planning should include processes that encourage multiple voices as opposed to processes that limit input from residents.

We also implemented a community-organizing tactic for this RPNA meeting. Prior to the meeting with MCPR, participants discussed the need to have a large number of residents in attendance. I recommended that we provide residents with a scorecard (Figure 14) that would identify which amenities requested by the community were included in the plan presented by MCPR and which were not. This tactic is somewhat of an intimidation technique since MCPR meeting presenters do not have copies of the scorecards but are able to observe residents in the audience taking notes and completing the scorecards. In other words, residents had access to information that MCPR did not. The scorecards also forced residents to become active participants while also encouraging them to listen and record data. As participants canvassed the neighborhood during the weekend preceding the RPNA meeting, they passed out scorecards and provided instructions to the residents. At the meeting, however, I worked alone to speak with residents as they were coming in and hand out scorecards while also providing directions. Many of the residents came for food and then quickly left. I had suggested at the steering committee meeting on June 6, 2014 that we practice knocking on doors and discussing the scorecards with residents. The evidence discussed earlier suggests that practicing would have better prepared participants to use this community organizing strategy.



Park and Recreation Design Plan Scorecard

Instructions: Check to see if the park plan presented by Park and Recreation contains the following items that were prioritized by Reid Park residents

Item	Funded in Plan?		Notes
1. Network of paved walking trails	YES	NO	______________
2. Pavilion	YES	NO	______________
3. Basketball court	YES	NO	______________
4. Splashpad from Amay James Rec. to park	YES	NO	______________
5. Lighting	YES	NO	______________
6. Picnic tables/grills	YES	NO	______________
7. Playground	YES	NO	______________
8. Greenway extension from Reid Park to Arbor Glen	YES	NO	______________
9. Other	YES	NO	______________
10. Other	YES	NO	______________

Figure 14: Scorecard for MCPR meeting

In general, the excitement and motivation experienced by the participants directly engaged in this project has not yet translated into increased motivation for other Reid Park residents with the exception of the park. There is an increased motivation with regards to the park and acquiring additional funding to support the residents' vision. The RPNA monthly meetings that focus on the park are better attended than other RPNA monthly meetings. Residents make repeated reference to other parks in the city that have received more funding than Reid Park. To a small degree there is raised awareness that funding from the city and county is not always equitably distributed and that more funds are required in low-income neighborhoods to obtain similar outcomes of parks located in more affluent communities. This emergent understanding of structural inequality by Reid Park residents as a whole (not just those participants who are most directly impacted by this project) is an impetus for organizing despite the participants' limited success with the scorecard strategy.

4.33 Board of County Commissioners Meeting

Throughout much of this project there is minimal evidence of participants organizing to challenge power structures or to challenge the status quo (Klosterman, 1996). The evidence presented thus far, has been the translation of recommendations that participants made at the focus group session in terms of how they will engage with partners in the future. Participants also applied their knowledge from reflections on the NSP to the way that they engaged with MCPR during the park planning process. A significant change occurs in participants' ability to mobilize during the park planning process as participants prepared to go before the Board of County Commissioners (BOCC) at city hall.

In June of 2015 participants organized Reid Park residents to go to the BOCC meeting. Gloria reflects on the events that lead up to this response from the community:

> The promises that you have made, we're going to make sure that we keep you accountable on the promises. (We did not sit and wait) for someone else to come there and do something…all of us got together and agreed and went downtown and stood in front of the council downtown and read out our demands and what we expect and told them…the projects that have been promised to us have been

> put on the back burner. And then we're told that (the BOCC) don't have any money, but (they) do have the money, the money is going elsewhere."

In this statement, Gloria expresses an important concept which is an emergent theme. It is the strong sense of powerlessness and overt inequality that motivates participants and other residents to respond (Gaventa, 1980).

Prior to the BOCC meeting, participants met to develop a strategy for the meeting. We worked collectively to identify talking points and develop an argument for why we needed additional funding. I suggested that we prepare a written statement to deliver at the meeting since our time to speak would be limited to ten minutes. I took notes during the meeting and then translated the participants' input into a draft statement. Freddy and I then worked together to prepare a final statement. This demonstrates a transfer in skills as they worked to develop this argument. This is another distinction between empowerment planning (Reardon, 1996) and advocacy planning (Davidoff, 1965).

Nineteen individuals came to the BOCC meeting to stand in support of additional funding for the park. Gloria and Charity accompanied Freddy to the podium but did not speak. Freddy delivered the statement himself. Although this is a significant change in collective leadership since the start of this research project, given other evidence, it is likely that Gloria and Charity would have spoken at the meeting, as well, if they had the opportunity to practice first. Throughout this research, there have been several examples that were discussed that indicated the value of practicing skills. Practicing skills helps participants gain the confidence to then apply new skills.

4.34 Analysis/Conclusion

The park planning process has been an opportunity to observe changes in the participants and other Reid Park residents. This is the only piece of the project where we see a larger breadth of Reid Park residents affected by the project. Within the process, there is evidence of participants applying their knowledge to solve problems, participants influencing local agendas, an increased motivation for change, and we also see participants and other residents mobilizing to challenge the status quo. There is also increased knowledge of structural inequality and power and a collective approach to leadership. The inputs and outputs are shown below in Figure 15.

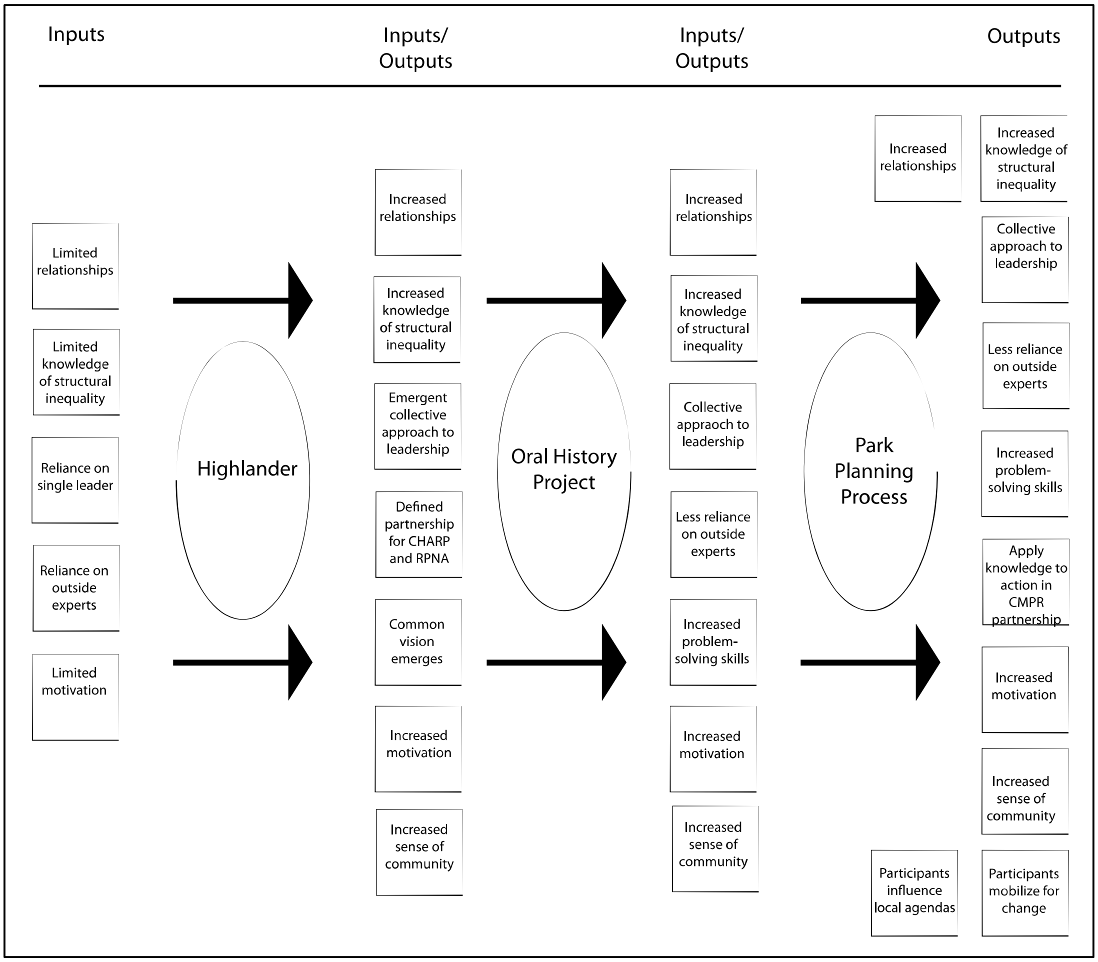

Inputs
Inputs/ Outputs
Inputs/ Outputs
Outputs
Limited relationships
Limited knowledge of structural inequality
Reliance on single leader
Reliance on outside experts
Limited motivation
Highlander
Increased relationships
Increased knowledge of structural inequality
Emergent collective approach to leadership
Defined partnership for CHARP and RPNA
Common vision emerges
Increased motivation
Increased sense of community
Oral History Project
Increased relationships
Increased knowledge of structural inequality
Collective appraoch to leadership
Less reliance on outside experts
Increased problem-solving skills
Increased motivation
Increased sense of community
Park Planning Process
Increased relationships
Participants influence local agendas
Increased knowledge of structural inequality
Collective approach to leadership
Less reliance on outside experts
Increased problem-solving skills
Apply knowledge to action in CMPR partnership
Increased motivation
Increased sense of community
Participants mobilize for change

Figure 15: Park planning process inputs and outputs

Part of the reason for the organizing around the park is likely due to the fact that it was such a contentious issue from the start. The neighborhood had identified the need for the park over twenty years ago and initiated a land swap to make this come to fruition. Over that twenty-year period, residents felt ignored by MCPR and the county since their neighborhood park was moved further and further down the priority list for capital improvement projects in Mecklenburg County.

The park vision plan that Reid Park residents developed was a way for them to clearly articulate their community's needs in the park and communicate this with MCPR. It also seems to have increased their credibility with MCPR. More importantly, the participants reflected on the plan and indicated that it gave them power. The park vision plan also helped to create an increased since of community within Reid Park because it was developed through a community planning process and members felt invested. Residents later mobilized to support their plan by speaking out at a BOCC meeting. There is a relationship between community organizing and a common vision. The common vision gave residents a sense of power, allowed them to express a collective voice, and then moved them towards collective action (Stoecker, 2003).

Participants learned about partnerships through experiences with CityDive, RPA, and CMS in the NSP and made adjustments to the way they engage with MCPR. During this process, they maintained control over the process and were able to influence the agenda of MCPR. They did not allow MCPR to implement the same process that they use in other neighborhoods; instead they were forced to listen to the needs of the community, as opposed to MCPR identifying the needs of the community. I attribute this shift to the learning that took place over the course of the oral history project.

Finally, participants recognized the potential power of the neighborhood park as a community resource. The participants use this community asset and the corresponding financial investment by MCPR to gain access to other grants. The first was the $32,000 ASC Neighborhood pARTnership grant that the neighborhood received in February of 2014. The availability of space within the park, as well as the lack of other available public art in the West Boulevard Corridor, helped RPNA to secure this grant. Thus, the park was leveraged as a resource.

A second example, also involving the park, is the mosaic tile bench project. The steering committee submitted a proposal to the City of Charlotte NMG program. Although the first proposal was rejected by the city, they were awarded a $5000 matching grant from the ASC in June 2014 and later in October 2014 received the additional $25,000 that they needed to complete the proposed project from the NMG program. Including in-kind donations and volunteer hours, the total project budget is $60,000. Although we used a community decision-making process to prepare the applications, Cindy and I submitted the applications and mange these grants.

Throughout this research project Freddy equates power with physical capital. This began at Highlander. In his interview following Highlander, Freddy provided more insight into this as he explains that:

> Power is that ability to take control over assets and resources and to be able to control, for example, community economic development (via) the ownership and management of real property. Then to be able to use that as a leverage to create (additional) economic development opportunity that sustains the community, that's power! When you can build homes and sell homes, which was, you know,

> (what we did with the) CDC, and (reinvest) that income from the development and selling of the house…back (into) the community, that's power! When you can acquire properties, rental properties and keep the proceeds from (the) rental propert(ies) in the community, versus going out of the community at lightning rate (like is happening) now, that's power! When you can as a community, own and manage and control real property, then you have power! When you have say so over what happens in your community, that's power!

Freddy's quote reflects his years of experience in grassroots activism. He continues to engage others in conversations like this to push for other residents to recognize power similarly.

4.4 Conclusion

Over the course of this three-phased research project we observe transformation of the participants as they start the project with limited knowledge of institutional power and come to an understanding of how institutional power can control neighborhood outcomes. It was this overt demonstration of institutional power and our time reflecting on this that enabled the participants to develop a better understanding of institutional power. Figure 15 in the above section shows the change in participants and the group over the course of this research.

Much like in Beard's analysis of 'learning rational planning', participants did not start from a point of empowerment planning. In Beard's analysis she observed an organic process, whereas we introduced several interventions to catalyze participants to challenge the status quo. The participants and I began our learning process at Highlander with the introduction of popular education. We then continued to learn throughout the oral history project. Finally, we took our knowledge, mobilized residents, prepared a statement for the BOCC, and presented that statement at the BOCC meeting. Themes that emerged over the course of this project are shown in Table 13 below.

Table 13: Emergent themes in data

Theme
Lack of participation
Horizontal hostility
Negative outside perception of neighborhood capacity
Practicing new skills
Power
Over committed
Park as capital

There was learning and development that occurred at each stage of the process. These are the outputs of each intervention that then became inputs into the next intervention. Prior to Highlander there was limited evidence of relationships, limited knowledge of structural inequality, and limited motivation. There was also overdependence on Freddy and outside experts. This shifted after Highlander where we immediately began to see evidence of increased capacity, transformation, and empowerment happening simultaneously. The popular education exercises helped participants build stronger relationships, engage in reflective dialogue about the community, and define a common vision for the future of the neighborhood and steering committee. The most significant change is evidenced by an emergent collective approach to leadership as more participants engaged in dialogue with less reliance on Freddy as an expert. While at Highlander, participants also began to develop an understanding of structural inequality and the way that power is used to maintain the status quo.

The participants adopted methodologies from Highlander and applied them to the oral history project. This reflected their ability to translate knowledge into action as they recognized the value of these activities for building social capital and facilitating dialogue. Participants worked collectively to facilitate the project and make decisions regarding the project. As they practiced new skills learned at Highlander, there was less reliance on outside experts; although there was need for outside assistance to coordinate project logistics.

The content of the activities the participants adopted for the oral history project did not address structural inequality to the degree that they did at Highlander. Critical dialogue does not emerge when popular education is omitted. For example, a conceptual mapping exercise facilitated by a neighborhood partner at an RPNA meeting did not produce the same critical dialogue as the conceptual mapping exercise at Highlander. Unlike the exercise at Highlander, the exercise facilitated by the community partner from Groundworks, a landscape design firm that was contracted by the ASC to install public art in the new park, did not engage residents in discussion about power or inequality. This evidence supports the integration of popular education if we wish to engage in critical dialogue.

Participants' engagement with other partners in the NSP was a learning opportunity for recognizing the ways in which power is wielded by outside organizations and used to maintain control over neighborhood processes. Our discussions on the RPNA/CHARP partnership at Highlander gave participants a reference point for what makes a positive sustainable community partnership. Participants' perceptions of the others partners engaged in the NSP changed significantly between Highlander and the focus group. Unlike prior to Highlander, we had the opportunity to work directly with the partners during the oral history project. This gave the participants the opportunity to observe the partnership. The overt use of power by these partners provided opportunities for reflection that pushed residents towards transformation as they rejected and reformulated outsiders' conceptualizations that they were service recipients.

As participants engaged with MCPR to plan for the neighborhood park, they again translated knowledge to action. Their experiences with the NSP suggested to them that they were at risk of losing power in the partnership with MCPR. Participants recognized that they needed to maintain control over the park planning process if they are to realize the community's vision plan for the park. They exercised control by developing the agenda for RPNA meetings with MCPR. Participants were also in frequent contact with MCPR to ensure that site development would move forward as scheduled. Participants then prepared an argument and mobilized residents to attend a BOCC meeting to request additional funds for the park.

When we engaged in popular education participants demonstrated greater awareness of structural inequality. Dialogue began to shift away from conceptualizing issues as symptoms and there was more recognition of the root causes of neighborhood issues. Shortly after engaging in the popular education exercises at Highlander, there was a decrease in horizontal hostility. However, as dialogue became less focused on structural inequality over the next few months, there was an increase in horizontal hostility especially related to participation in the neighborhood. These results are indicative of the need for continued integration of popular education into the practice of empowerment planning.

Participation continued to be an issue in the neighborhood. For the most part participants were not effective at increasing participation. The few times where we see increased participation is at RPNA meetings focused on the park or at neighborhood events that serve food. When trying to recruit new residents as volunteers or leaders participants were not successful. Participants recognize their own reasons for participating, but in this case they are not applying their problem solving skills or translating knowledge into action. Efforts to increase participation include block parties and other social events that are not contributing to social capital in the neighborhood. This suggests that types of participation matter. In other words, if the neighborhood hosts an event for a large group of people, then we, as empowerment planners, need to take advantage of that opportunity. A lot of time and effort went into planning for the block party, as well as other resources such as the money that HH spent on food. However, once we got people there, there were no planned activities to facilitate social capital building. Recall how earlier I suggest that the block party would have been the perfect opportunity to recruit participants for the oral history party, and in fact, both Freddy and I did manage to recruit people, however, if planned, it could have been a concerted effort to increase interest amongst residents in the oral history project, as well as a chance to build social capital.

When participants first had the opportunity to practice a new methodology they reported that they were more comfortable facilitating that methodology with the youth. I suggested that participants first practice a door-to-door canvassing strategy in a roll playing game, but they felt that this was unnecessary. It is likely that the numerous commitments of the steering committee also hindered participants' ability to increase participation. These commitments included grant applications, fundraisers, and others. As pressure on the participants' increased, there was less time dedicated toward reflection. Empowerment planners should consistently check-in with the community to gauge their comfort level with time commitments.

Finally, the park was a major source of physical capital in the neighborhood. This is important to empowerment planning and suggests that, as in asset based community development, we should look for sources of community capital and where necessary, mobilize around those sources. Overt use of power in the NSP also served as a catalyst for participants to challenge the status quo. The opportunity to directly engage with the other partners changed the perception of the participants. During this process, participants transformed themselves from service recipients to service providers. They rejected the negative perception held by outsiders who believed they did not have the capacity to facilitate effective community programs and reimagined themselves as a capable group who can facilitate change when they act collectively.

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION/CONCLUSION

The discussion that follows synthesizes the findings and analysis from the previous chapter into a proposed theoretical model of empowerment planning. The previous chapter was organized chronologically; here the discussion is more thematically based. In the discussion I pull together the relationships evident between inputs and outputs as they changed with the introduction of interventions, focusing on the contribution to empowerment planning. This discussion is followed by policy recommendations that have emerged from this research. I conclude with suggestions for future research.

In the next section I refer back to the literature as I develop a theoretical model of empowerment planning that integrates popular education, PAR, and community organizing. The model that emerged from this research is conceptualized in Figure 16. The research indicates that the starting point should be popular education so that participants build social capital and develop an understanding of structural inequality. The findings suggest that popular education should consistently be integrated into planning activities. After first engaging in popular education methodologies, participants transition to PAR and community organizing while continuing to practice popular education. Common themes tie together the PAR and community organizing in which participants engage.

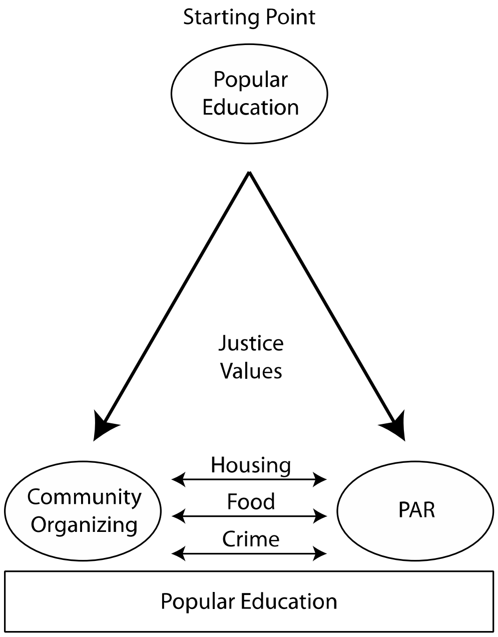

Starting Point
Popular Education
Justice Values
Housing
Food
Crime
Community Organizing
PAR
Popular Education

Figure 16: Emergent model of empowerment planning based on research

As empowerment planners, we should work with communities to develop leadership and skills. At the same time we should be responsive to the needs of volunteers so that we do not risk losing leadership because volunteers are overstretched. We should allow plenty of time for both action and reflection, so that problem-solving skills improve and actions become better informed by previous successes and struggles. Participants should practice popular education and community organizing strategies to increase their capacity to build social capital in neighborhoods and build a strong base of social power.

5.1 Discussion

Literature on alternative models of planning emphasizes the importance of relationship building to dialogue and the ability of groups to act together (Friedman, 1987; Innes, 1996). The integration of popular education in this research was fundamental to an increase in social capital within the group of participants and the collective action that emerged. When popular education was integrated into practice social capital developed and facilitated the development of a common vision that then translated into action. The increased sense of community and increased motivation to participate and affect change that emerged as part of our experiences at Highlander are empowerment related outcomes associated with popular education. These initial outcomes act as precursors for future collective action (Wiggins, 2011) as participants learn empowerment planning (Beard, 2003; Reardon, 1996).

In the next few sections, I demonstrate the relationship between social capital and collective action as I discuss the ways in which this project facilitated social capital building and how the resulting relationships enabled dialogue that facilitated the development of a common vision. I also discuss the relevance of a common vision to community organizing, particularly as it relates to the primary group of participants, or small action group to borrow from Friedman's (1987) terminology, involved in this project. The small action group is made up of those participants who were directly engaged in this research project—including the Highlander workshop, the implementation of the oral history project, the park planning process, and general steering committee meetings.

5.11 Social Capital Enables Critical Dialogue

Throughout this project there is evidence that social capital increased between participants as they developed networks of trust and reciprocity (Putman, 2000). The interview data pointed to the activities that participants engaged in at Highlander as crucial to the relationships (Stall & Stoecker, 1998; Stoecker, 2003) that emerged from the group and increased throughout the project. The intragroup trust enabled critical dialogue to take place that engaged participants in explorations of neighborhood issues, power, and structural inequality.

The exercises at Highlander were grounded in popular education (Freire, 1983) The Mocktail and cultural sharing activities built social capital within the group by developing trust. Both of these activities provided opportunities for participants to share personal information with the group. In the interviews that followed, participants indicated that the popular education activities at Highlander were responsible for the increased social capital within the small action group.

In many senses relationship building was limited to the small action group. Friedman (1987) points out that the importance of small action groups lies in their ability to build trust and facilitate dialogue, but to change power imbalances it is still necessary to build much larger networks. Although the participants built social capital within the small action group, they had very limited success at increasing social capital within the broader Reid Park community. They did not take advantage of opportunities like RPNA meetings or events such as the block party to build social capital. No exercises were integrated into these events that facilitated an increase in social capital.

Because of the intragroup social capital (Putman, 2000) that developed at Highlander, participants were able to engage in critical dialogue. Trust is a precursor for the dialogue that participants engaged in as they explored neighborhood issues, reflected on neighborhood power, and developed an understanding of structural inequality (Friedman, 1987). The conversation around neighborhood issues changed at Highlander. There was less evidence of horizontal hostility as participants shifted their focus away from defining problems in terms of the symptoms (i.e. burglaries) towards defining problems in terms of structural causes (i.e. NAFTA trade policies).

Had popular education not been integrated into the Highlander exercises we likely would have seen varying results as dialogue looks different in the absence of popular education. The exercises at Highlander engaged participants in critical dialogue about power and decision-making. When these exercises are applied during other opportunities in Reid Park, this critical dialogue was absent. Take for example the facilitation of a cognitive mapping exercise at the RPNA monthly meeting by a community partner, Groundworks, who has been contracted by the ASC to install public art in the new park. At Highlander we were given several topics to explore, including power, neighborhood issues, and gathering places. At the RPNA meeting, the community partner provided an outline map of the community and asked residents to brainstorm places, events, and people significant to RP and place this on the map. Alternatively, it could have been suggested that residents map community cultural traditions and identify the threats to preserving these traditions as a way to also explore internal and external community power. In other words, had she integrated popular education into the exercise, we might have seen evidence of critical dialogue that could have facilitated community power outside of the small action group of participants (Freire, 1983; Kane, 2010; Mandell, 2010; Stall & Stoecker, 1998; Stoecker, 2003).

5.12 Critical Dialogue Facilitates a Common Vision

The critical dialogue at Highlander facilitated the development of a common vision of the community amongst participants. The cognitive mapping and problem tree exercises not only deepened the emerging social capital, they also deepened participants understanding of neighborhood issues, power, and structural inequality (Freire, 1983; Kane, 2010; Mandell, 2010; Stall & Stoecker, 1998; Stoecker, 2003). Participants also engaged in critical dialogue as we reflected on the RPNA/CHARP partnership and planned for the oral history project. As they discussed neighborhood issues, power, and structural inequality via the popular education methodologies, a common vision began to emerge.

The vision that was produced is one of a community that embraces diversity, honors the neighborhood's history by continuing to provide affordable housing options for minorities, and offers amenities that promote the health and well being of all community members. Perhaps most importantly, participants develop a vision for the amount of control they want to have over neighborhood outcomes. This was partly the result of the time that we sat aside during the workshops to engage in critical dialogue about the RPNA-CHARP partnership (Reardon, 2000), as well as other dialogue that we engaged in at Highlander that was focused on power.

Social capital was relevant to the development of a common vision amongst participants. However, we do not know to what degree this common vision is shared by the broader Reid Park community. There is limited social capital outside of the small action group. When we tried to introduce an activity at a monthly RPNA meeting we were unable to effectively build a common vision (discussed in section 2.1 of Chapter 4). Based on the evidence above, this can be tied to insufficient social capital. The trust that was needed to facilitate dialogue that could have produced a community vision for the oral history project that was inclusive of more resident voices was not present. Also, as mentioned earlier, we rushed preparations for the activity which limited opportunity for leadership development.

The vision participants created at Highlander is a conceptual vision that differs from the neighborhood park vision plan that is a visual plan. The park vision plan was developed by many of the same participants that were engaged in this research (see Table 8 in section 3.31 of Chapter 3). Although the Master's student met with the participants several times, there was limited involvement of the broader community. Other Reid Park residents primarily participated in RPNA meetings regarding the park in much the same way as they would a traditional municipal planning process; they were consultants (Arnstein, 1969). In the next section I discuss the difference between these two types of visions.

5.13 Common Vision Facilitates an Increased Sense of Community

Both visions have facilitated an increased sense of community in Reid Park. Participants reported a sense of unity and belonging, or membership, after Highlander. They also suggested that they felt as though they had influence, or power as they called it, as well as an emotional connectedness and an integration or fulfillment of needs (a common vision). All of these are ways that we can observe an increased sense of community (McMillan & Chavis, 1986). Participation in neighborhood associations is a second way to observe the degree to which there is a sense of community (Florin & Wandersman, 1984). Following Highlander, participation of members of the small action group increased. Participation of Reid Park residents also increased at RPNA meetings that focused on the park.

In both cases, it was the vision that preceded increased participation. After Highlander the small action group began meeting more frequently for steering committee meetings to prepare for the oral history project. They continued meeting on a regular basis throughout the implementation of the oral history project. Prior to Highlander, the steering committee met on an ad hoc basis, which was usually bi-monthly, and they regularly attended the monthly RPNA meetings. In January and February of 2014 they engaged in three meetings per month and in March they participated in six events. In April and May, they met five and seven times, respectively. Table 14 documents attendance from January through May as the oral history project was implemented. As discussed previously much of this was due to the increasing commitments of the steering committee, but it nonetheless suggests that there is an increased sense of community that emerged within the small action group.

Table 14: Participant engagement in meetings and events

Month	Date
January	1/8/14
	1/14/14
	1/29/14
February	2/11/14
	2/26/14
	2/27/14
March	3/6/14
	3/11/14
	3/13/14
	3/20/14
	3/22/14
	3/25/14
	3/27/14
April	4/8/14
	4/9/14
	4/21/14
	4/24/14
	4/29/14
May	5/5/14
	5/13/14
	5/15/14
	5/20/14
	5/21/14
	5/28/14
	5/30/14
	5/31/14

There were a total of five residents in attendance at the November 2013 RPNA meeting prior to Highlander. A much larger number of residents attended the Holiday Celebration in December. The January RPNA meeting was focused on the park. Twenty-five residents attended this meeting. There was less attendance at the March, April, and May meetings, although it was still higher than before the interventions. A record attendance was set at the June RPNA as twenty-seven residents participated in the meeting with their scorecards and evaluated the efficacy of MCPR to capture the community driven vision in their engineering plans (see Table 15 below).

Table 15: Reid Park resident participation in park focused community meetings

Meeting Date	Type of Meeting	Attendance	Data
11/12/13	RPNA	11 (5 residents)	Small meeting to discuss grant applications and other upcoming events
12/10/13	RPNA	45	RP Holiday Celebration. Participants borrow cultural sharing strategy from HL, but there is still little evidence of relationship building with other RP residents
2/11/14	RPNA	12	Participants integrate relationship building/visioning activity into mtg.
3/11/14	RPNA	19 (14 residents)	Residents discuss vacant houses in RP.
4/8/14	RPNA	14 (11 residents)	Sustain Charlotte presents on grant opportunity.
5/13/14	RPNA	18 (11 residents)	GW facilitates cognitive mapping exercise.
5/20/14	BOCC mtg.	19 (16 residents)	Three participants present argument to BOCC for additional funding for the new park.
6/10/14	RPNA	37 (27 residents)	MCPR information session. Residents provide feedback to MCPR plans for the park.
7/8/14	RPNA	13 (6 residents)	Participants present recommended changes to RPNA articles of incorporation.

We can conclude that in both cases with a community vision present, there was increased participation around that particular issue. One distinction is that participation in meetings related to the park is not translating into increased participation elsewhere. The small action group in contrast, is involved in multiple facets of the community. Their vision created at Highlander (Table 10), although conceptual, was comprehensive and evolved out of engagement in popular education methodologies. Unlike in the case of the park, these methodologies built bonding social capital first (Putman, 2000), then engaged participants in dialogue about neighborhood issues, power, and structural inequality. This dialogue facilitated a vision that produces more of an increased sense of community than the park example as evidenced by the small action group's participation and investment in the neighborhood.

5.14 Increased Sense of Community Facilitates Increased Motivation

Over the course of this project, there was increased motivation for change exhibited by both the small action group and the residents engaged in the park planning process with MCPR. After Highlander participants reported an increased motivation for change in their neighborhood. They wanted to see the vision they had developed become a reality. Because that vision had created an increased sense of community, participants felt as though they could accomplish things if they worked together; thus there was an increased motivation for them to take control of neighborhood outcomes. This is also an empowerment related outcome (Wiggins, 2011).

Residents' participation, not just in terms of absolute numbers, but also in terms of the ways in which they participated is different during the RPNA monthly meetings with MCPR. Participants reported that they felt more confident knowing that other members "had their back" (focus group quote) at meetings. Because of the increased sense of community residents are increasingly motivated to see the community driven park vision become a reality. This is discussed in more detail in the next section.

In both cases an increased motivation for change was evident. While the park example eventually leads to a much more outward demonstration of power, both examples demonstrate that a collective sense of community helped to facilitate an increased motivation for change because participants and residents felt as though they had influence. Although it did not translate into action, it should be mentioned again that upon return from Highlander participants wanted to immediately organize against violence in the neighborhood. This evidence of an immediate response to organize supports my conclusion favoring the integration of popular education into empowerment planning. At the time though, participants were not equipped with the skills to organize.

5.15 Increased Motivation Facilitates Collective Action for Change

Ultimately both community visions, the one generated at Highlander and the second captured by the park visual plan, contribute to an increased sense of community that eventually leads to increased motivation that later translates into community organizing. The type of community organizing evident in both examples differs. The most solid example is that of the park. When there was resistance from MCPR to the community driven plan, residents were able to collectively stand behind the community driven vision of the park. They act collectively at RPNA meetings with MCPR to express concerns related to park safety, accessibility, and connectivity.

It become evident after the January 2015 meeting that there were insufficient funds available to develop the park with all of the amenities that the residents identified. Organized by the small action group, sixteen residents attend the BOCC meeting to request additional money. This is the most outward demonstration of social power evident in this research; it more resembles the Alinsky (1971) style of confrontational organizing.

A common vision is a source of empowerment that manifests in real power as participants use the vision to develop and implement the oral history project and engage with the other partners in the NSP. Though not the typical Alinsksy (1971) style direct tactic, participation in the planning meetings for the Legacy Fest, HH meetings, and oral history club meetings, to name a few, are all examples where collective action for change was taken by the small action group. The sense of community that was evident between this group enabled collective action in these settings (Stall & Stoecker, 1998).

I have discussed the way that popular education was used to develop social capital that eventually facilitated collective action over the course of this project. The small action group is where there is the most evidence of increased sense of community and increased collective action. I attribute this to the popular education methodologies that they engaged in and steered dialogue towards discussions on power and structural inequality. The increased sense of community and increased motivation to participate and affect change that emerged as part of our experiences at Highlander are empowerment related outcomes associated with popular education. These initial outcomes act as precursors for future collective action (Wiggins, 2011) as participants learn empowerment planning (Beard, 2003; Reardon, 1996).

It was necessary to have social capital building integrated into the popular education exercises first in order to create a space for effective dialogue (Friedman, 1987). A common vision for the community emerged at Highlander as a result of the dialogue. While the common vision did not translate into a physical plan like the park vision, it nonetheless became a source of power for the participants. This vision was an unexpected outcome of the Highlander workshops that resulted from the dialogue that ensued as part of the popular education workshops. Had the activities not successfully helped to develop trust, social learning would not have produced the common vision that evolved from participants' experiences at Highlander (Friedman, 1987).

I also compared the ways that the Highlander vision differed and was similar to the park vision plan. One primary distinction is the social capital that was first developed by establishing networks of trust and reciprocity (Putman, 2000). Although we do see the most outward demonstration of power in this research expressed in response to park funding when residents went to the BOCC meeting, we cannot conclude that the park vision was as effective of an organizing tool as the Highlander vision. One distinction between the park and other prominent neighborhood issues (crime, abandoned houses, etc.) is the contempt associated with it. This has been an issue for over twenty years and residents were prepared to move forward with a park plan in the 1990s.

The residents who participated in organizing around the park issue did not participate in other leadership capacities like the small action group. The small action group was consistently involved in the planning and implementation of community cleanups, block parties, the oral history project, grant applications, and fundraisers, etc. The residents who participate in MCPR meetings did not demonstrate leadership in any capacity. They rely upon the small action group to mobilize (Friedman, 1987). Figure 17 below summarizes the empowerment planning process and compares this to the advocacy planning model that initiated the park vision plan. The primary distinction between the two is the integration of popular education and the way that empowerment planning helps to build leadership and problem solving skills while increasing knowledge of structural inequality.

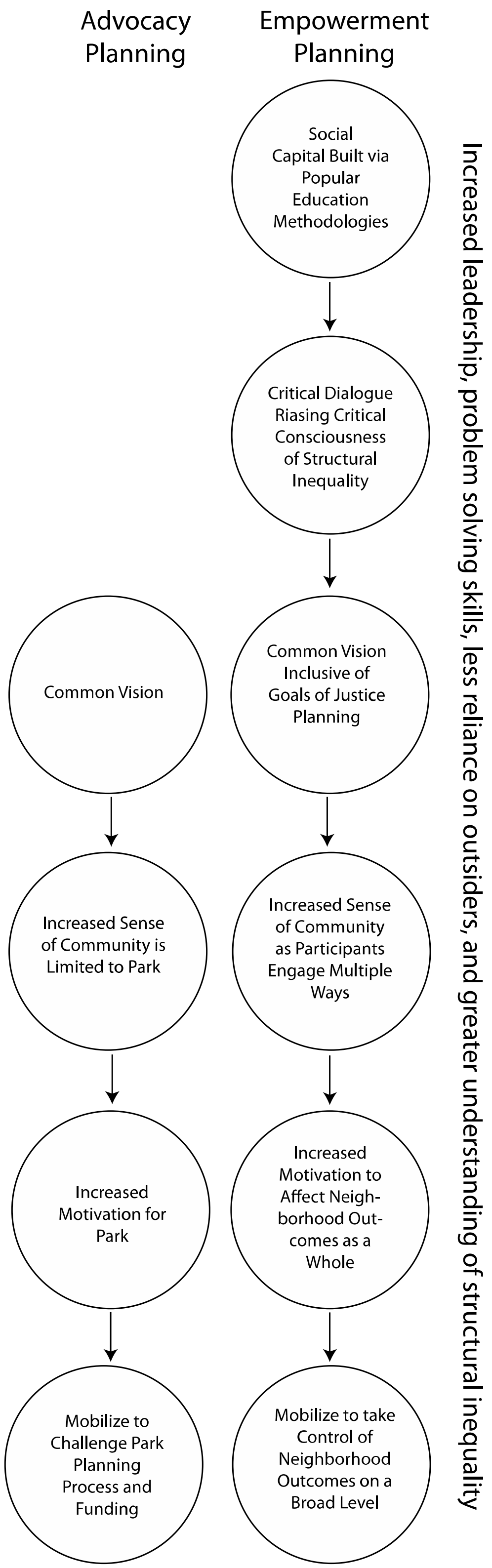

Advocacy Planning
Empowerment Planning
Social Capital Built via Popular Education Methodologies
Critical Dialogue Riasing Critical Consciousness of Structural Inequality
Common Vision
Common Vision Inclusive of Goals of Justice Planning
Increased Sense of Community is Limited to Park
Increased Sense of Community as Participants Engage Multiple Ways
Increased Motivation for Park
Increased Motivation to Affect Neighborhood Outcomes as a Whole
Mobilize to Challenge Park Planning Process and Funding
Mobilize to take Control of Neighborhood Outcomes on a Broad Level
Increased leadership, problem solving skills, less reliance on outsiders, and greater understanding of structural inequality

Figure 17: Outcomes in empowerment planning versus advocacy planning

5.16 Transformation from Service Recipient to Service Provider

Friedman (1987) discusses the role of marginalized groups as participants versus objects of planning but does not explain how groups transition from objects in the planning process to participants. Discussion of the participants' transformation from service-recipient to service provider helps us understand this process. The data collected through this research indicates empowerment planning facilitates this transition. Prior to the start of this project, Reid Park residents had largely acted as service recipients, or objects of planning (Friedman, 1987). As participants engaged in collective decision making, they were no longer 'non-participants' as described by Arnstein (1969).

In many ways, Reid Park residents had historically been recipients of therapeutic and manipulative processes, especially in the NSP, where the heresy of Ruby Payne was espoused. As conceptualized by Ruby Payne and CityDive, in particular, it is not systems of inequality that are the problem, it is the values of people living in poverty themselves that are the issue. It is CityDive's task then to to assert their elitist values upon the residents in order to empower the community. With many other institutions such as NBS and MCPR, participation has historically been tokenism and the residents' role in these planning processes was that of a consultant. In this model, there was little opportunity for power to emerge as outside partners decided what the issues were and how to solve those issues.

At Highlander, however, the small action group identified issues and began the process of developing strategies to address those issues. They also began to question why it was acceptable to have outsiders with significant decision-making capacity in their neighborhood. They started thinking critically at Highlander and began to imagine alternative partnerships (Jara H., 2010) where they would be the decision-makers and service providers (Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993). Once participants rejected the role of service recipient or consultant, changes became evident. The exercises at Highlander enabled them to experience participation in new ways. We were all teachers and we were all learners.

We translated what we learned at Highlander and applied it in Reid Park. The space set aside for steering committee meetings throughout this project allowed participants to practice democratic decision-making. Although their decision-making did not always immediately translate into action, it built a sense of group empowerment and reinforced the idea that other types of participation are conceivable (Arnstein, 1969; Jara H., 2010).

When participants applied their decisions to actions, like those described in the NSP and in the planning process with MCPR, they transitioned from objects of planning to participants of planning (Friedman, 1987). For example, as the participants implemented the oral history project they were no longer service recipients, instead they were service providers. Outsiders were no longer making decisions on their behalf—although outsiders in many ways controlled the process (i.e. by rescheduling ARK in the Park club nights). Participants were making decisions and translating those into actions. In the planning process with MCPR, they rejected participation as tokenism (Arnstein, 1969). They applied their learning (Friedman, 1987; Lather, 1986; Reardon, 1996) from the NSP to the park planning process and assumed control of the agenda that MCPR was preparing for the RPNA monthly meeting.

Collective action and increased motivation to bring about change are both outward demonstrations of empowerment, as well as evidence of the beginnings of transformation as described by H. Jara (2010). As we implemented the project, we engaged in critical dialogue about our experiences with CMS, RPA, and CityDive in the NSP and in the process created new knowledge that participants applied with success during the MCPR planning process (Kane, 2010; Mandell, 2010; Reardon, 1996; Wiggins, 2011). Participants continued to push back via Cindy, who represented them at the Legacy Fest planning meetings. While participants demonstrated many steps towards transformation, we cannot conclusively say that transformation is complete at this time. Transformation requires that participants be able to control neighborhood outcomes (Jara H., 2010). Participants had limited success influencing outcomes for the Legacy Fest and it is uncertain the ultimate effect residents will have on the park design since site prep has not begun.

5.17 Popular Education and Participatory Action Research

The underlying need for popular education cannot be emphasized enough. In this research popular education occurred with more intensity during the first phase of the research project at Highlander. The participants adopted these methodologies during the oral history project, but they were not necessarily practicing popular education because the content of structural inequality was largely absent (Kane, 2010). As discussed, much of this was due to the limited contact time we had with RPA youth during the oral history club meetings (originally eight meetings including field trip scheduled but met only three times) for reasons beyond our control.

When popular education is integrated into the planning process, participants shift from single-loop learning to double-loop learning. While both types of learning involve problem solving and applying solutions through action, double-loop learning involves cognitive changes in the learner. The learner adopts new understandings of structural inequality as the participants did at Highlander. Double-loop learning facilitates the development of knowledge that enables us to transform the world around us including social, political, and economic structures (Friedman, 1987). It is double-loop learning that leads to sustainable collective action that challenges the status quo (Klosterman, 1996).

This suggests that the organizing directed at the park is less effective than the organizing that the small action group engaged in as they implemented the oral history project. The small action group engaged in double-loop learning as they adopted new understandings of structural inequality and power at Highlander. They experienced cognitive changes (Friedman, 1987) as they shifted blame away from others in the neighborhood and to some degree began to recognize systems of oppression as the root cause of neighborhood issues. The small action group intentionally applied their learning as they wrestled over power within the NSP.

The Reid Park residents (beyond the small action group) that engaged with the park planning process during MCPR meetings and the BOCC meeting did not engage in popular education. The park organizing process is more reflective of issue based organizing that is less likely to succeed at long-term struggle (Stall & Stoecker, 1998). This suggests that the collective action that resulted is less likely to have any long term implications to park planning and funding processes since residents did not engage in popular education to explore the structural roots of inequality in green space, for example.

5.18 Advocacy Planning to Empowerment Planning

The capacity of participants to advocate for themselves is another important transition that should be recognized. Throughout this project the small action group developed leadership skills that enabled them to become their own advocates. This is a characteristic that makes empowerment planning distinct from advocacy (Davidoff, 1965) or equity planning (Krumholz, 1982) as pointed out by Reardon (1996). Participants began developing leadership skills at Highlander as they shifted from overdependence on Freddy to a more collective approach towards problem solving and decision-making.

In advocacy planning, the planner develops and presents the argument. While participants and advocacy planners might indeed be engaged in partnerships that exhibit shared control, there is no transformation of participants since they are reliant on the planner to defend and justify the community generated plans. This distinction begs the question about the sustainability and lasting impact of advocacy planning where social learning is limited at best. In our empowerment planning model, there was a transfer of skills (Reardon, 1996; Stall & Stoecker, 1998) often times not evident in advocacy planning.

Part of developing leadership skills is evidenced in the collective decision making described above but is more acutely evident in the way in which the small action group began to apply the strategies that they learned at Highlander as they facilitated the oral history club sessions with youth. Four residents facilitated activities at those sessions.

They reported at the focus group that practicing the exercises first at Highlander gave them the confidence to facilitate the activities with the youth.

Participants also learned how to develop an argument, an important component to planning (Davidoff, 1965). In many ways the rational model still persists and neighborhoods need to be able to develop arguments in support of their plans (Dalton, 1986). The small action group worked to prepare an argument that identified specific priorities for HH development in Reid Park. They met with HH to discuss these priorities, and based on the participants' requests, HH made slight modifications to housing style.

Several months later, the small action group met again to prepare an argument for the BOCC meeting. They wanted to secure additional county money for the new park because the $600,000 allotted by the BOCC was insufficient for fully realizing their vision. Again we worked together to develop the argument. The small action group identified a list of talking points and agreed that these should be compiled into a speech for Freddy to read. Based on the talking points I drafted a speech and then sat down with Freddy to edit it. He then presented the argument at the BOCC meeting. Two other participants accompanied him to the podium but did not speak. This is an example of where practicing as we did at Highlander could have made the participants more comfortable with public speaking.

If we again compare this empowerment planning process to the park planning process we see another distinction. During that process, it was the Masters student who did most of the interfacing with MCPR planning staff and representatives of other agencies interested in the new park. In other words, he was the advocate and was responsible for making a case for the park as he spoke with these individuals. In many ways Cindy was forced to be an advocate for the small action group as participants planned for the Legacy Fest. Participants were unable to attend these meetings since they were held at times that were not feasible for them due to work schedules. Her engagement in advocacy, while just an informal observation, seems to have increased since the conclusion of this research. Currently, she is coordinating the logistics for several neighborhood programs that participants volunteer to support.

Although there was evidence of leadership development and an overall decrease in the need for outside technical help, the small action group still needed logistical help during the course of this research. This included reaching out to Ms. Warren as we implemented the oral history project and setting up interview slots and contacting residents to inform them of their interview time, to name a few. A lot of coordinating work also fell on Cindy particularly for the block party that was sponsored by HH and for the Legacy Fest. I had hoped that there would be a decreased need for this type of coordinating, but it did not occur over the course of this relatively short research project. I have emphasized several times that the increasing demands could also have contributed to this. At the same time, new leadership did not emerge from the broader Reid Park community.

Grassroots neighborhood planning repeatedly calls upon volunteers to donate their time to neighborhood projects. The small action group invested a documented 103 hours between November 2013 and October 2014. Participation is necessary for democratic decision-making to occur. At the same time, we need to be cognizant of the demands that we place on volunteers in communities. Empowerment planners should be cautious not to take on too many tasks at once and be critical about what opportunities to pursue. Grant writing, event planning, and program implementation are all time demanding. Broadening participation is one solution and a goal of empowerment planning. Not only does broadening participation decrease the demand on individuals, it also increases the political power of the neighborhood.

5.2 Policy Recommendations

In this section I discuss three broad policy recommendations that emerged from this research. I first suggest a shift from top-down rational planning to an empowerment planning model in low-income neighborhoods. The second and third recommendations focus on university level change for faculty juggling the challenges of activism scholarship so that they can better prepare planners to work with historically marginalized communities.

5.21 Shift to Empowerment Planning in Low-Income Neighborhoods

In contrast to the traditional neighborhood planning approach often times implemented by NBS, this research indicates the need for a more neighborhood centric model of planning in historically marginalized neighborhoods. Through the application of empowerment planning over a limited time span we are able to observe changes in the participants who directly participated in the research, as well as other Reid Park residents. We observed physical changes taking place, too, whereas the city's current strategies have been ineffective at catalyzing physical and social changes in Reid Park. Although it is too soon to conclude that Reid Park residents have the capacity to continue to make the same sort of progress as they move forward, the momentum is strong and characterized by an optimism that was not evident in 2009 when CHARP first began our partnership with Reid Park. At that time Reid Park was one of the neighborhoods that NBS was working with to develop a NAP (see Appendix A). The plan was a predefined checklist of goals and objectives that resulted in band-aid projects like neighborhood cleanups. In some cases, outcome measures were unrelated to the implementation of any strategies. This top-down, one-size-fits-all approach was not successful in Reid Park.

Planning in neighborhoods with historically marginalized populations should be customized to fit each neighborhood. Empowerment planning by nature enables this to take place. When empowerment planners adopt popular education methodologies, relationships are formed that enable critical dialogue that facilitates the development of a common vision amongst residents. From this vision, neighborhoods working with empowerment planners can formulate their own goals and objectives as opposed to relying on predefined criteria for assessing progress.

5.22 Preparing Planners

Our skills in popular education methodologies were primarily limited to those that we acquired at Highlander. Lack of expertise and time prevented more intense integration of popular education methodology later in the project. Although readings have exposed me to additional methodologies, this limited knowledge and experience applies to CHARP, as well. As CHARP prepares our strategic plan for the next few years, training in popular education should be integrated into our organizational development.

Despite the shift from rational models of planning to more participatory/radical models of planning, urban and regional planning programs still primarily train students in the skillset needed for rational planning (Dalton, 1986). Planning schools prepare students for more traditional types of municipal planning, offering limited courses, if any, in participatory methods and community engagement strategies. Skills generally focus on GIS and other mapping software, steps for developing comprehensive planning documents, and planning law. Courses at UNC Charlotte follow a similar path; fortunately CHARP enables students the opportunities to work hands-on with low-income communities, but training in popular education, PAR, and community organizing is limited.

Planning programs should shift their focus to developing planners who are better prepared to partner with historically marginalized neighborhoods to develop citizen power (Arnstein, 1969). To do so, planning students need courses in popular education, PAR, and community organizing. They also need opportunities to apply these skills in the field. Given the limited amount of training at this time, without intervention, planning programs are likely to continue to prepare students primarily for rational comprehensive planning within local government or in the private sector, both of which rely on top-down strategies (Dalton, 1986).

5.23 Facilitating Community-University Partnerships

The primary goal of CUPs should be to build community power. It means transparency of our goals as researchers and teachers while also ensuring that the community's goals are met. As activist scholars we should adopt the values of 'just planning' (Fainstein, 2009). This means a concerted effort to transition away from planning as system maintenance to planning as mobilization (Klosterman, 1996) even if it means challenging the systems that employ us.

The university system is not designed to facilitate CUPs such as the one between CHARP and RPNA. The amount of time that has been invested in Reid Park is not compatible with current expectations of tenure track faculty members. Integrating service-learning courses into community-based research is challenging and time consuming. To develop community-based research in partnership with communities, and then identify and facilitate service- earning courses requires an intimate relationship between the faculty member and the community. This is similar to what was discussed on empowerment planning where relationships need to be built on trust through listening and recognition of local knowledge. Faculty need to be able to develop these relationships personally.

Although university systems should have infrastructure that supports service-learning (i.e. examples at Appalachian State, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, and University of North Carolina at Greensboro) this is not sufficient given the demands of service-learning courses. Universities should take additional steps to facilitate quality CUPs. This includes adopting new standards of performance for faculty engaged in community-based research and service-learning courses.

5.3 Future Research

Based upon the discussion and policy recommendations above, I have developed the following suggestions for future research:

- The current state of planning education needs to be fully assessed so that we can develop strategies for preparing students in empowerment planning. What courses are offered in planning departments nationwide? How can planning departments develop interdisciplinary programs with education, sociology, and public health departments to prepare students to work with neighborhoods of historically marginalized populations?

- Empowerment planners should scale up community organizing efforts to increase power across neighborhood spatial boundaries. How can an oral history project focused on displacement, placemaking, place attachment, neighborhood cultural identity, and gentrification be used to scale up community organizing efforts? How can popular education and PAR be integrated into oral history methodologies to facilitate planning as social learning? What does the proposed model of empowerment planning in Figure 16. look like when scaled up? How does popular education, PAR, and community organizing transfer from the local context to the larger context?
- Planning is contextual. How does this model of empowerment planning apply to other contexts? Based on this research can we begin to make a tool kit of methodologies for empowerment planners to use? What methodologies can we adapt from popular education and other disciplines for this tool kit?
- MCPR engaged in an unexpected process with RPNA. What did they learn from this? Will they make future changes to the way that they engage historically marginalized populations?
- The outcome of the park planning process is still unknown. How did the residents ultimately control the design of the neighborhood park? How closely does the park resemble their vision?
- HH has so far made only one change requested by participants at the March 13th meeting. This was a cosmetic change to new houses built in Reid Park. What

other demands identified by the participants does HH implement? How does keeping residents busy with ‘feel good’ projects shift focus away from the other requests made by participants? How does HH’s community development role affect outcomes in Reid Park? How does their agenda shift the focus away from structural inequality?

5.4 Conclusion

Neighborhood change is not an inevitable fate. Residents should not have to choose between decline and gentrification. Concepts of agency suggest that residents can influence neighborhood outcomes (Temkin & Rohe, 1996). Empowerment planning is a model of planning that can be adopted by low-income neighborhoods with little political clout to build capacity and power so that residents are able to shape neighborhoods the way they want (Reardon, 1996). In this research study, residents of Reid Park developed leadership skills as they explored structural inequality and mobilized other residents to support funding for the new neighborhood park.

My understanding of a model of empowerment planning that emerged from this research is not what was originally expected. The interventions were planned in such a way that popular education, PAR, and community organizing would be introduced cumulatively. The reality is they occur concurrently, even in the initial learning stages. Relationship building is a key component to community organizing (Speer & Hughley, 1995; Stall & Stoecker, 1998) and participants began this process at Highlander. After Highlander, participants wanted to immediately react to a recent shooting in the neighborhood using a direct organizing tactic (Alinsky, 1971). At that time there problem solving and community organizing skills were limited and their immediate response did not translate into action. As empowerment planners we should help ensure that community organizations are intentional about problem solving and set aside the appropriate amount of time to engage in effective problem solving. The participants and I learned that when we allowed sufficient time for problem solving that included reflection, critical dialogue, and intentional action, our actions were more effective.

While this is evidence that participants recognize power in numbers, it also suggests that participants should have met to engage in critical dialogue about the shooting, as the first step in problem solving. At that time, they could have benefited from skills in popular education, PAR, and community. The reality is that this research did not occur in a vacuum, nor will empowerment planning ever occur in a vacuum. It has to be flexible and responsive to the political, cultural, and social context. Incidents and opportunities came about that were not planned and participants responded by engaging in multiple 'steps' of empowerment planning at once.

Learning popular education should come first and be the underlying foundation of empowerment planning. To affect change it should be linked to community organizing; PAR is a bridge between the two connecting planning as social learning to planning as mobilization. There is a natural interlacing between popular education and PAR (planning as social learning) and PAR and community organizing (planning as mobilization) (Friedman, 1987). Implementation of PAR both facilitates the continued application of popular education and prepares participants for community organizing. Real power comes from wins when we effectively engage in planning as mobilization (Friedman, 1987). Outcomes in this research were limited when we only, to a small degree, integrated popular education and its methodologies.

Empowerment planning is not a stool as described by Reardon (2000). It can be conceptualized using the image in Figure 16 found at the beginning of this chapter. I originally expected us to pass through the triangle linearly as we learned empowerment planning and then move freely between methodologies once initial learning took place (Figure 18). The reality is that we started with popular education, but there was movement and feedback between each of the three points. In empowerment planning, the connections among popular education, PAR, and community organizing that are being applied should be explicit. Imagine a single or multiple thematic threads (housing affordability, access to food, economic opportunities) linking these three components together. Each thematic thread should be linked to popular education, PAR, and community organizing in a model of empowerment planning.

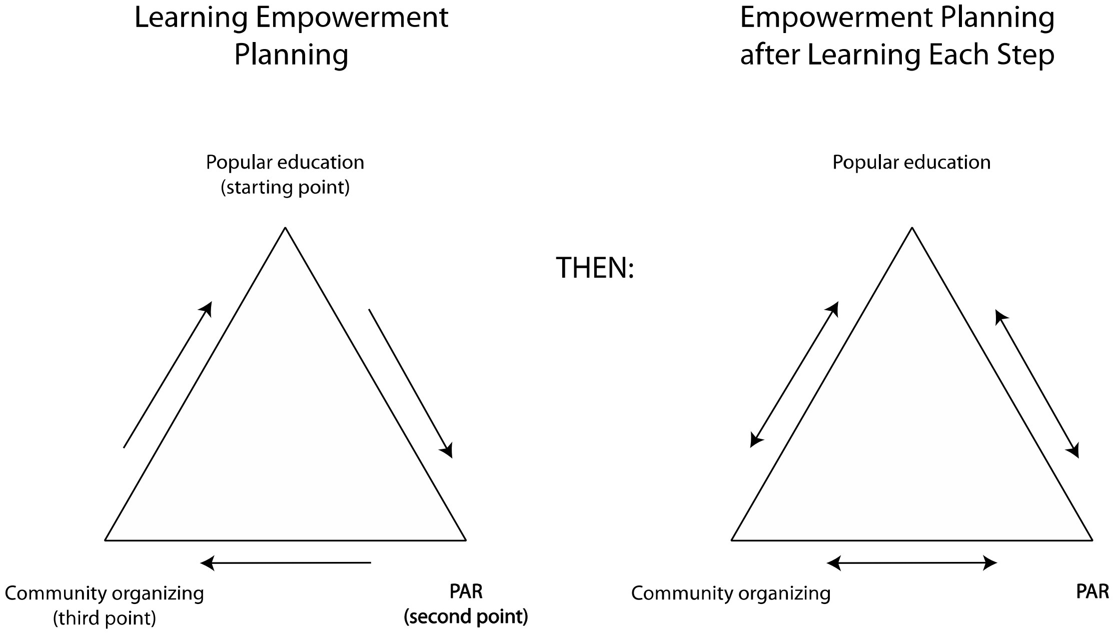

Learning Empowerment Planning
Empowerment Planning after Learning Each Step
Popular education (starting point)
THEN:
Popular education
Community organizing (third point)
PAR (second point)
Community organizing
PAR

Figure 18: Original conceptualization of what 'learning empowerment planning' looks like

The starting point should be popular education because popular education methodologies build social capital enabling the trust that is necessary for engaging in critical dialogue on systems of inequality. The link between popular education and both PAR and community organizing is constant. In others words, popular education should consistently be integrated into all parts of the empowerment planning process (see Figure 16 at the beginning of this chapter).

By integrating popular education and community organizing, empowerment planning builds willingness for engagement as evidenced by experiences at Highlander. Empowerment planning and other outside pressures apply stress to volunteers. Empowerment planners should consistently check-in with volunteers to gauge participants' comfort level with time commitments. Empowerment planners should also be cognizant of the need to provide technical logistical support so projects move forward.

Leadership development should be a focus of empowerment planning and needs to expand beyond the small action group to include a larger breadth of the community. Empowerment planning should intentionally create opportunities to increase participation and build social capital. As residents were planning block parties and other small social events I kept asking myself, "participation for what"? What does showing up, eating food, and sitting in a chair do? Those individuals need to be 'captured' so the neighborhood can build power in numbers. Alternative methods of engagement can help capture multiple voices. Building social capital through popular education is a starting point and we should look for opportunities to adopt interdisciplinary tools, like those the participants learned from the theatre instructors, into popular education methodologies.

Empowerment planners should also look for sources of capital. The park and the park vision plan were identified as a source of capital and power, respectively. Participants also identified the conceptual vision from Highlander as a source of power because it helped create an increased sense of community. The park vision and Highlander vision differ in that one was generated via popular education methodologies that built social capital and engaged participants in critical dialogue. Community visions that emerge from participants' dialogue should be documented and made into formal neighborhood plans that are both conceptual (identifying goals and objectives) and visual to create a larger base of power.

Empowerment planning should integrate popular education methodologies at all points if we intend to build power so historically marginalized groups can access their agency to affect neighborhood change. To do this, empowerment planners and participants need training in popular education, as well as in PAR and community organizing. University systems should integrate this into their curriculum and support faculty and students engaged in activist community-based research and service-learning courses.

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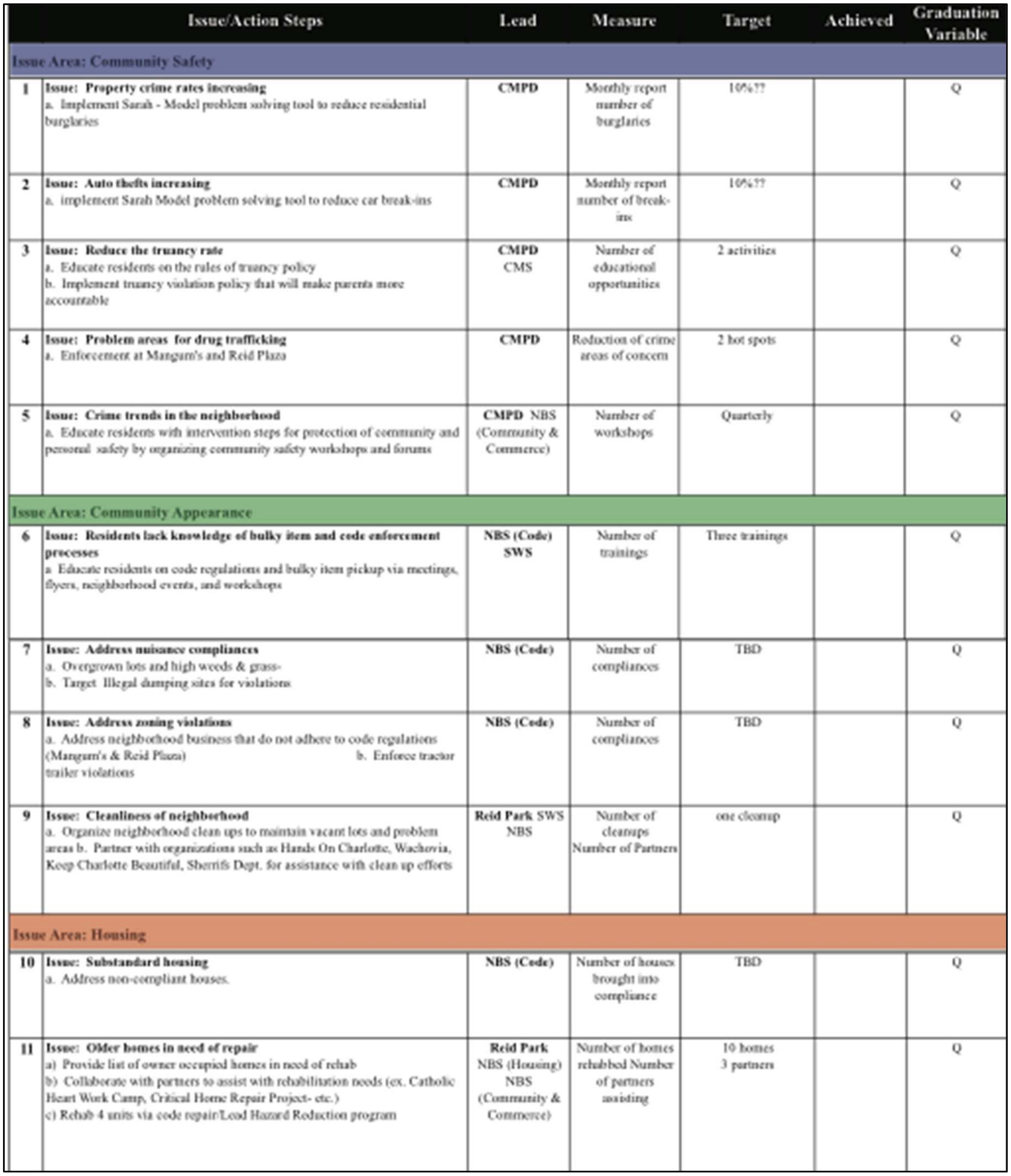
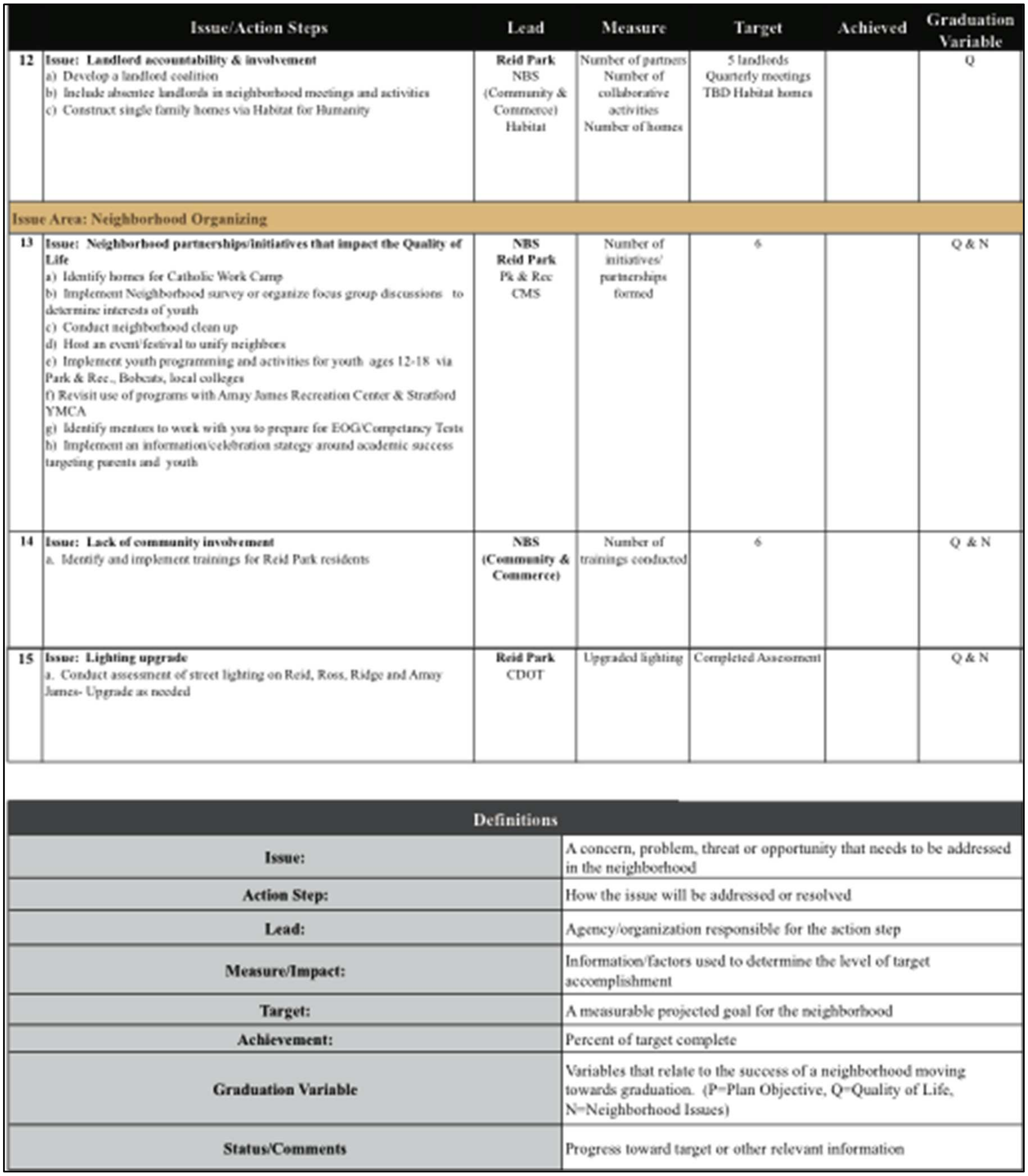
APPENDIX A: NEIGHBORHOOD ACTION PLAN



	Issue/Action Steps	Lead	Measure	Target	Achieved	Graduation Variable
Issue Area: Community Safety						
1	**Issue: Property crime rates increasing** a. Implement Sarah - Model problem solving tool to reduce residential burglaries	**CMPD**	Monthly report number of burglaries	10%??		Q
2	**Issue: Auto thefts increasing** a. implement Sarah Model problem solving tool to reduce car break-ins	**CMPD**	Monthly report number of break-ins	10%??		Q
3	**Issue: Reduce the truancy rate** a. Educate residents on the rules of truancy policy b. Implement truancy violation policy that will make parents more accountable	**CMPD** CMS	Number of educational opportunities	2 activities		Q
4	**Issue: Problem areas for drug trafficking** a. Enforcement at Mangum's and Reid Plaza	**CMPD**	Reduction of crime areas of concern	2 hot spots		Q
5	**Issue: Crime trends in the neighborhood** a. Educate residents with intervention steps for protection of community and personal safety by organizing community safety workshops and forums	**CMPD** NBS (Community & Commerce)	Number of workshops	Quarterly		Q
Issue Area: Community Appearance						
6	**Issue: Residents lack knowledge of bulky item and code enforcement processes** a Educate residents on code regulations and bulky item pickup via meetings, flyers, neighborhood events, and workshops	**NBS (Code)** **SWS**	Number of trainings	Three trainings		Q
7	**Issue: Address nuisance compliances** a. Overgrown lots and high weeds & grass- b. Target Illegal dumping sites for violations	**NBS (Code)**	Number of compliances	TBD		Q
8	**Issue: Address zoning violations** a. Address neighborhood business that do not adhere to code regulations (Mangum's & Reid Plaza) b. Enforce tractor trailer violations	**NBS (Code)**	Number of compliances	TBD		Q
9	**Issue: Cleanliness of neighborhood** a. Organize neighborhood clean ups to maintain vacant lots and problem areas b. Partner with organizations such as Hands On Charlotte, Wachovia, Keep Charlotte Beautiful, Sherrifs Dept. for assistance with clean up efforts	**Reid Park** SWS NBS	Number of cleanups Number of Partners	one cleanup		Q
Issue Area: Housing						
10	**Issue: Substandard housing** a. Address non-compliant houses.	**NBS (Code)**	Number of houses brought into compliance	TBD		Q
11	**Issue: Older homes in need of repair** a) Provide list of owner occupied homes in need of rehab b) Collaborate with partners to assist with rehabilitation needs (ex. Catholic Heart Work Camp, Critical Home Repair Project- etc.) c) Rehab 4 units via code repair/Lead Hazard Reduction program	**Reid Park** NBS (Housing) NBS (Community & Commerce)	Number of homes rehabbed Number of partners assisting	10 homes 3 partners		Q

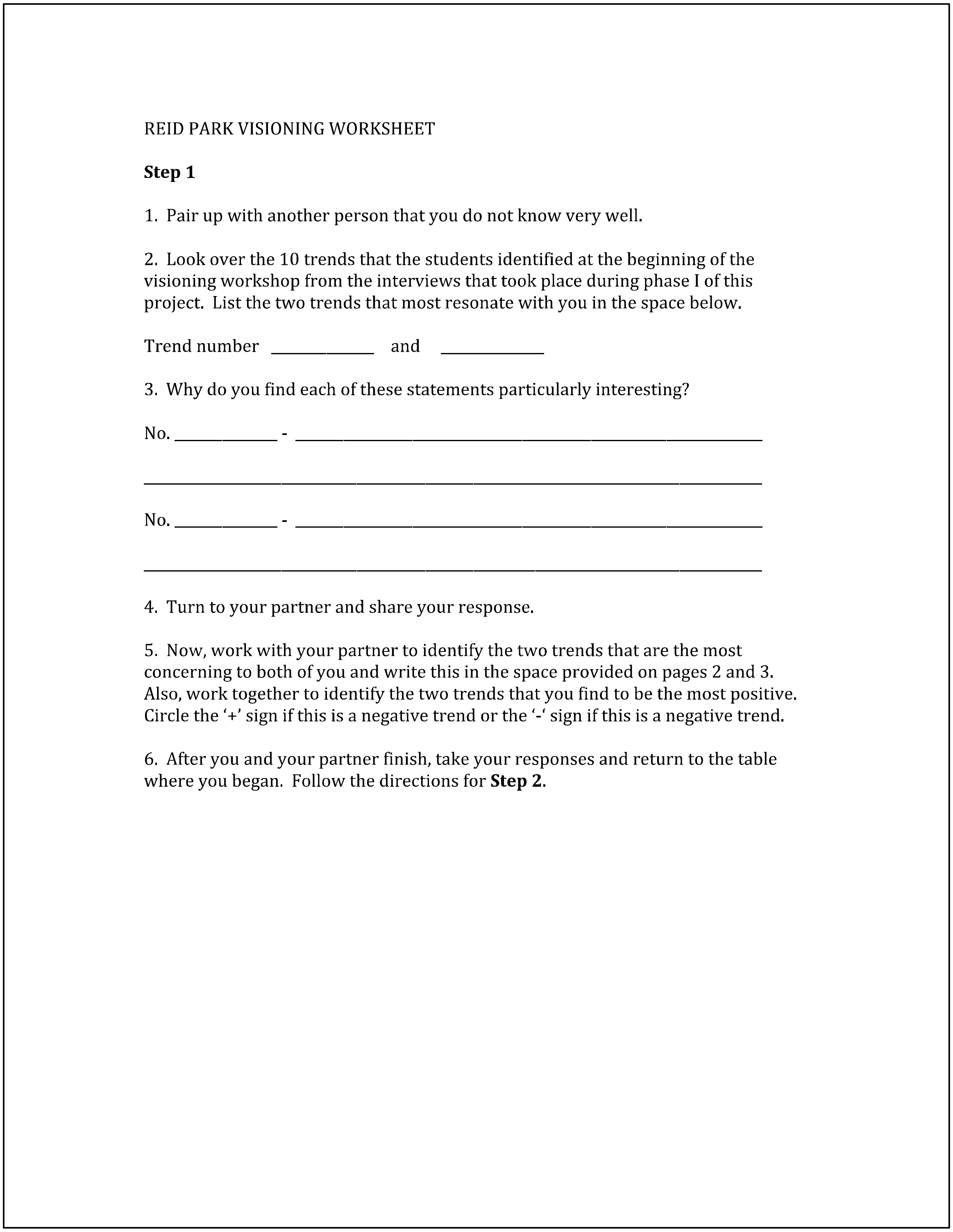
APPENDIX A: (CONTINUED)



	Issue/Action Steps	Lead	Measure	Target	Achieved	Graduation Variable
12	**Issue: Landlord accountability & involvement** a) Develop a landlord coalition b) Include absentee landlords in neighborhood meetings and activities c) Construct single family homes via Habitat for Humanity	**Reid Park** NBS (Community & Commerce) Habitat	Number of partners Number of collaborative activities Number of homes	5 landlords Quarterly meetings TBD Habitat homes		Q
Issue Area: Neighborhood Organizing						
13	**Issue: Neighborhood partnerships/initiatives that impact the Quality of Life** a) Identify homes for Catholic Work Camp b) Implement Neighborhood survey or organize focus group discussions to determine interests of youth c) Conduct neighborhood clean up d) Host an event/festival to unify neighbors e) Implement youth programming and activities for youth ages 12-18 via Park & Rec., Bobcats, local colleges f) Revisit use of programs with Amay James Recreation Center & Stratford YMCA g) Identify mentors to work with you to prepare for EOG/Competancy Tests h) Implement an information/celebration stategy around academic success targeting parents and youth	**NBS** **Reid Park** Pk & Rec CMS	Number of initiatives/ partnerships formed	6		Q & N
14	**Issue: Lack of community involvement** a. Identify and implement trainings for Reid Park residents	**NBS (Community & Commerce)**	Number of trainings conducted	6		Q & N
15	**Issue: Lighting upgrade** a. Conduct assessment of street lighting on Reid, Ross, Ridge and Amay James- Upgrade as needed	**Reid Park** CDOT	Upgraded lighting	Completed Assessment		Q & N

Definitions	
Issue:	A concern, problem, threat or opportunity that needs to be addressed in the neighborhood
Action Step:	How the issue will be addressed or resolved
Lead:	Agency/organization responsible for the action step
Measure/Impact:	Information/factors used to determine the level of target accomplishment
Target:	A measurable projected goal for the neighborhood
Achievement:	Percent of target complete
Graduation Variable	Variables that relate to the success of a neighborhood moving towards graduation. (P=Plan Objective, Q=Quality of Life, N=Neighborhood Issues)
Status/Comments	Progress toward target or other relevant information

APPENDIX B: VISIONING WORKSHOP GUIDE



REID PARK VISIONING WORKSHEET

Step 1

1. Pair up with another person that you do not know very well.

2. Look over the 10 trends that the students identified at the beginning of the visioning workshop from the interviews that took place during phase I of this project. List the two trends that most resonate with you in the space below.

Trend number ____________ and ____________

3. Why do you find each of these statements particularly interesting?

No. ____________ - ____

____

No. ____________ - ____

____

4. Turn to your partner and share your response.

5. Now, work with your partner to identify the two trends that are the most concerning to both of you and write this in the space provided on pages 2 and 3. Also, work together to identify the two trends that you find to be the most positive. Circle the '+' sign if this is a negative trend or the '-' sign if this is a negative trend.

6. After you and your partner finish, take your responses and return to the table where you began. Follow the directions for **Step 2**.

APPENDIX B: (CONTINUED)

Trend no. ________ Circle one [illegible]

What explanations do you have for this trend (i.e. what is causing this trend)?

____

____

Why have you chosen this trend? ____

____

How can we encourage or discourage this trend? _______________________________

____

Additional comments ____

____

____

PPPPPPPPPPPPPPPPPPPPPPPPPPPPPPPPPPPPPPPP(cut) PPPPPPPPPPPPPPPPPPPPPPPPPPPPPPPPPPPPPPPP

Trend no. ________ Circle one [illegible]

What explanations do you have for this trend (i.e. what is causing this trend)?

____

____

Why have you chosen this trend? ____

____

How can we encourage or discourage this trend? _______________________________

____

Additional comments ____

____

____

Trend no. ________ Circle one [illegible]

APPENDIX B: (CONTINUED)

Step 2

Now that you have returned to the table, share your results with your small group. There are two piles for your results. Place your results in either the positive or negative trend pile. The group facilitator will lead the group through the following discussion. One person per table will be responsible for taking notes. Use the space below to make any of your own notes.

1. Are there any trends that have been placed in both piles? If so, how do you explain this? Is this the result of differences between the perceptions of Reid Park residents and the organizational partners?

____

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____

2. How can we emphasize and build upon the positive trends?

____

____

____

____

____

3. How can we begin to eliminate the negative trends? Are we able to apply some of the positive trends to help overcome the negative trends? How?

____

____

____

____

____

APPENDIX B: (CONTINUED)

4. Identify two negative trends that you feel require immediate action.

Trend number: ____________ and ____________

5. Why do these trends require immediate action?

____

____

____

____

6. Based on some of your answers above, what specific actions do you suggest to rectify the two negative trends identified in question number 3? (Hint: write these in a sequential format such as step 1, step 2, etc.)

____

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7. What additional resources will be required to implement the action steps identified above?

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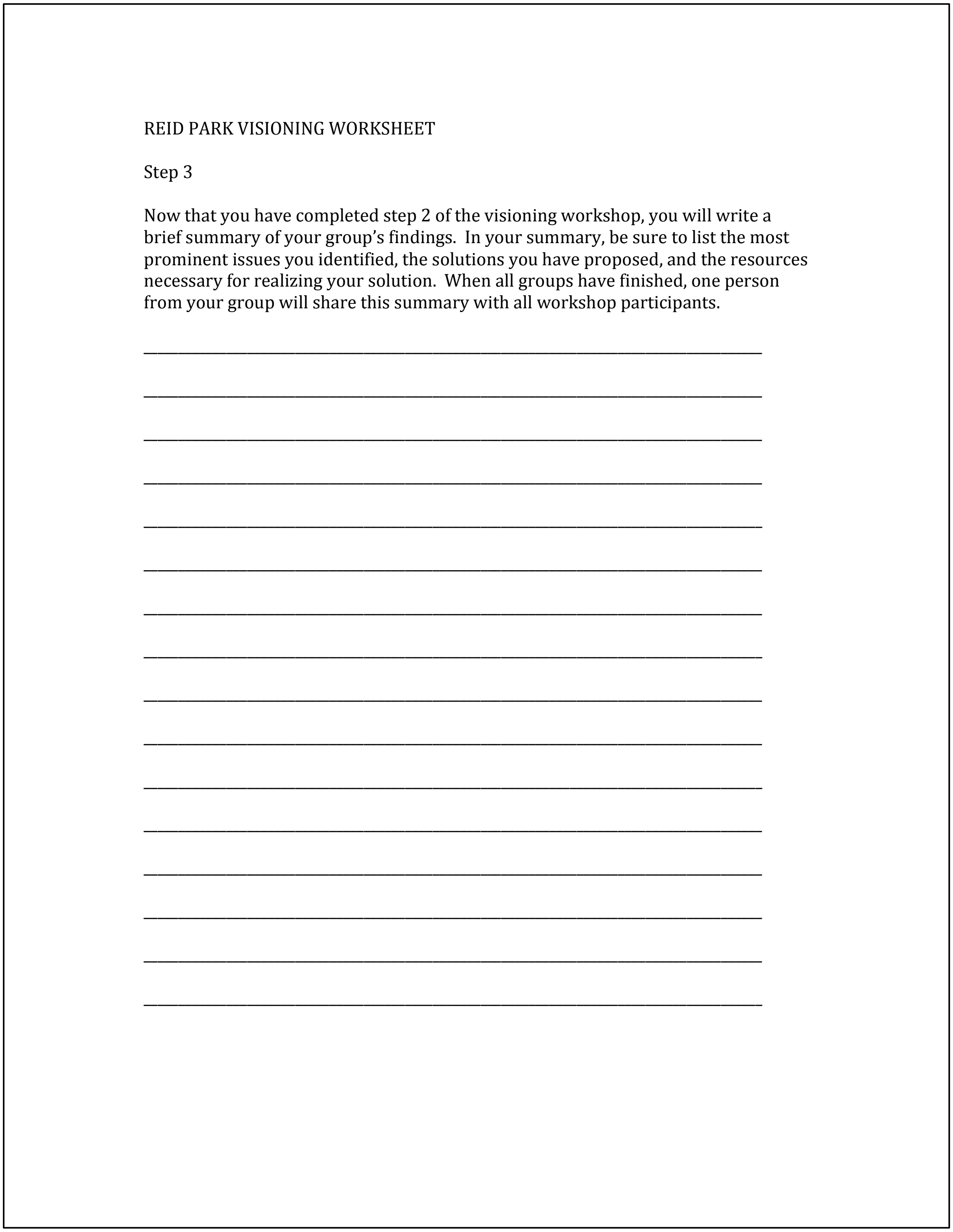
APPENDIX B: (CONTINUED)



REID PARK VISIONING WORKSHEET

Step 3

Now that you have completed step 2 of the visioning workshop, you will write a brief summary of your group's findings. In your summary, be sure to list the most prominent issues you identified, the solutions you have proposed, and the resources necessary for realizing your solution. When all groups have finished, one person from your group will share this summary with all workshop participants.

____

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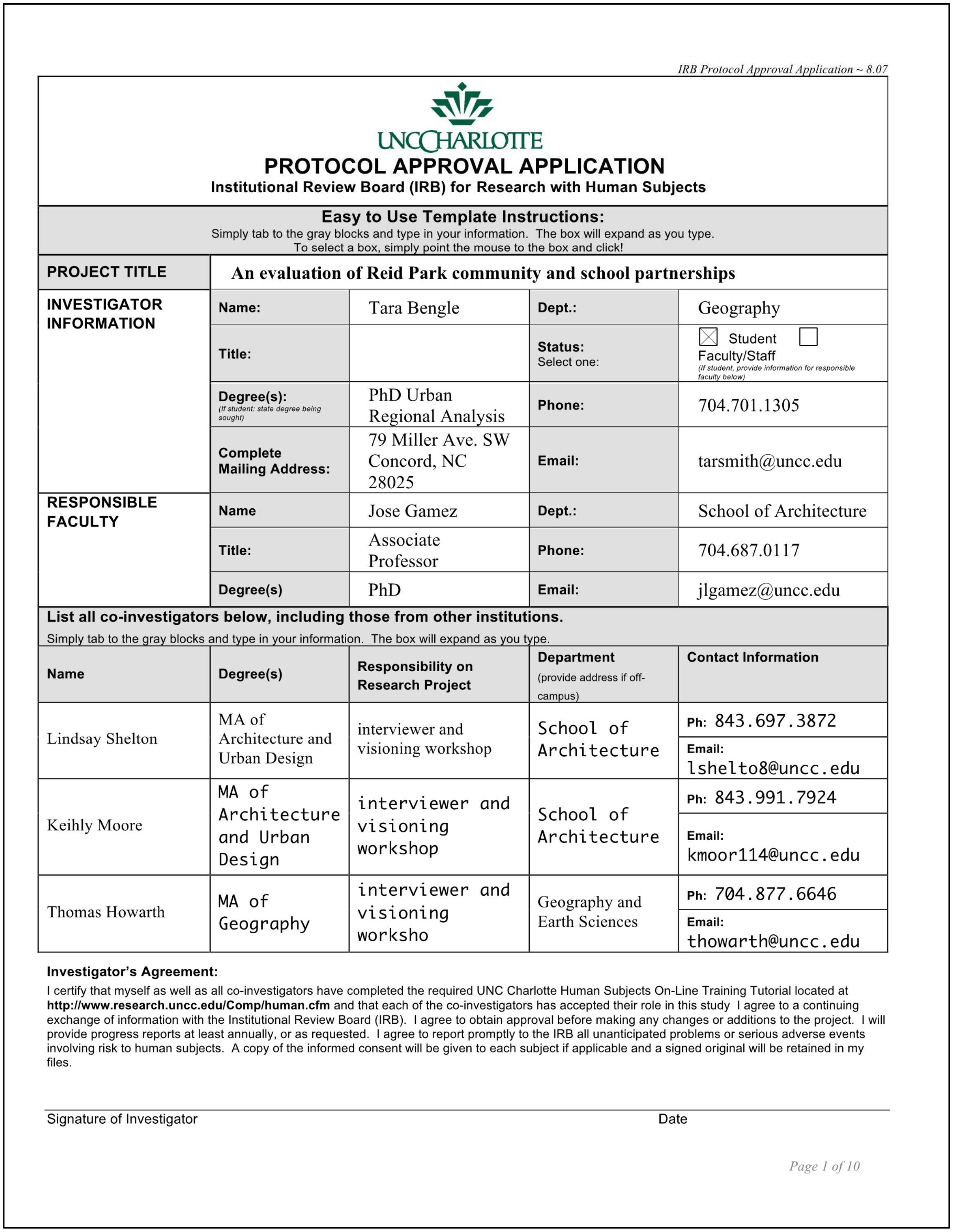
APPENDIX C: IRB for Visioning Workshop



IRB Protocol Approval Application ~ 8.07

UNC CHARLOTTE

PROTOCOL APPROVAL APPLICATION

Institutional Review Board (IRB) for Research with Human Subjects

Easy to Use Template Instructions:

Simply tab to the gray blocks and type in your information. The box will expand as you type.
To select a box, simply point the mouse to the box and click!

PROJECT TITLE	**An evaluation of Reid Park community and school partnerships**			
INVESTIGATOR INFORMATION	**Name:**	Tara Bengle	**Dept.:**	Geography
	Title:		**Status:** Select one:	☒ Student ☐ Faculty/Staff *(If student, provide information for responsible faculty below)*
	Degree(s): *(If student: state degree being sought)*	PhD Urban Regional Analysis	**Phone:**	704.701.1305
	Complete Mailing Address:	79 Miller Ave. SW Concord, NC 28025	**Email:**	tarsmith@uncc.edu
RESPONSIBLE FACULTY	**Name**	Jose Gamez	**Dept.:**	School of Architecture
	Title:	Associate Professor	**Phone:**	704.687.0117
	Degree(s)	PhD	**Email:**	jlgamez@uncc.edu

List all co-investigators below, including those from other institutions.

Simply tab to the gray blocks and type in your information. The box will expand as you type.

Name	**Degree(s)**	**Responsibility on Research Project**	**Department** (provide address if off-campus)	**Contact Information**
Lindsay Shelton	MA of Architecture and Urban Design	interviewer and visioning workshop	School of Architecture	**Ph:** 843.697.3872 **Email:** lshelto8@uncc.edu
Keihly Moore	MA of Architecture and Urban Design	interviewer and visioning workshop	School of Architecture	**Ph:** 843.991.7924 **Email:** kmoor114@uncc.edu
Thomas Howarth	MA of Geography	interviewer and visioning worksho	Geography and Earth Sciences	**Ph:** 704.877.6646 **Email:** thowarth@uncc.edu

Investigator's Agreement:

I certify that myself as well as all co-investigators have completed the required UNC Charlotte Human Subjects On-Line Training Tutorial located at **http://www.research.uncc.edu/Comp/human.cfm** and that each of the co-investigators has accepted their role in this study I agree to a continuing exchange of information with the Institutional Review Board (IRB). I agree to obtain approval before making any changes or additions to the project. I will provide progress reports at least annually, or as requested. I agree to report promptly to the IRB all unanticipated problems or serious adverse events involving risk to human subjects. A copy of the informed consent will be given to each subject if applicable and a signed original will be retained in my files.

Signature of Investigator Date

Page 1 of 10

APPENDIX C: (CONTINUED)

Responsible Faculty Member's Agreement: (If the Investigator is a student)
I certify that, as the student's responsible faculty, I have:

- read and endorsed the materials submitted; and
- completed the required UNC Charlotte Human subjects On-Line Training Tutorial.

Signature of Responsible Faculty Date

1. Completion of required Human Subjects Training Tutorial

NOTE: Co-investigators from institutions or organizations not affiliated with UNC Charlotte must either complete UNC Charlotte's required on-line IRB tutorial or provide documentation that similar training has been completed elsewhere.

Tara Bengle - 07.07.10

Dr. Jose Gamez - 09.08.12

Lindsay Shelton - 09.07.12

Keihly Moore - 09.09.12

Thomas Howarth - 02.04.12

Joshua Foster - 09.09.12/MA of Urban Design/interviewer and workshop facilitator/School of Achitecutre/443.904.6434/jfoste40@uncc.edu

Rachel Wheeler - 09.07.12/MA of Urban Design/interviewer and workshop facilitator/School of Achitecutre/828.606.1276/rwheele6@uncc.edu

Paul Krynski - 09.07.12/MA of Urban Design and MA of Architecture/interviewer and workshop facilitator/School of Architecture/704.351.2098/pkrynski@uncc.edu

Nathaniel Heyward - 09.08.12/MA of Urban Design/interviewer and workshop facilitator/School of Architecture/919.801.5538/nheywar1@uncc.edu

William Henry IV - 09.08.12/MA of Urban Design/interview and workshop facilitator/School of Architecture/706.833.7017/whenryiv@uncc.edu

Nathalie Slobodiuk - 09.07.12/MA of Urban Design and MA of Architecutre/interviewer and workshop facilitator/School of Architecture/626.239.5504/nslobodi@uncc.edu

Jeffrey (Allen) Davis - 09.07.12/MA of Urban Design and MA of Geography/interviewer and workshop facilitator/School of Architecutre and Department of Geography and Earth Sciences/336.339.1619/al.davis.davis@gmail.com

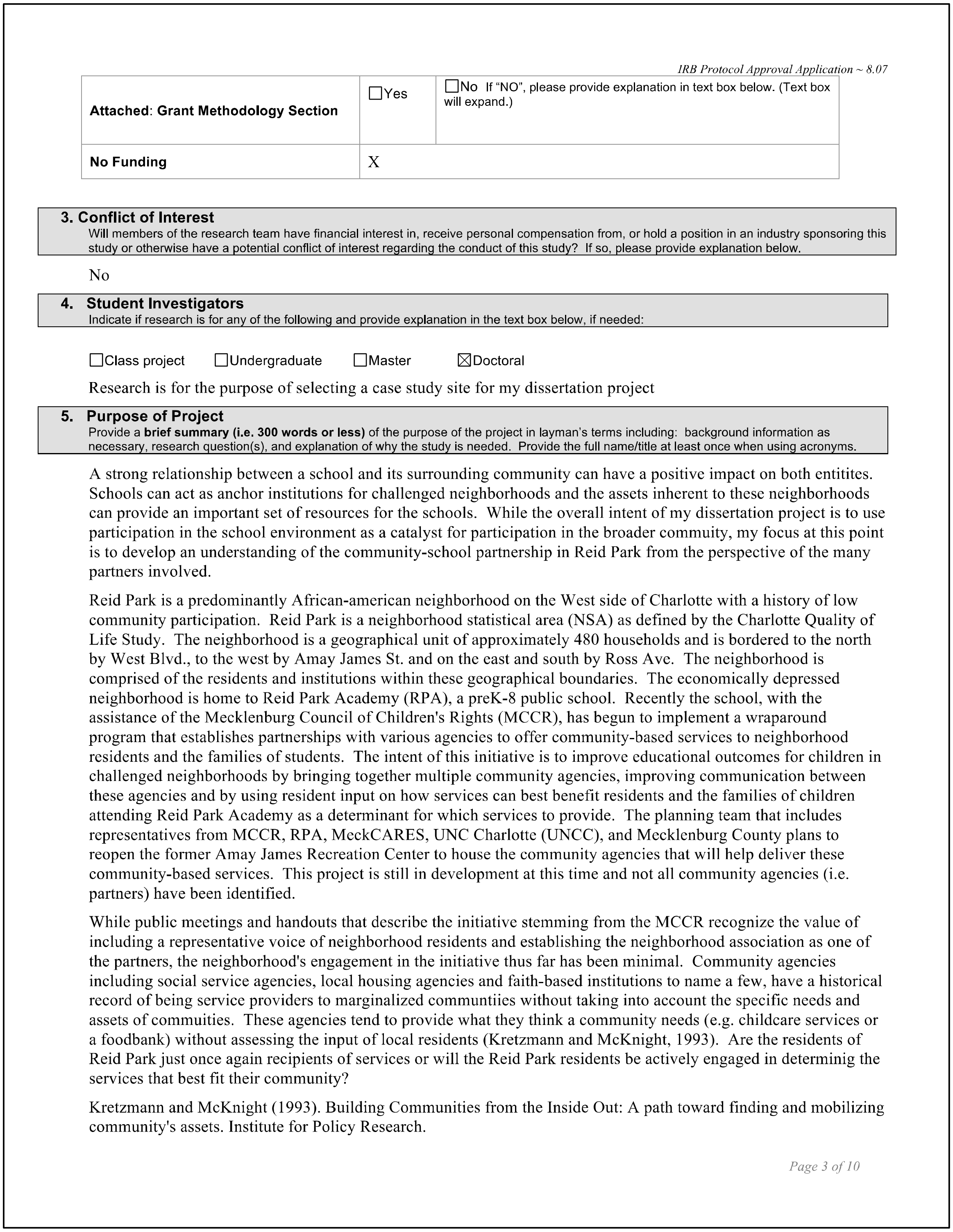
Charles Kane - 09.08.12/MA of Urban Design and MA of Architecture/interviewer and workshop facilitator/School of Architecture/704.301.2355/ckane7@uncc.edu

2. Current or Planned Funding Source (Internal or External)

NOTE: Please submit a copy of methodology section of grant application with protocol application (if applicable).

P.I. of Grant or Contract:	
Name of Funding Source:	
Grant/Contract No. (if available):	
Grant/Contract or Project Title:	

APPENDIX C: (CONTINUED)



Attached: **Grant Methodology Section**	☐Yes	☐No If "NO", please provide explanation in text box below. (Text box will expand.)
No Funding	X	

3. Conflict of Interest

Will members of the research team have financial interest in, receive personal compensation from, or hold a position in an industry sponsoring this study or otherwise have a potential conflict of interest regarding the conduct of this study? If so, please provide explanation below.

No

4. Student Investigators

Indicate if research is for any of the following and provide explanation in the text box below, if needed:

☐Class project ☐Undergraduate ☐Master ☒Doctoral

Research is for the purpose of selecting a case study site for my dissertation project

5. Purpose of Project

Provide a **brief summary (i.e. 300 words or less)** of the purpose of the project in layman's terms including: background information as necessary, research question(s), and explanation of why the study is needed. Provide the full name/title at least once when using acronyms.

A strong relationship between a school and its surrounding community can have a positive impact on both entitites. Schools can act as anchor institutions for challenged neighborhoods and the assets inherent to these neighborhoods can provide an important set of resources for the schools. While the overall intent of my dissertation project is to use participation in the school environment as a catalyst for participation in the broader commuity, my focus at this point is to develop an understanding of the community-school partnership in Reid Park from the perspective of the many partners involved.

Reid Park is a predominantly African-american neighborhood on the West side of Charlotte with a history of low community participation. Reid Park is a neighborhood statistical area (NSA) as defined by the Charlotte Quality of Life Study. The neighborhood is a geographical unit of approximately 480 households and is bordered to the north by West Blvd., to the west by Amay James St. and on the east and south by Ross Ave. The neighborhood is comprised of the residents and institutions within these geographical boundaries. The economically depressed neighborhood is home to Reid Park Academy (RPA), a preK-8 public school. Recently the school, with the assistance of the Mecklenburg Council of Children's Rights (MCCR), has begun to implement a wraparound program that establishes partnerships with various agencies to offer community-based services to neighborhood residents and the families of students. The intent of this initiative is to improve educational outcomes for children in challenged neighborhoods by bringing together multiple community agencies, improving communication between these agencies and by using resident input on how services can best benefit residents and the families of children attending Reid Park Academy as a determinant for which services to provide. The planning team that includes representatives from MCCR, RPA, MeckCARES, UNC Charlotte (UNCC), and Mecklenburg County plans to reopen the former Amay James Recreation Center to house the community agencies that will help deliver these community-based services. This project is still in development at this time and not all community agencies (i.e. partners) have been identified.

While public meetings and handouts that describe the initiative stemming from the MCCR recognize the value of including a representative voice of neighborhood residents and establishing the neighborhood association as one of the partners, the neighborhood's engagement in the initiative thus far has been minimal. Community agencies including social service agencies, local housing agencies and faith-based institutions to name a few, have a historical record of being service providers to marginalized communtiies without taking into account the specific needs and assets of commuities. These agencies tend to provide what they think a community needs (e.g. childcare services or a foodbank) without assessing the input of local residents (Kretzmann and McKnight, 1993). Are the residents of Reid Park just once again recipients of services or will the Reid Park residents be actively engaged in determinig the services that best fit their community?

Kretzmann and McKnight (1993). Building Communities from the Inside Out: A path toward finding and mobilizing community's assets. Institute for Policy Research.

APPENDIX C: (CONTINUED)

6. Enrollment Information

Expected number of participants:	40
Expected gender representation:	70% female/30% male
Expected minority representation:	60% black
Expected age of participants:	over 18

7. Vulnerable Populations	Yes (Target Population)	No (Incidental Inclusion)
Children:	☐	☒
Non-English speaking:	☐	☒
Decisionally impaired or mentally incompetent :	☐	☒
Prisoners, parolees and or other convicted offenders:	☐	☒
Pregnant women: Select "Yes" if study is about pregnancy, pregnant women and/or the fetus or neonate.	☐	☒
UNC Charlotte Students:	☐	☒

8. Characteristics of the Study Population

List required characteristics of potential subjects and those that preclude participation.

- **Inclusion Criteria:** Describe the characteristics of the study population(s). What characteristics make someone an ideal candidate to participate in your study? (e.g., age, occupation, M/F, etc.)
- **Exclusion Criteria:** What characteristics would make someone ineligible for participation in the study?

Inclusion Criteria:	participant in the Reid Park Academy partnership or resident of Reid Park neighborhood
Exclusion Criteria:	non-participant in the Reid Park Academy partnership or non-resident of Reid Park neighborhood

9. Health Information

The Health Information Portability and Accountability Act (HIPAA) Privacy Rule governs disclosure of personally identifiable health information (deemed "protected health information" or PHI) by hospitals, physicians, and other HIPAA-defined Covered Entities. PHI is broadly defined to include data on a person's physical or mental health, health care, or payment for health care. PHI includes, for example, a list of a person's current medications or a person's weight, smoking status or date of surgery.

As part of this research study, will you obtain any protected health information (PHI) from a hospital, health care provider, insurance agency or other HIPAA-defined Covered Entity?

☒ No ☐ Yes

If YES, attach the Application to Use Protected Health Information (PHI) in Research form at:
http://www.research.uncc.edu/Files/PHI_usage.dot

If UNSURE, please review the Guidelines for Usage of Protected Health Information (PHI) in Research at:
http://www.research.uncc.edu/Comp/chipaa.cfm

10. Summary Checklist – Are any of the following involved?

The items listed below ARE NOT an all-inclusive list of methods or procedures but are intended to provide 'triggers' or reminders for you to provide appropriate information in subsequent questions in the application or to provide supplemental materials necessary for the review process.

APPENDIX C: (CONTINUED)

		Yes	No
a) Will research include use of existing data, research records, patient records, and/or human biological specimens?		☐	☒
b) Will data collection include surveys, questionnaires or psychometric testing? *(submit copy of survey/questionnaire with protocol application)*		☐	☒
c) Will data collection include interviews or focus groups? *(provide interview/focus group question with protocol application)*		☒	☐
d) Will research include deception or less than full disclosure?		☐	☒
e) Will research include accessing Student Educational Records?		☐	☒
f) Will research include a data sharing agreement? *(Provide details in Question 11 below.)*		☐	☒
g) Will research include an equipment sharing agreement or contract? *(Provide details in Question 11 below.)*		☐	☒
h) Will data collection include:	*Audio Recording?	☒	☐
	*Video Recording?	☐	☒
	*Photography?	☐	☒
*If you answered “Yes” to any of the options in *Question H*, this information must be disclosed in the consent document AND/OR a separate release consent form. (Sample documents can be obtained from the ORS website or from the Compliance Office.)			

11. Full description of the study design, methods and procedures including:
- the type of experimental design;
- describe study procedures;
- provide a sequential description (explained in steps, phases etc.) of what will be asked of/done to subjects;
- clarify if subjects will be assigned to various groups/arms of the study (if applicable);
- explain what kinds of data will be collected;
- provide details on the primary outcome measurements; and
- explain any follow-up procedures (if applicable).

If you answered “YES” to any of the items in Q #10, please provide explanation/description in this section.
Attach 2 copies of the questionnaire(s); inventories, or scales that will be completed by participants.

Data collection will take place in two segments. First, data will be collected from a series of individual interviews with school and neighborhood partners by graduate students in the Community Planning Workshop class. School partners include the agencies mentioned above who are part of the planning team (MCCR, RPA, MeckCARES, UNC Charlotte (UNCC), and Mecklenburg County) as well as some preliminarily identified community agencies. These community agencies are: Junior League of Charlotte (JLC), City Dive Outreach Center (CDOC), Communities in Schools (CIS), Jacob's Ladder (JL), and the Kennedy Foundation (KF). However, this list of agencies is expected to grow and there may be additional community agencies (e.g. partners) that I am not aware of at this time. Conversely, some of these agencies may no longer be participating in this initiative. Some of these community agencies might also be considered neighborhood partners (i.e. partners of the Reid Park Neighborhood Association (RPNA) which is an organized group of residents who live in Reid Park and has 501c3 status), but this is unclear at this time. Part of the purpose of this project is to identify who each of thes groups are, what their role in the initiative is, and how they perceive the role of other groups. The RPNA does have an established partner with Habitat for Humanity (HH). Although HH has not been formally identified as a partner of RPA (to my knowledge), the community outreach representative for HH in Reid Park has been engaged in school activities. The RPNA might also consider Mecklenburg County, which has been identified as a school partner, as a neighborhood partner, as well. A major portion of this study is exploratory, with one of the purposes being to assist the neighborhood in developing a better understanding of this partnership initiative which has primarily been spearheaded by RPA.

All students facilitating or note-taking during the interview sessions have completed IRB training. The students will use a thematically developed interview protocal to guide the semi-structured interviews with representatives from each school and or neighborhood partner. Students are working in groups of four to five and will be assigned one to two partners to interview by the principal investigator. Students record the interviews and the principal investigator will be responsible for

APPENDIX C: (CONTINUED)

transcribing the data. The purpose of these interviews is to gather agency specific data from each community partner about the initiative. The interview is designed to collect data on the mission and goals of each agency, the agency's role in the initiative and how they meet their goals through their engagement in this initiative. Therefor, study participants will be asked questions about their agency's mission, visions, beliefs, perceptions, etc. with respect to the initiative. I anticipate that, through the analysis of these interviews, we will begin to identify potentially problematic issues (one partner fails to recognize the relevance of another partner's contribution) that might inhibit the efficacy of the initiative.

For the second phase, data will be collected during a 2.5 hour visioning workshop that the Community Planning Workshop will host with Reid Park residents, representatives from Reid Park neighborhood partners and representatives from the school partners. All interview participants will be invited to participate in the visioning workshop, however, it is not necessary that they participate in both phases of the research project. The purpose of this workshop is to identify issues within the initiative (as discussed at the end of the previous paragraph) and develop feasible solutions to those issues using a participatory processes inclusive of a wide breadth of individuals impacted by the initiative, particularly those residents living in Reid Park. The visioning workshop will be divided into three phases.

1. At the onset of the visioning workshop, students will share the work that they have completed thus far with the visioning participants. This research includes the collection of data that do not include human subjects such as identifying the assets and constraints of the neighborhood from on-site visits to the neighborhood and public data sources such as the US Census and Charlotte Quality of Life Study, as well as the production of a series of maps by each group that displays these data. Students will also share the results of their analysis of the interviews from the first segment of the research. These results will be presented as a list. The data will be annonymized and actual names of participants and agencies will be removed to protect privacy.

2. Study participants in the visioning workshop should pair up with another person that they do not know very well. Each study participant should pick two or three results from the list the students shared at the beginning of the workshop that he/she finds the most significant and then share with his/her partner why they find that topic to be of interest. Each participant should be able to explain to their partner why each statement resonates with him/her. Then, each pair will work together to identify the two topics that are the most concerning to them and the two topics that they find to be the most positive. Participants should take notes of their conversation and write each sentence on a notecard with either a plus or minus sign.

3. Study participants should then return to their table and share their results with their small group. Participants should place their notecards in the appropriate pile (either negative or positive). Groups of participants should discuss the following questions: Are there any trends that have been placed in both piles? What explanation can you provide for this? Are there any clear differences between the perceptions of Reid Park residents and the school or neighborhood partners? Once everybody has had the chance to share, participants should begin to discuss ways in which they can begin to eliminate the negative statements, or trends. Are there strategies that can be borrowed from the positive trend pile to help address the negative trends?

4. Each small group of participants should compose a summary of their table's findings. Groups should answer the following questions: What were the most prominent issues you identified? What solutions have you proposed? What will be necessary to achieve your solution? Write one succinct sentence to capture all of these questions.

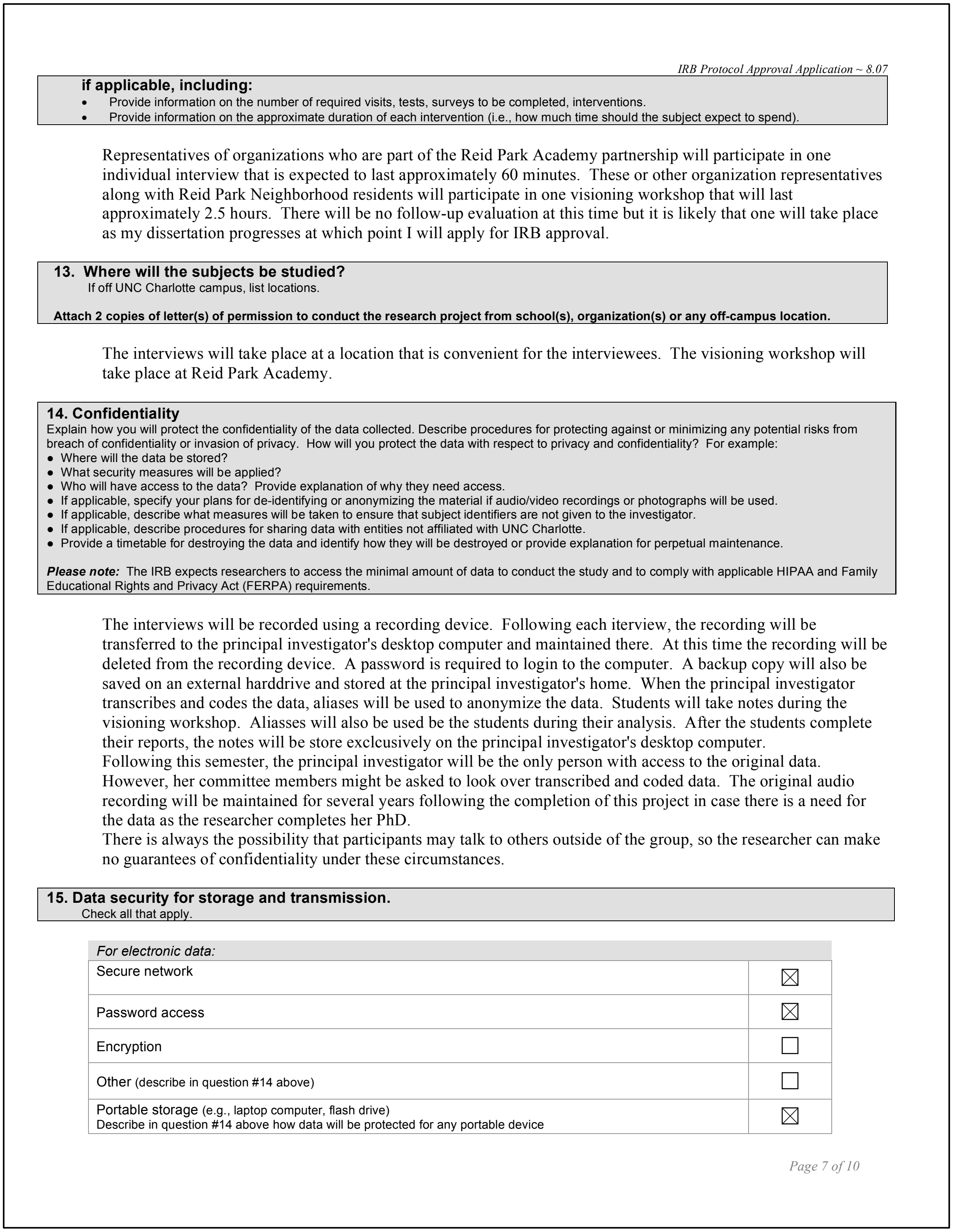
5. One person from each table will share his/her summary sentence with the rest of the workshop participants.

Participation in the interview and visioning workshop is voluntary.

All data collected from the interviews will be recorded. This data will be analyzed and summarized by students and will be used to open up discussion at the workshop. The data collected at the visioning workshop will not be recorded. The data of interest from the workshop are those that reflect the current role of Reid Park residents in the partnership, the desired role of Reid Park residents in the partnership, barriers to achieving the desired role, and recommendations for mitigating these barriers. For the current project, students will analyze and summarize their major findings of the interviews and visioning workshop for inclusion in a research report that will be submitted to course instructors. The report will also be available to all study participants, the agencies they represent, Reid Park Academy and the Reid Park neighborhood. Data will later be used for dissertation research purposes by the principal investigator at which time a new IRB application will be submitted for the use of that data.

12. Duration of entire study and duration of an individual subject's participation, including follow-up evaluation

APPENDIX C: (CONTINUED)



if applicable, including:

- Provide information on the number of required visits, tests, surveys to be completed, interventions.
- Provide information on the approximate duration of each intervention (i.e., how much time should the subject expect to spend).

Representatives of organizations who are part of the Reid Park Academy partnership will participate in one individual interview that is expected to last approximately 60 minutes. These or other organization representatives along with Reid Park Neighborhood residents will participate in one visioning workshop that will last approximately 2.5 hours. There will be no follow-up evaluation at this time but it is likely that one will take place as my dissertation progresses at which point I will apply for IRB approval.

13. Where will the subjects be studied?
If off UNC Charlotte campus, list locations.

Attach 2 copies of letter(s) of permission to conduct the research project from school(s), organization(s) or any off-campus location.

The interviews will take place at a location that is convenient for the interviewees. The visioning workshop will take place at Reid Park Academy.

14. Confidentiality
Explain how you will protect the confidentiality of the data collected. Describe procedures for protecting against or minimizing any potential risks from breach of confidentiality or invasion of privacy. How will you protect the data with respect to privacy and confidentiality? For example:

- Where will the data be stored?
- What security measures will be applied?
- Who will have access to the data? Provide explanation of why they need access.
- If applicable, specify your plans for de-identifying or anonymizing the material if audio/video recordings or photographs will be used.
- If applicable, describe what measures will be taken to ensure that subject identifiers are not given to the investigator.
- If applicable, describe procedures for sharing data with entities not affiliated with UNC Charlotte.
- Provide a timetable for destroying the data and identify how they will be destroyed or provide explanation for perpetual maintenance.

Please note: The IRB expects researchers to access the minimal amount of data to conduct the study and to comply with applicable HIPAA and Family Educational Rights and Privacy Act (FERPA) requirements.

The interviews will be recorded using a recording device. Following each iterview, the recording will be transferred to the principal investigator's desktop computer and maintained there. At this time the recording will be deleted from the recording device. A password is required to login to the computer. A backup copy will also be saved on an external harddrive and stored at the principal investigator's home. When the principal investigator transcribes and codes the data, aliases will be used to anonymize the data. Students will take notes during the visioning workshop. Aliasses will also be used be the students during their analysis. After the students complete their reports, the notes will be store exclcusively on the principal investigator's desktop computer.
Following this semester, the principal investigator will be the only person with access to the original data. However, her committee members might be asked to look over transcribed and coded data. The original audio recording will be maintained for several years following the completion of this project in case there is a need for the data as the researcher completes her PhD.
There is always the possibility that participants may talk to others outside of the group, so the researcher can make no guarantees of confidentiality under these circumstances.

15. Data security for storage and transmission.
Check all that apply.

For electronic data:	
Secure network	☒
Password access	☒
Encryption	☐
Other (describe in question #14 above)	☐
Portable storage (e.g., laptop computer, flash drive) Describe in question #14 above how data will be protected for any portable device	☒

APPENDIX C: (CONTINUED)

For hardcopy data (including human biological specimens, CDs, tapes, etc.):	
Data de-identified by research team	☒
Locked suite or office	☐
Locked cabinet	☐
Data coded by research team with a master list secured and kept separately	☐
Other (describe in question #14 above)	☐

16. Full description of risks and measures to minimize risks:
Give full descriptions and measures risk factors.
For example:
- psychosocial harm (e.g. emotional distress, embarrassment, breach of confidentiality, etc.)
- economic harm (e.g. loss of insurability), and
- legal jeopardy (e.g. disclosure of illegal activity) as well as
- known side effects of study medication,
- risk of pain and physical injury.

There are no known risks to the research participants. However, precautions will be taken and the participants identify will remain confidential in the reserach project.

17. Benefits to subjects and/or society:
The possibility of benefits to society should be clearly distinguished from the possibility of benefit to the individual subject, if any.
If there is no direct benefit to the individual subject, say so. Do not list monetary payment as a benefit.

Individual participants may benefit from the opportunity to network with other community members. The residents of Reid Park may benefit from a greater sense of empowerment and control of their community.

18. Inducements for participation:
If monetary, specify the amount and how this will be prorated if the subject withdraws (or is withdrawn) from the study prior to completion.

None

19. Costs to be borne by subjects:
If there are no costs to subjects, indicate this.

None

20. Data analysis:
State how the data will be evaluated, indicate where and by whom data analysis will be performed.

The data collected from the interviews and visioning workshop will be analyzed by Community Planning Workshop students and a summary will be included in each group's final report. For their analysis, the students will be looking for major themes that have emerged from the data.

Following this semester, the PI will analyze the data collectively. A description of further analysis will be submitted at a later date after a complete methodology for the PI's dissertation has been developed.

21. Methods of recruiting:
Tell how prospective subjects are contacted. Provide recruitment script (letters, email, flyers and advertising, telephone script, verbal, website, etc.).

Interview participants will be recruited through phone calls. Students will be responsible for contacting the participants and will use a recruitment phone script. If the stakeholders express interest in participating, a follow-up recruitment letter will be sent. The interview subjects are being pullled from the networks of the PI. These contacts have been established through attendance at Reid Park Neighborhood Association meetings and other

APPENDIX C: (CONTINUED)

community events which community partners regularly attend. Contact information was exchanged during these encounters. It is also expected that during the course of these interviews that participants will suggest that we speak with other community partners.

Following the interviews, participants will be asked to participate in the visioning workshop using the face-to-face recruitment script. If they express interest, they will be given a copy of the visioning workshop recuitment letter and a copy of the informed consent form. Neighborhood residents will also be invited to particpate in the visioning workshop. An announcment will be made at the Reid Park Neighborhood Association Meeting using the visioning workshop neighborhood meeting announcment script. Interested residents will then receive a copy of the visioning workshop recruitment letter and the informed consent form. Students will also circulate the visioning workshop recruitment flier in the neighborhood. These fliers will be left on the mailboxes of residents who are not home. If residents contact me, I will then use the recruitment phone script. If residents are home, students will use the visioning workshop face-to-face script. If residents express an interest in participating they will be provided with a copy of the visioning workshop recruitment letter and the informed consent form. The contact information of interested residents will be acquired when they express interest in participating in the visioning workshop. Students will follow up with interested participants approximately one week after potential participants express interest in participating and will contact them again approximately one week before the visioning workshop to confirm their intent to participate.

22. How will informed consent be obtained?

Give full descriptions and measures for all of the following applicable risk factors:

- Describe the process.
- It is typical to obtain assent from children ages 7-17.
- When the consent of a legally authorized representative is substituted for consent of the adult subject, explain why this is necessary.
- If non-English-speaking subjects will be enrolled, a consent form should be prepared in their foreign language.
- Someone who is fluent in the subjects' language must be available to interpret.

Attach 2 copies of the informed consent document(s) printed on your department's letterhead.

Potential participants will receive a copy of the informed consent forms when they express interest in participating in the project. For the interview participants who are contacted via a phone call, the informed consent form will be mailed or emailed to them at that time. This will also be the case for residents who are interested in participating but were not home when students were fliering. Participants who express interest during face-to-face contact will receive a copy of the informed consent form at that time as described in Q22 above.

Signatures on the informed consent form will be obtained at the start of the interview and start of the visioning workshop. The investigators will read the consent form to participants at the interview, ask them to sign a copy and leave a copy with each participant. Informed consent will also be obtained for the visioning workshop. Again, the investigators will read the consent form to participants, ask them to sign a copy and leave a copy with each participant.

23. Waiver of Consent Documentation and/or Procedure

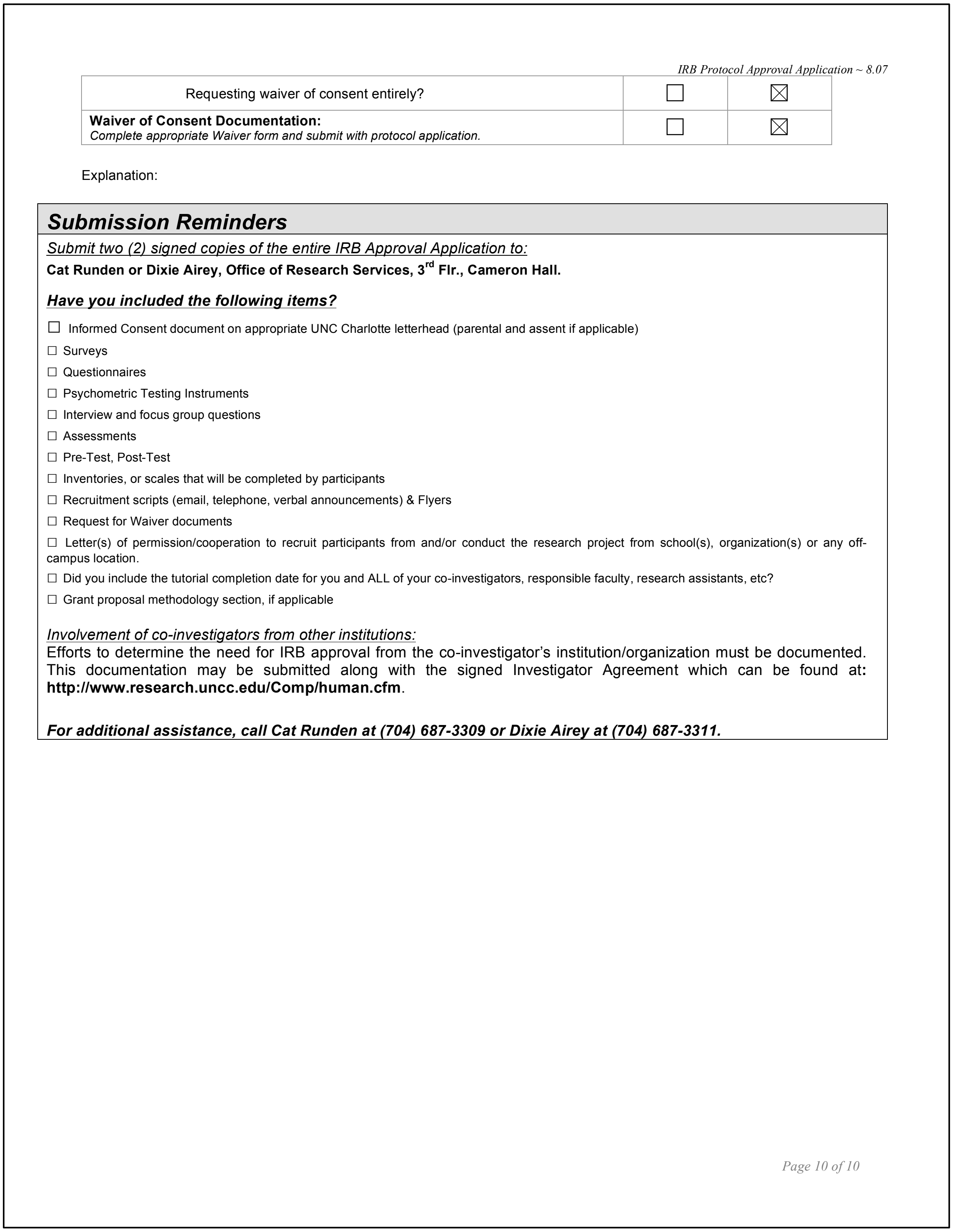
Waiver of consent documentation: An IRB may waive the requirement for the investigator to obtain a signed consent form for some or all subjects if certain conditions are met and if sufficient justification is provided.

Waiver of Consent Procedure: An IRB may approve a consent procedure which does not include, or which alters, some or all of the elements of informed consent set forth in this section, or waive the requirements to obtain informed consent subjects if certain conditions are met and if sufficient justification is provided.

If waiver(s) is being requested provide brief explanation below of request for waiver(s) AND attach completed waiver form. For more details and downloadable forms, go to: http://www.research.uncc.edu/comp/human.cfm

	YES	NO
Waiver or Alteration of Consent Procedure: *Complete appropriate Waiver form and submit with protocol application.*	☐	☒
Requesting waiver of some elements of consent?	☐	☒

APPENDIX C: (CONTINUED)



Requesting waiver of consent entirely?	☐	☒
Waiver of Consent Documentation: *Complete appropriate Waiver form and submit with protocol application.*	☐	☒

Explanation:

Submission Reminders

Submit two (2) signed copies of the entire IRB Approval Application to:

Cat Runden or Dixie Airey, Office of Research Services, 3rd Flr., Cameron Hall.

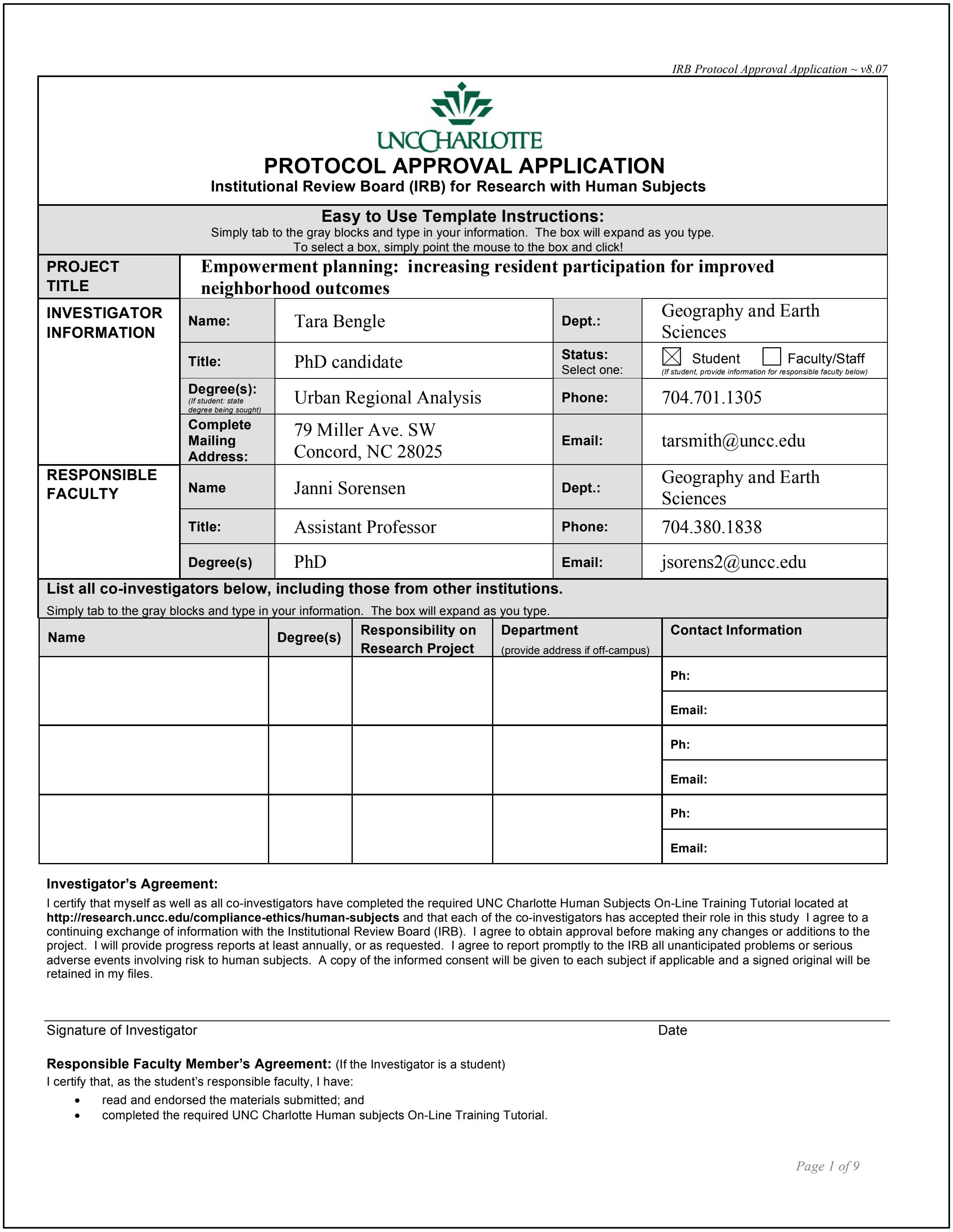
Have you included the following items?

☐ Informed Consent document on appropriate UNC Charlotte letterhead (parental and assent if applicable)
☐ Surveys
☐ Questionnaires
☐ Psychometric Testing Instruments
☐ Interview and focus group questions
☐ Assessments
☐ Pre-Test, Post-Test
☐ Inventories, or scales that will be completed by participants
☐ Recruitment scripts (email, telephone, verbal announcements) & Flyers
☐ Request for Waiver documents
☐ Letter(s) of permission/cooperation to recruit participants from and/or conduct the research project from school(s), organization(s) or any off-campus location.
☐ Did you include the tutorial completion date for you and ALL of your co-investigators, responsible faculty, research assistants, etc?
☐ Grant proposal methodology section, if applicable

Involvement of co-investigators from other institutions:
Efforts to determine the need for IRB approval from the co-investigator's institution/organization must be documented. This documentation may be submitted along with the signed Investigator Agreement which can be found at**:** **http://www.research.uncc.edu/Comp/human.cfm**.

For additional assistance, call Cat Runden at (704) 687-3309 or Dixie Airey at (704) 687-3311.

APPENDIX D: IRB FOR DOCTORAL RESEARCH



IRB Protocol Approval Application ~ v8.07

UNC CHARLOTTE

PROTOCOL APPROVAL APPLICATION

Institutional Review Board (IRB) for Research with Human Subjects

Easy to Use Template Instructions:
Simply tab to the gray blocks and type in your information. The box will expand as you type.
To select a box, simply point the mouse to the box and click!

PROJECT TITLE	**Empowerment planning: increasing resident participation for improved neighborhood outcomes**			
INVESTIGATOR INFORMATION	**Name:**	Tara Bengle	**Dept.:**	Geography and Earth Sciences
	Title:	PhD candidate	**Status:** Select one:	☒ Student ☐ Faculty/Staff *(If student, provide information for responsible faculty below)*
	Degree(s): *(If student: state degree being sought)*	Urban Regional Analysis	**Phone:**	704.701.1305
	Complete Mailing Address:	79 Miller Ave. SW Concord, NC 28025	**Email:**	tarsmith@uncc.edu
RESPONSIBLE FACULTY	**Name**	Janni Sorensen	**Dept.:**	Geography and Earth Sciences
	Title:	Assistant Professor	**Phone:**	704.380.1838
	Degree(s)	PhD	**Email:**	jsorens2@uncc.edu

List all co-investigators below, including those from other institutions.
Simply tab to the gray blocks and type in your information. The box will expand as you type.

Name	**Degree(s)**	**Responsibility on Research Project**	**Department** (provide address if off-campus)	**Contact Information**
				Ph: **Email:**
				Ph: **Email:**
				Ph: **Email:**

Investigator's Agreement:
I certify that myself as well as all co-investigators have completed the required UNC Charlotte Human Subjects On-Line Training Tutorial located at **http://research.uncc.edu/compliance-ethics/human-subjects** and that each of the co-investigators has accepted their role in this study I agree to a continuing exchange of information with the Institutional Review Board (IRB). I agree to obtain approval before making any changes or additions to the project. I will provide progress reports at least annually, or as requested. I agree to report promptly to the IRB all unanticipated problems or serious adverse events involving risk to human subjects. A copy of the informed consent will be given to each subject if applicable and a signed original will be retained in my files.

Signature of Investigator Date

Responsible Faculty Member's Agreement: (If the Investigator is a student)
I certify that, as the student's responsible faculty, I have:

- read and endorsed the materials submitted; and
- completed the required UNC Charlotte Human subjects On-Line Training Tutorial.

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APPENDIX D: (CONTINUED)

Signature of Responsible Faculty Date

1. Completion of required Human Subjects Training Tutorial

NOTE: Co-investigators from institutions or organizations not affiliated with UNC Charlotte must either complete UNC Charlotte's required on-line IRB tutorial or provide documentation that similar training has been completed elsewhere.

Tara Bengle 09/09/13

Janni Sorensen 09/09/13

2. Current or Planned Funding Source (Internal or External)

NOTE: Please submit a copy of methodology section of grant application with protocol application (if applicable).

P.I. of Grant or Contract:	Tara Bengle	
Name of Funding Source:	Foundation of the Carolinas Chancellor's Diversity Challenge	
Grant/Contract No. (if available):		
Grant/Contract or Project Title:	Reid Park Days Practicing Popular Education at Highlander Education and Research Institute	
Attached: **Grant Methodology Section**	☐Yes	☐No If "NO", please provide explanation in text box below. (Text box will expand.)
No Funding		

3. Conflict of Interest

Will members of the research team have financial interest in, receive personal compensation from, or hold a position in an industry sponsoring this study or otherwise have a potential conflict of interest regarding the conduct of this study? If so, please provide explanation below.

no

4. Student Investigators

Indicate if research is for any of the following and provide explanation in the text box below, if needed:

☐Class project ☐Undergraduate ☐Master ☒Doctoral

This research is for completion of my doctoral dissertation.

5. Purpose of Project

Provide a **brief summary (i.e. 300 words or less)** of the purpose of the project in layman's terms including: background information as necessary, research question(s), and explanation of why the study is needed. Provide the full name/title at least once when using acronyms.

Ken Reardon's (1996) descriptions of empowerment planning in low-income neighborhoods weave participatory action research and community organizing into a model of neighborhood planning for transformation and empowerment. Absent from his narrative accounts of empowerment planning is the deliberate integration of popular education, a component that is necessary if participatory action research is to lead to transformation. Furthermore, Reardon fails to account for how residents learn to engage in empowerment planning. Drawing from the work of Beard (2003), I suggest that empowerment planning is learned through the progressive and intentional introduction of popular education, participatory action research, and community organizing in such a way that participants are able to master individual components before additional components are introduced.

APPENDIX D: (CONTINUED)

This research explores empowerment planning for the purpose of developing a theory of empowerment planning. This case study, situated in a low-income community in West Charlotte, follows the implementation of three projects that evolved independent of this case study: a retreat to Highlander Education and Research Center where residents will learn popular education; an oral history project facilitated by residents for neighborhood youth where they will practice popular education and participatory action research; and a neighborhood park planning initiative where residents will engage in popular education, participatory action research and community organizing to push for the implementation of their master plan for a neighborhood park. It is expected that each project will facilitate the development of skills which increase the capacity of the neighborhood, the effectiveness of each subsequent intervention, and the likelihood of sustainable positive neighborhood outcomes.

Beard, V. (2003). Learning radical planning: the power of collective action. Planning Theory, 35 (4), 216-224.

Reardon, K. (1996). Community development in low-income minority neighborhoods: a case for empowerment planning. unpublished manuscript.

6. Enrollment Information

Expected number of participants:	20-40
Expected gender representation:	75% female, 25% male
Expected minority representation:	90% minority
Expected age of participants:	30-60

7. Vulnerable Populations	Yes (Target Population)	No (Incidental Inclusion)
Children:	☐	☒
Non-English speaking:	☐	☒
Decisionally impaired or mentally incompetent :	☐	☒
Prisoners, parolees and or other convicted offenders:	☐	☒
Pregnant women: Select "Yes" if study is about pregnancy, pregnant women and/or the fetus or neonate.	☐	☒
UNC Charlotte Students:	☐	☒

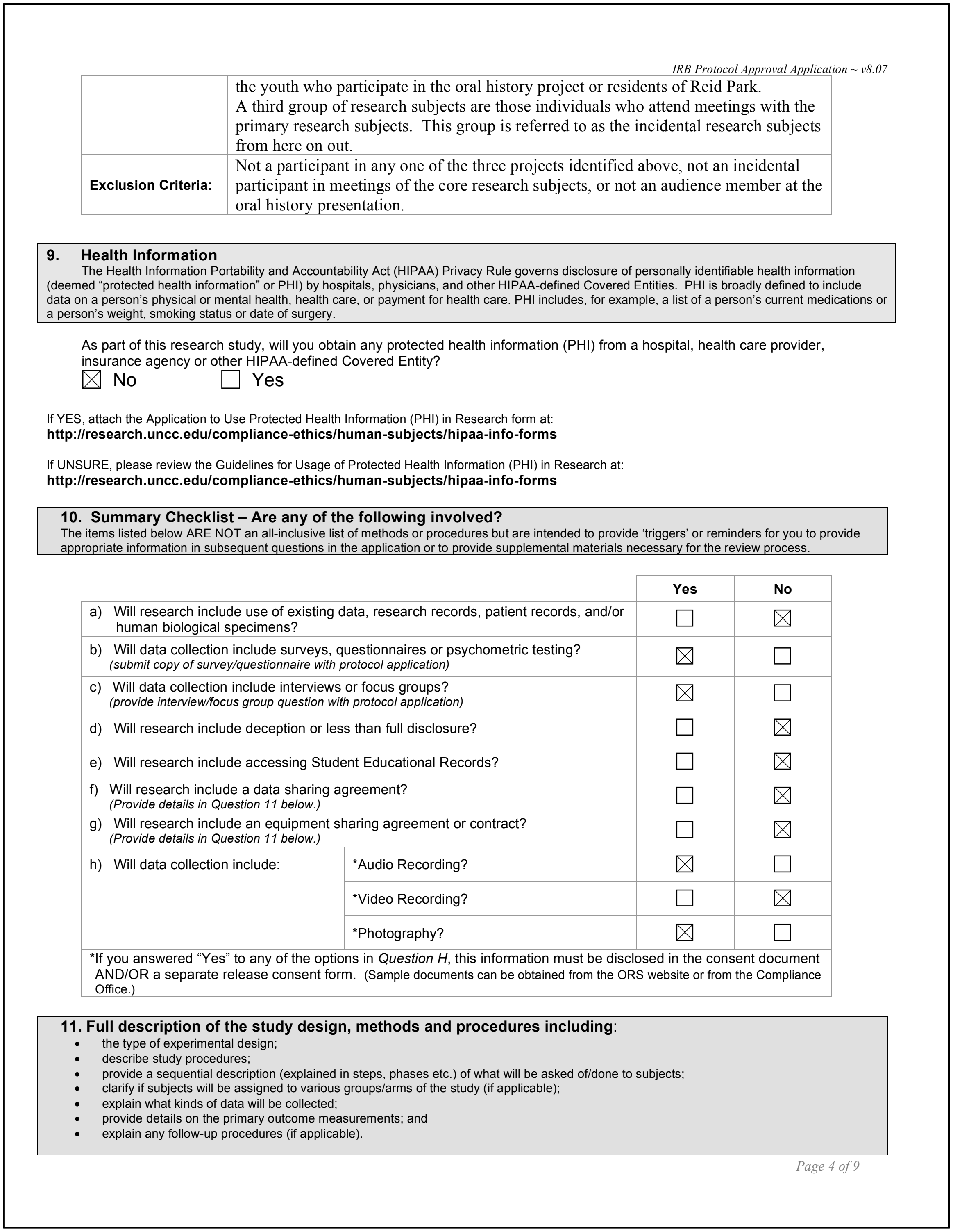
8. Characteristics of the Study Population

List required characteristics of potential subjects and those that preclude participation.

- **Inclusion Criteria:** Describe the characteristics of the study population(s). What characteristics make someone an ideal candidate to participate in your study? (e.g., age, occupation, M/F, etc.)
- **Exclusion Criteria:** What characteristics would make someone ineligible for participation in the study?

Inclusion Criteria:	The core group of research subjects are the Reid Park residents who participate in a minimum of one of the three neighborhood initiated projects: the Highlander workshops, the oral history project, or the park planning project. Research subjects may choose to participate in one, two, or three of these projects. They may begin their participation during any one of these projects and are not required to participate in the first or second project to become a research subject for any subsequent projects. Reid Park is a neighborhood in West Charlotte that is defined geographically by the Charlotte Quality of Life Study. A secondary group of research subjects are the audience members who attend the oral history stage presentation. It is likely that the audience members will be parents of

APPENDIX D: (CONTINUED)



	the youth who participate in the oral history project or residents of Reid Park. A third group of research subjects are those individuals who attend meetings with the primary research subjects. This group is referred to as the incidental research subjects from here on out.
Exclusion Criteria:	Not a participant in any one of the three projects identified above, not an incidental participant in meetings of the core research subjects, or not an audience member at the oral history presentation.

9. Health Information

The Health Information Portability and Accountability Act (HIPAA) Privacy Rule governs disclosure of personally identifiable health information (deemed "protected health information" or PHI) by hospitals, physicians, and other HIPAA-defined Covered Entities. PHI is broadly defined to include data on a person's physical or mental health, health care, or payment for health care. PHI includes, for example, a list of a person's current medications or a person's weight, smoking status or date of surgery.

As part of this research study, will you obtain any protected health information (PHI) from a hospital, health care provider, insurance agency or other HIPAA-defined Covered Entity?

☒ No ☐ Yes

If YES, attach the Application to Use Protected Health Information (PHI) in Research form at:
http://research.uncc.edu/compliance-ethics/human-subjects/hipaa-info-forms

If UNSURE, please review the Guidelines for Usage of Protected Health Information (PHI) in Research at:
http://research.uncc.edu/compliance-ethics/human-subjects/hipaa-info-forms

10. Summary Checklist – Are any of the following involved?

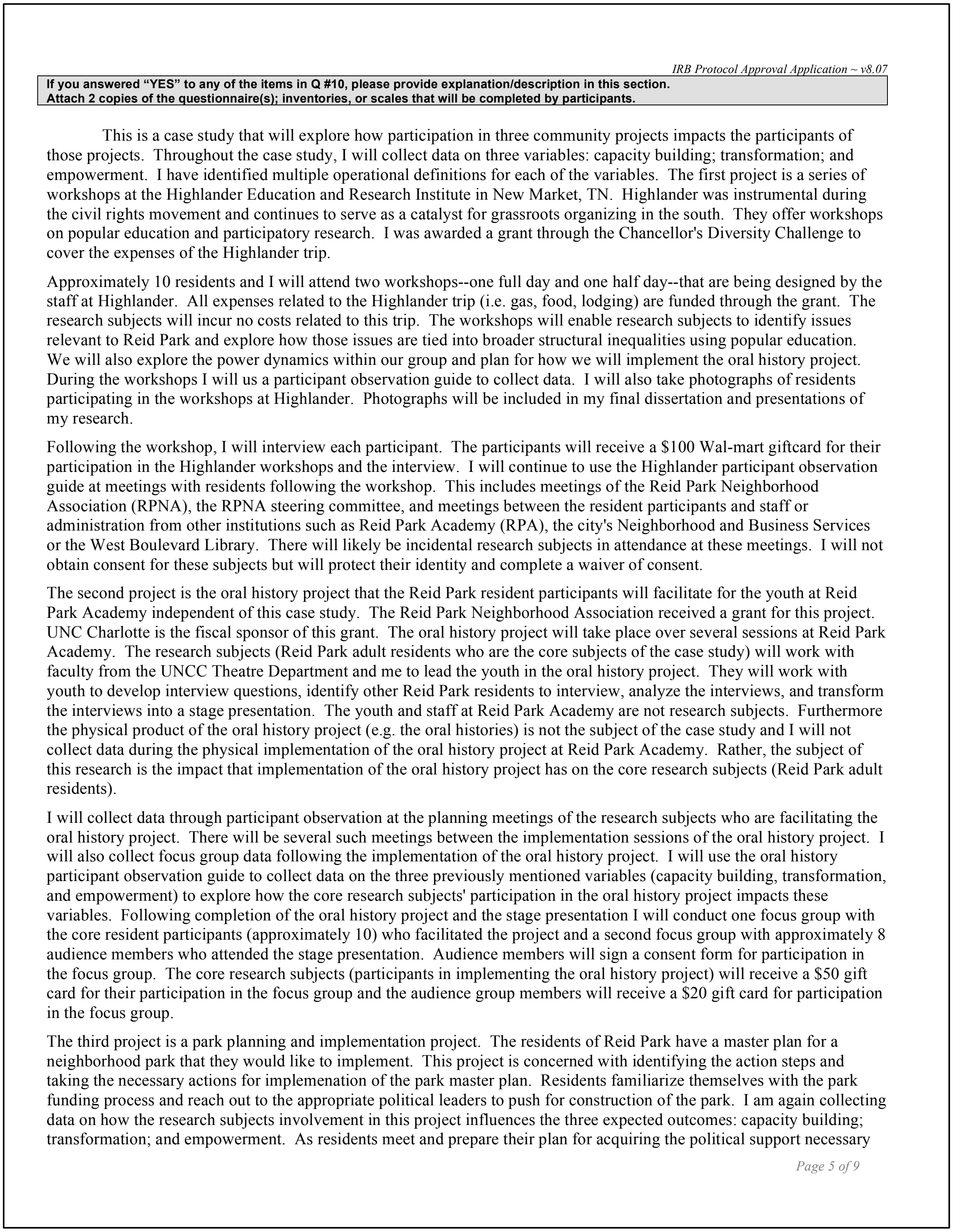
The items listed below ARE NOT an all-inclusive list of methods or procedures but are intended to provide 'triggers' or reminders for you to provide appropriate information in subsequent questions in the application or to provide supplemental materials necessary for the review process.

		Yes	No
a) Will research include use of existing data, research records, patient records, and/or human biological specimens?		☐	☒
b) Will data collection include surveys, questionnaires or psychometric testing? *(submit copy of survey/questionnaire with protocol application)*		☒	☐
c) Will data collection include interviews or focus groups? *(provide interview/focus group question with protocol application)*		☒	☐
d) Will research include deception or less than full disclosure?		☐	☒
e) Will research include accessing Student Educational Records?		☐	☒
f) Will research include a data sharing agreement? *(Provide details in Question 11 below.)*		☐	☒
g) Will research include an equipment sharing agreement or contract? *(Provide details in Question 11 below.)*		☐	☒
h) Will data collection include:	*Audio Recording?	☒	☐
	*Video Recording?	☐	☒
	*Photography?	☒	☐
*If you answered "Yes" to any of the options in *Question H*, this information must be disclosed in the consent document AND/OR a separate release consent form. (Sample documents can be obtained from the ORS website or from the Compliance Office.)			

11. Full description of the study design, methods and procedures including:

- the type of experimental design;
- describe study procedures;
- provide a sequential description (explained in steps, phases etc.) of what will be asked of/done to subjects;
- clarify if subjects will be assigned to various groups/arms of the study (if applicable);
- explain what kinds of data will be collected;
- provide details on the primary outcome measurements; and
- explain any follow-up procedures (if applicable).

APPENDIX D: (CONTINUED)



If you answered "YES" to any of the items in Q #10, please provide explanation/description in this section.
Attach 2 copies of the questionnaire(s); inventories, or scales that will be completed by participants.

This is a case study that will explore how participation in three community projects impacts the participants of those projects. Throughout the case study, I will collect data on three variables: capacity building; transformation; and empowerment. I have identified multiple operational definitions for each of the variables. The first project is a series of workshops at the Highlander Education and Research Institute in New Market, TN. Highlander was instrumental during the civil rights movement and continues to serve as a catalyst for grassroots organizing in the south. They offer workshops on popular education and participatory research. I was awarded a grant through the Chancellor's Diversity Challenge to cover the expenses of the Highlander trip.

Approximately 10 residents and I will attend two workshops--one full day and one half day--that are being designed by the staff at Highlander. All expenses related to the Highlander trip (i.e. gas, food, lodging) are funded through the grant. The research subjects will incur no costs related to this trip. The workshops will enable research subjects to identify issues relevant to Reid Park and explore how those issues are tied into broader structural inequalities using popular education. We will also explore the power dynamics within our group and plan for how we will implement the oral history project. During the workshops I will us a participant observation guide to collect data. I will also take photographs of residents participating in the workshops at Highlander. Photographs will be included in my final dissertation and presentations of my research.

Following the workshop, I will interview each participant. The participants will receive a $100 Wal-mart giftcard for their participation in the Highlander workshops and the interview. I will continue to use the Highlander participant observation guide at meetings with residents following the workshop. This includes meetings of the Reid Park Neighborhood Association (RPNA), the RPNA steering committee, and meetings between the resident participants and staff or administration from other institutions such as Reid Park Academy (RPA), the city's Neighborhood and Business Services or the West Boulevard Library. There will likely be incidental research subjects in attendance at these meetings. I will not obtain consent for these subjects but will protect their identity and complete a waiver of consent.

The second project is the oral history project that the Reid Park resident participants will facilitate for the youth at Reid Park Academy independent of this case study. The Reid Park Neighborhood Association received a grant for this project. UNC Charlotte is the fiscal sponsor of this grant. The oral history project will take place over several sessions at Reid Park Academy. The research subjects (Reid Park adult residents who are the core subjects of the case study) will work with faculty from the UNCC Theatre Department and me to lead the youth in the oral history project. They will work with youth to develop interview questions, identify other Reid Park residents to interview, analyze the interviews, and transform the interviews into a stage presentation. The youth and staff at Reid Park Academy are not research subjects. Furthermore the physical product of the oral history project (e.g. the oral histories) is not the subject of the case study and I will not collect data during the physical implementation of the oral history project at Reid Park Academy. Rather, the subject of this research is the impact that implementation of the oral history project has on the core research subjects (Reid Park adult residents).

I will collect data through participant observation at the planning meetings of the research subjects who are facilitating the oral history project. There will be several such meetings between the implementation sessions of the oral history project. I will also collect focus group data following the implementation of the oral history project. I will use the oral history participant observation guide to collect data on the three previously mentioned variables (capacity building, transformation, and empowerment) to explore how the core research subjects' participation in the oral history project impacts these variables. Following completion of the oral history project and the stage presentation I will conduct one focus group with the core resident participants (approximately 10) who facilitated the project and a second focus group with approximately 8 audience members who attended the stage presentation. Audience members will sign a consent form for participation in the focus group. The core research subjects (participants in implementing the oral history project) will receive a $50 gift card for their participation in the focus group and the audience group members will receive a $20 gift card for participation in the focus group.

The third project is a park planning and implementation project. The residents of Reid Park have a master plan for a neighborhood park that they would like to implement. This project is concerned with identifying the action steps and taking the necessary actions for implemenation of the park master plan. Residents familiarize themselves with the park funding process and reach out to the appropriate political leaders to push for construction of the park. I am again collecting data on how the research subjects involvement in this project influences the three expected outcomes: capacity building; transformation; and empowerment. As residents meet and prepare their plan for acquiring the political support necessary

APPENDIX D: (CONTINUED)

to have the park built, I will use the participant observation guide. The guide will be used to collect data from meetings amongst the core research subjects and other meetings they may have with the Mecklenburg County's Park and Recreation Department, Neighborhood and Business Services and political leaders. Participant observation data will also be collected from incidental subjects who are also in attendance at this meeting. Consent will not be obtained from the incidental subjects and a waiver of consent is being applied for. The core research subject group will also participate in a focus group following this project. They will receive $50 for their participation in the focus group.

All interviews and focus groups will be recorded and transcribed to aide in the analysis of the data. Photographs will also be taken to include with the final dissertation and in presentations of this research that might follow. However, no photographs will be taken during the implementation sessions of the oral history project at Reid Park Academy.

12. Duration of entire study and duration of an individual subject's participation, including follow-up evaluation if applicable, including:

- Provide information on the number of required visits, tests, surveys to be completed, interventions.
- Provide information on the approximate duration of each intervention (i.e., how much time should the subject expect to spend).

This research lasts approximately 6 months. The core research subjects could participate in any of the three phases of this research that they choose. The first phase includes two workshops at Highlander, one interview, and any additional optional meetings related to the Reid Park Neighborhood Association that might follow. The second phase includes participation in a minimum of three planning meetings for the oral history project, a focus group, and any additional optional meetings related to the Reid Park Neighborhood Association that might follow. The third phase includes participation in a minimum of four park planning and implementation meetings, a focus group, and any additional optional meetings related to the Reid Park Neighborhood Association that might follow. The audience group members participate in one focus group. Each interview and focus group will last 60-90 minutes. It is difficult to estimate the number of participant observations but it ranges between 30 and 50. (Do I need to include the time spent working on the different project?)

13. Where will the subjects be studied?

If off UNC Charlotte campus, list locations.

Attach 2 copies of letter(s) of permission to conduct the research project from school(s), organization(s) or any off-campus location.

Interviews and focus groups takes place at the West Boulevard Library at a time that is convenient to the research subjects. The Highlander interview will take place in November. The oral history project planning meetings will take place between the months of December and April with a break in January. Both focus groups for the oral history project will be approximately in April. The park planning and implementation meetings will take place between April and June. The related focus group will be in June. A firmer schedule for the second two phases will be set once this application is approved and I am able to move forward with the first phase of research. Participant obserfreration takes place on the site of each project and at other meetings as described above.

14. Confidentiality

Explain how you will protect the confidentiality of the data collected. Describe procedures for protecting against or minimizing any potential risks from breach of confidentiality or invasion of privacy. How will you protect the data with respect to privacy and confidentiality? For example:

- Where will the data be stored?
- What security measures will be applied?
- Who will have access to the data? Provide explanation of why they need access.
- If applicable, specify your plans for de-identifying or anonymizing the material if audio/video recordings or photographs will be used.
- If applicable, describe what measures will be taken to ensure that subject identifiers are not given to the investigator.
- If applicable, describe procedures for sharing data with entities not affiliated with UNC Charlotte.
- Provide a timetable for destroying the data and identify how they will be destroyed or provide explanation for perpetual maintenance.

Please note: The IRB expects researchers to access the minimal amount of data to conduct the study and to comply with applicable HIPAA and Family Educational Rights and Privacy Act (FERPA) requirements.

Data is stored on a password protected desktop computer at my home. I will have primary access to the data but my advisor will also review the transcribed data as needed to provide an outside perspective of the qualitative data. This helps ensure the integrity of the analysis. All data is annonymized to ensure privacy. As it is transcribed, I remove all names and replace them with pseudonymns. A master list is kept in a separate secure location. Participants' actual names are not used in photographs. Data is recorded on a password protect iPhone and once it

APPENDIX D: (CONTINUED)

is loaded on to my password protected desktop computer and a backup copy is made on a password protected external harddrive, I destroy the original recordings on the portable device. After my dissertation is accepted by the graduate school, I destroy all tapes of interviews and focus groups.

15. Data security for storage and transmission.
Check all that apply.

For electronic data:	
Secure network	☒
Password access	☒
Encryption	☐
Other (describe in question #14 above)	☐
Portable storage (e.g., laptop computer, flash drive) Describe in question #14 above how data will be protected for any portable device	☒

For hardcopy data (including human biological specimens, CDs, tapes, etc.):	
Data de-identified by research team	☒
Locked suite or office	☐
Locked cabinet	☐
Data coded by research team with a master list secured and kept separately	☒
Other (describe in question #14 above)	☐

16. Full description of risks and measures to minimize risks:
Give full descriptions and measures risk factors.
For example:

- psychosocial harm (e.g. emotional distress, embarrassment, breach of confidentiality, etc.)
- economic harm (e.g. loss of insurability), and
- legal jeopardy (e.g. disclosure of illegal activity) as well as
- known side effects of study medication,
- risk of pain and physical injury.

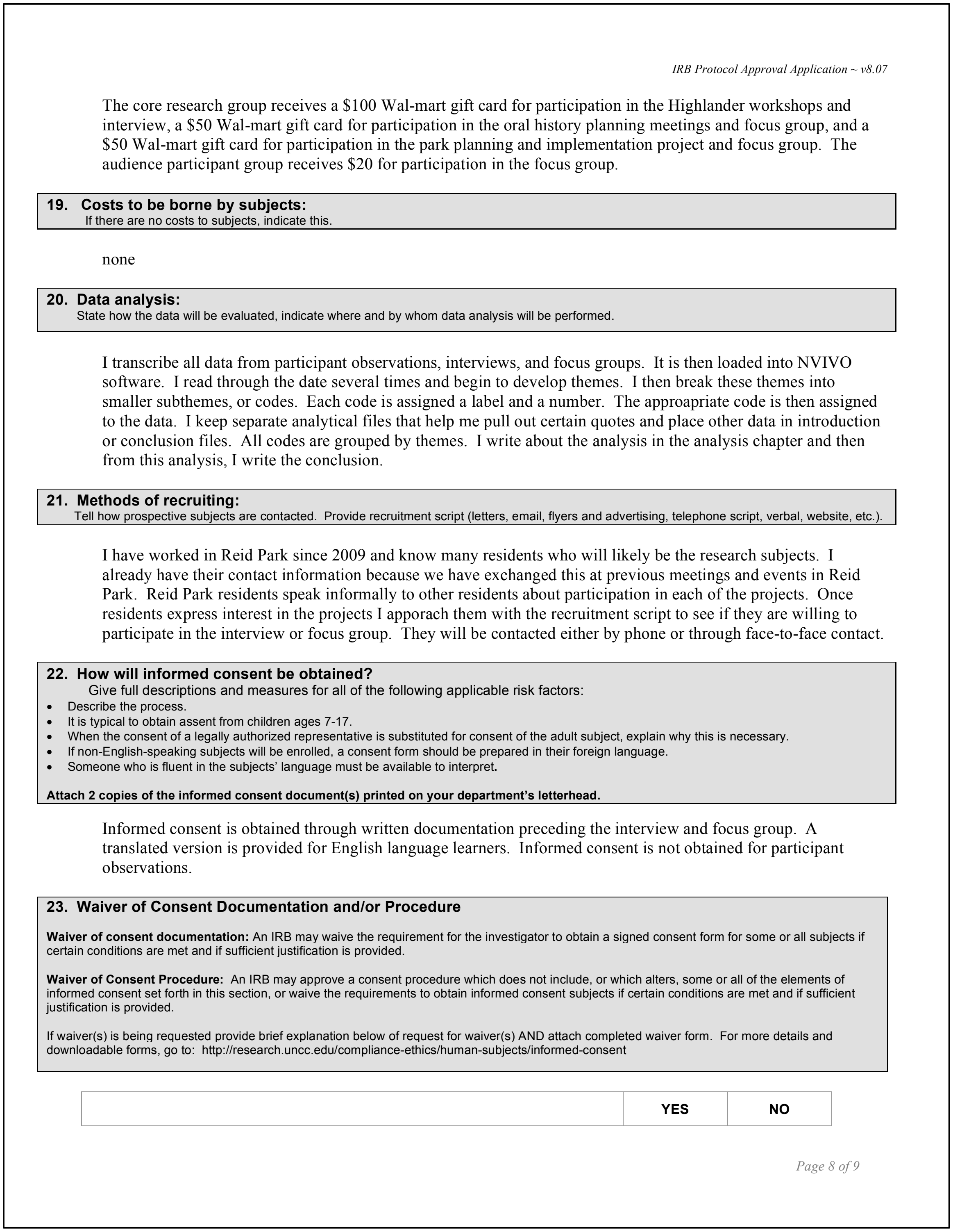
There is no expected risk accompanying this research. However, since participants will be participating in focus groups with other residents there is a chance that confidentiality could be breached by others in the focus groups. This is addressed preceeding each focus group.

17. Benefits to subjects and/or society:
The possibility of benefits to society should be clearly distinguished from the possibility of benefit to the individual subject, if any.
If there is no direct benefit to the individual subject, say so. Do not list monetary payment as a benefit.

Benefit to the participant groups include the development of capacity, transformation, and empowerment. Because of the dialectical nature of interviews and focus groups, participation in them can impact participants understanding of structural inequality as they discuss issues salient to Reid Park and also increase their problem solving abilities as they reflect on their participation in each project.
This research is expected to produce an expanded understanding of empowerment planning and recommendations for planning practice. I develop an understanding of how groups learn (or do not learn) to practice empowerment planning and provide analysis for what it looks like (or does not look like) to build capacity, undergo transformation, and become empowered.

18. Inducements for participation:
If monetary, specify the amount and how this will be prorated if the subject withdraws (or is withdrawn) from the study prior to completion.

APPENDIX D: (CONTINUED)



The core research group receives a $100 Wal-mart gift card for participation in the Highlander workshops and interview, a $50 Wal-mart gift card for participation in the oral history planning meetings and focus group, and a $50 Wal-mart gift card for participation in the park planning and implementation project and focus group. The audience participant group receives $20 for participation in the focus group.

19. Costs to be borne by subjects:
If there are no costs to subjects, indicate this.

none

20. Data analysis:
State how the data will be evaluated, indicate where and by whom data analysis will be performed.

I transcribe all data from participant observations, interviews, and focus groups. It is then loaded into NVIVO software. I read through the date several times and begin to develop themes. I then break these themes into smaller subthemes, or codes. Each code is assigned a label and a number. The approapriate code is then assigned to the data. I keep separate analytical files that help me pull out certain quotes and place other data in introduction or conclusion files. All codes are grouped by themes. I write about the analysis in the analysis chapter and then from this analysis, I write the conclusion.

21. Methods of recruiting:
Tell how prospective subjects are contacted. Provide recruitment script (letters, email, flyers and advertising, telephone script, verbal, website, etc.).

I have worked in Reid Park since 2009 and know many residents who will likely be the research subjects. I already have their contact information because we have exchanged this at previous meetings and events in Reid Park. Reid Park residents speak informally to other residents about participation in each of the projects. Once residents express interest in the projects I apporach them with the recruitment script to see if they are willing to participate in the interview or focus group. They will be contacted either by phone or through face-to-face contact.

22. How will informed consent be obtained?
Give full descriptions and measures for all of the following applicable risk factors:

- Describe the process.
- It is typical to obtain assent from children ages 7-17.
- When the consent of a legally authorized representative is substituted for consent of the adult subject, explain why this is necessary.
- If non-English-speaking subjects will be enrolled, a consent form should be prepared in their foreign language.
- Someone who is fluent in the subjects' language must be available to interpret.

Attach 2 copies of the informed consent document(s) printed on your department's letterhead.

Informed consent is obtained through written documentation preceding the interview and focus group. A translated version is provided for English language learners. Informed consent is not obtained for participant observations.

23. Waiver of Consent Documentation and/or Procedure

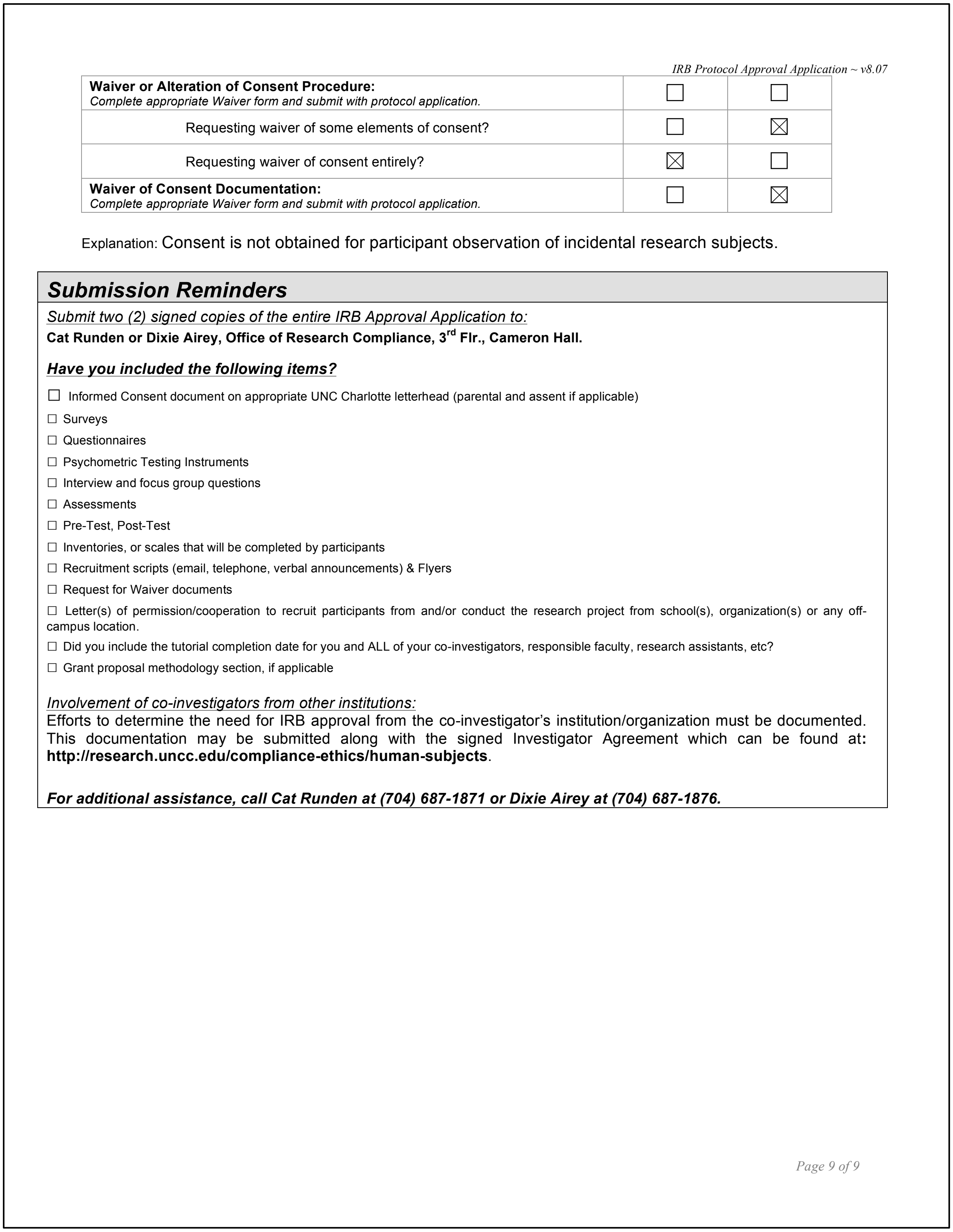
Waiver of consent documentation: An IRB may waive the requirement for the investigator to obtain a signed consent form for some or all subjects if certain conditions are met and if sufficient justification is provided.

Waiver of Consent Procedure: An IRB may approve a consent procedure which does not include, or which alters, some or all of the elements of informed consent set forth in this section, or waive the requirements to obtain informed consent subjects if certain conditions are met and if sufficient justification is provided.

If waiver(s) is being requested provide brief explanation below of request for waiver(s) AND attach completed waiver form. For more details and downloadable forms, go to: http://research.uncc.edu/compliance-ethics/human-subjects/informed-consent

	YES	**NO**

APPENDIX D: (CONTINUED)



Waiver or Alteration of Consent Procedure: *Complete appropriate Waiver form and submit with protocol application.*	☐	☐
Requesting waiver of some elements of consent?	☐	☒
Requesting waiver of consent entirely?	☒	☐
Waiver of Consent Documentation: *Complete appropriate Waiver form and submit with protocol application.*	☐	☒

Explanation: Consent is not obtained for participant observation of incidental research subjects.

Submission Reminders

Submit two (2) signed copies of the entire IRB Approval Application to:

Cat Runden or Dixie Airey, Office of Research Compliance, 3rd Flr., Cameron Hall.

Have you included the following items?

☐ Informed Consent document on appropriate UNC Charlotte letterhead (parental and assent if applicable)
☐ Surveys
☐ Questionnaires
☐ Psychometric Testing Instruments
☐ Interview and focus group questions
☐ Assessments
☐ Pre-Test, Post-Test
☐ Inventories, or scales that will be completed by participants
☐ Recruitment scripts (email, telephone, verbal announcements) & Flyers
☐ Request for Waiver documents
☐ Letter(s) of permission/cooperation to recruit participants from and/or conduct the research project from school(s), organization(s) or any off-campus location.
☐ Did you include the tutorial completion date for you and ALL of your co-investigators, responsible faculty, research assistants, etc?
☐ Grant proposal methodology section, if applicable

Involvement of co-investigators from other institutions:
Efforts to determine the need for IRB approval from the co-investigator's institution/organization must be documented. This documentation may be submitted along with the signed Investigator Agreement which can be found at: **http://research.uncc.edu/compliance-ethics/human-subjects**.

For additional assistance, call Cat Runden at (704) 687-1871 or Dixie Airey at (704) 687-1876.

APPENDIX E: SUMMARY OF PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION DATA COLLECTION

Meeting Date	Type of Meeting	Attendance	Data
11/12/13	RPNA	11 (5 residents)	Small meeting to discuss grant applications and other upcoming events
12/10/13	RPNA	45	RP Holiday Celebration. Participants borrow cultural sharing strategy from HL, but there is still little evidence of relationship building with other RP residents
1/8/14	SC with HH		Discussion with Habitat about roles of RPNA executive cabinet.
1/14/14	RPNA with MCPR	33 (25 residents)	MCPR presents on upcoming process. Angela leads mtg. Residents raise concerns about limited park funding.
1/29/14	SC with CMPD	9	Participants present community safety grant and push back against negative input from CMPD.
2/11/14	RPNA	12	Participants integrate relationship building/visioning activity into mtg.
2/26/14	SC	5	Participants develop agenda for upcoming oral history club mtg. and identify priorities for mtg. with HH.
2/27/14	OHC	20	Daisy facilitates the Mocktail activity at the first OHC mtg.
3/6/14	SC with COAA	10	Participants learn strategies for the next OHC mtg. from Jean-Marie and Beth. They reflect on what worked well previously.
3/11/14	RPNA	19 (14 residents)	Residents discuss vacant houses in RP.
3/13/14	SC	5	Participants develop agenda for upcoming oral history club mtg.
3/20/14	OHC	17	Participants facilitate the second OHC mtg. with little outside assistance.
3/22/14	Block Party	37	Little relationship building between residents is evident.
3/25/14	SC with HH	9	Participants present priorities to HH to influence HH local model in RP.
3/27/14	SC	6	Participants prepare agenda for the third OHC mtg. They express frustration with CMS, CD, and RPA.
4/8/14	RPNA	14 (11 residents)	Sustain Charlotte presents on grant opportunity.

APPENDIX E: (CONTINUED)

4/9/14	CMS/CD	12	First planning meeting for Legacy Fest. CMS prepared agenda for mtg.
4/21/14	SC with CMPR/ASC	14	Participants work with CMPR and ASC to develop timeline and location for GW public art project.
4/24/14	OHC	31	Youth and SC interview RP residents during the Interview Night.
4/29/14	SC	6	Participants reflect on obstacles experienced during OHC and identify strategies for providing programs in the future.
5/5/14	SC	7	Participants plan for the upcoming Legacy Fest and reflect on their limited control in the process.
5/13/14	RPNA	18 (11 residents)	GW facilitates cognitive mapping exercise.
5/15/14	SC	5	Participants are struggling to increase participation. There is evidence of burnout. We work collectively to prepare talking points for upcoming BOCC mtg.
5/20/14	BOCC mtg.	19 (16 residents)	Three participants present argument to BOCC for additional funding for the new park.
5/21/14	CMS/CD	7	Limited attendance by participants because CMS/CD change mtg. time for planning Legacy Fest.
5/28/14	SC	6	Participants reflect on partnership with CMS/CD, expressing frustration. They also return to issue of participation.
5/30/14	NMG		NMG review committee rejects RPNA grant application for bench project.
5/31/14	Legacy Fest	111	Many outside volunteers are present. There is little opportunity for relationship building.
6/6/14	SC mtg	6	Participants prepare scorecard for upcoming RPNA mtg. with MCPR. They develop outreach strategy to increase attendance and participation at mtg. but are not willing to practice recruitment strategy.

APPENDIX E: (CONTINUED)

6/10/14	RPNA	37 (27 residents)	MCPR information session. Residents provide feedback to MCPR plans for the park.
6/30/14	RPNA BOD	8	Participants work collectively to revise RPNA articles of incorporation and identify priorities for the new RPNA fiscal year. The focus group session is the afternoon.
7/8/14	RPNA	13 (6 residents)	Participants present recommended changes to RPNA articles of incorporation.
7/24/14	SC	7	Participants reflect on NMG mtg. They are resistant to suggestions for community organizing tactics. There is less dependence on Rickey but more dependence on Anna as SC becomes more overburdened. There is still the issue of participation.
7/29/14	SC	6	I share preliminary analysis of focus group data with participants. I try to illustrate that they are too overburdened which hinders the efficacy of their efforts.
8/12/14	RPNA	14	There is significant dialogue at the mtg. as they discuss HH and crime. There is evidence of horizontal hostility amongst residents. Residents also begin expressing concern about gentrification.
10/7/14	SC	5	Participants engage in power mapping exercise as they prepare for upcoming mtg. with Principal Edwards.
10/14/14	SC	8	Participants hold accountability session with Principal Edwards.

APPENDIX F: HIGHLANDER PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION GUIDE

Meeting
Date

1. How are residents interacting with one another? How are they interacting with me? Are there any noticeable changes?
2. How are residents responding to discussions of intragroup power dynamics? Are they identifying any power imbalances within the group? Between CHARP and residents?
3. How are residents relating issues relevant to Reid Park to a broader context of structural inequality?
4. How are residents beginning to recognize the validity of their own knowledge? How do they think this fits in with an expert technical type of knowledge? Is new knowledge being created?
5. How are the residents functioning as a group? How is this changing during their participation in the workshop?
6. How are residents demonstrating an increased motivation to bring about change?

APPENDIX G: HIGHLANDER INTERVIEW GUIDE

Name
Data

1. Have you observed any changes in your relationships with other residents since participating in the Highlander workshop? What are some specific examples?
2. What changed these relationships?
3. What are some of the major problems that you see evident in Reid Park?
4. What do you think are the causes of these problems?
5. Do you understand these issues differently than before participating in the Highlander workshop? How so?
6. What is your overall reaction to these problems and are you reacting differently to these issues than before your participation in the Highlander workshop? In other words, what are you going to do about these issues?
7. What is power?
8. During the Highlander workshops the group indicated that the residents of Reid Park have power. What does this mean to you?
9. Who is largely responsible for making decisions that impact Reid Park?
10. What does the power of other groups (the city, county, Habitat, RPA, City Dive) active in Reid Park look like in relation to the residents of Reid Park? Can you provide examples?
11. How would you describe the power relation between CHARP and Reid Park?
12. Is there anything else you would like to add?

APPENDIX H: ORAL HISTORY PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION GUIDE

Meeting
Date

1. How are residents interacting with one another? How are they interacting with me? Are there any noticeable changes?
2. How are the residents functioning as a group? How is this changing during their participation in the planning project?
3. How are residents interacting with leaders from other organizations and institutions?
4. In what ways is participation increasing and changing?
5. How are they reflecting on these actions?
6. Is there evidence of shared leadership? Does the group solve problems and implement strategies as a group?
7. Are residents using recursive strategies to define, solve, and redefine (if necessary) problems?
8. What new skills are evident?
9. How are residents relating issues relevant to Reid Park to a broader context of structural inequality?
10. How are residents merging their own knowledge with an expert technical type of knowledge? Is new knowledge being created as a result of the two?
11. How is knowledge being applied to action?
12. How are residents demonstrating an increased motivation to bring about change?
13. What evidence is there that participants are mobilizing to challenge the existing power structure?
14. What additional evidence is there that residents are applying popular education as they implement the planning project?
15. What additional evidence is there that residents are applying participatory action research as they implement the planning project?
16. What additional evidence is there that residents are applying community organizing as they implement the planning project?

APPENDIX I: FOCUS GROUP GUIDE

Oral history facilitator's guide

***During Annual Kickoff Meeting discussion of rules mention the need to have a timer and follow scheduled agenda.

10:15 – 10:30 Introduction (15 min.)
Review consent, purpose of focus group, and rules for focus group (mention parking lot)

10:30 – 10:55 Evolution of oral history project (25 min.)
***Make sure to set guidelines that everyone gets to talk. Everyone experienced this and they are all experts.

Who recalls the Visioning Workshop that we had in the Fall of 2012?
(CPW and can also mention that it produced 4 planning documents)

What was the theme of that workshop? Why did we identify that theme?
Reid Park Initiative
(can tell story of how I selected my original dissertation topic, first trying to partner with Logan, and then doing an analysis that brought me back to Reid Park)

What were some recommendations that came out of the Visioning Workshop?
  a) improve the neighborhood/school link
  b) build bridges between diverse groups
  c) instill a sense of pride in new residents
  d) develop a skill-sharing model within the neighborhood
  e) increase neighborhood participation

What were some concrete things that came out of the Visioning Workshop?
  a) steering committee formed to translate ideas into action
  b) spring 2013 elections led to new Board of Directors
  c) steering committee recommended oral history project to reach goals

What were the goals of the oral history project?
  a) create an increased sense of community within Reid Park
  b) instill a stronger sense of neighborhood pride for youth and Reid Park residents
  c) increase participation within the neighborhood

And, how were we going to do that?
  a) emphasize that all residents, regardless of neighborhood tenure, are an important part of Reid Park's history
  b) collect the oral histories of a diverse group of residents
  c) recruit additional residents to help facilitate the oral history project

From a research perspective, I was interested in demonstrating to both the residents and organizers of the Reid Park Initiative that Reid Park residents are more than just service recipients; they are also service providers that can make a positive contribution to the academic achievement of youth at Reid Park Academy.

APPENDIX I: (CONTINUED)

What do you need to be able to do to be a service provider?
- a) leadership skills
- b) people working together
- b) decision making power and democratic decision making within
- c) people (more participation)

10:55 – 11:40 Focus questions – Help or Hinder (45 min.)

Decision making (also preparation)

1. How were decisions made and actions implemented during the oral history project? (agenda setting, steering committee meetings, setting dates, budget etc.)

Leadership

2. How was leadership shared and what was the benefit of sharing leadership?

3. What effect has participation in the oral history project had on the leadership skills of the group?

Relationship building

4. How did the oral history project strengthen relationships within the Reid Park community? Did it increase participation?

5. Was there missed opportunity to develop relationships with other Reid Park residents during the oral history project? What could be done differently in the future to strengthen relationship building within the community?

Participation

6. How did/didn't the oral history project increase participation?

11:40 – 11:55 Break (15 min.)

11:55 – 12:10 Power (15 min.)

7. What is power? We are going to use the definition "the capacity to control circumstances?

8. Can you think of circumstances that you were able to control during the oral history project?

9. What were some circumstances that you were not able to control during the oral history project?

APPENDIX I: (CONTINUED)

10. How did planning and implementation of the oral history project differ from planning for the ASC public art project?

11. Has participation in the oral history project made you feel more powerful as a group? How so?

12:10 – 12:35 Oral history festival process (25 min.)

Objectives of the oral history festival

The following objectives were identified for the oral history festival to help reach the aforementioned goals:

a) debut documentary
b) youth set up booths representing different decades of RP history
c) residents have displays showcasing their history/talent/job skill
d) residents bring a dish important to their culture/family (maybe assemble recipe book for fundraiser later)
e) Reid Park trivia
f) conduct a participation survey with residents

12. What was your experience planning the oral history festival?

This was my experience:

* When CMS learned that RPNA was having an end-of-year festival for the oral history project and conducting a parent survey, they suggested that we combine resources, have a single festival, and they would help us administer the survey electronically.

* From the beginning, we insisted that the festival maintain it's original integrity as identified by the steering committee.

* The first meeting was around 4:00 on a Wednesday afternoon. After that, meetings were sat at 2:00 on Wednesday for the convenience of CMS, RPA, and ARK employees.

* Early in the planning process, the festival location was moved from a traditional community space to the school parking lot.

* The community and youth identified the title of the festival as the Legacy Festival. The other partners (CMS, RPA, ARK) did not like the name and insisted on Mayfest Presents Legacy Fest.

* The other partners repeatedly referred to the festival as Mayfest and as the end-of-year celebration for ARK in the Park.

* During the meetings we learned that CMS was exploring new ways of collecting data because they have such poor response rates for the traditional surveys. The school system contributed no money to the festival except for the expense of the survey that they contracted with Johnson C. Smith. Essentially, we assumed the costs of a festival that

APPENDIX I: (CONTINUED)

enabled them to conduct their survey at our expense. They did not conduct the resident survey as promised to RPNA.

13. How does the experience in planning the oral history festival impact your understanding of power?

14. How has reflection on the oral history festival impacted your understanding of the power of RPNA, the power of other groups, and how other groups exercise their power within Reid Park?

12:40– 12:55 ASC partnership (15 min.)

15. How did planning and implementation of the oral history project differ from planning for the ASC public art project?

    a. did they participate in steering committee meetings so that you could be engaged in decision making?

    b. did you help put together the budget? additional $11K? money to train/employ youth and residents

    c. did you approve the model before they went in front of the PAC?

    d. did you have input into what community engagement would look like?

    e. did you have input into the timeline?

    f. have you had opportunity to develop additional leadership skills? did you have the chance to facilitate the mental mapping exercise?

    g. has the process increased participation or strengthened relationships?

    h. what are you “getting” from the process?

12:55 – 1:00 Next steps for research (5 min.)

12:00 – 12:05 Energize exercise (5 min.)

APPENDIX J: PARK PLANNING PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION GUIDE

Meeting
Date

1. How are residents interacting with one another? How are they interacting with me? Are there any noticeable changes?
2. How are the residents functioning as a group? How is this changing during their participation in the planning project?
3. How are residents interacting with leaders from other organizations and institutions?
4. In what ways is participation increasing and changing?
5. How are they reflecting on these actions?
6. Is there evidence of shared leadership? Does the group solve problems and implement strategies as a group?
7. Are residents using recursive strategies to define, solve, and redefine (if necessary) problems?
8. What new skills are evident?
9. How are residents relating issues relevant to Reid Park to a broader context of structural inequality?
10. How are residents merging their own knowledge with an expert technical type of knowledge? Is new knowledge being created as a result of the two?
11. How is knowledge being applied to action?
12. How are residents demonstrating an increased motivation to bring about change?
13. What evidence is there that participants are mobilizing to challenge the existing power structure?
14. What additional evidence is there that residents are applying popular education as they implement the planning project?
15. What additional evidence is there that residents are applying participatory action research as they implement the planning project?
16. What additional evidence is there that residents are applying community organizing as they implement the planning project?