# Jefferson Street

## Revitalization Strategies in Historic Black Business Districts

### Synopsis

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Acknowledgments

The authors are grateful to the following interviewees for their generosity of time and insights into cooperative approaches to neighborhood planning and redevelopment:

Russ Clegg, AICP
Planning and Community Development
City of Greensboro

Judy Morton
Office & Communication Manager
Action Greensboro

Mac Sims
President & CEO
East Market Street Development Corporation

Jennifer Ball
Vice President, Planning and Economic Development
Central Atlanta Progress

Mtamanika Youngblood
President
Sweet Auburn Works

Carol Davis, Esq.
Executive Director
S.G. Atkins Community Development Corporation

Russell Smith, PhD
Assistant Professor of Geography
Winston-Salem State University

Nashville's Jefferson Street corridor, a once thriving neighborhood business district waylaid by urban renewal and desegregation in the mid-20th century, has, in recent years, become the focus of strategic planning by local organizations - including the Metropolitan Nashville Planning Department, and Jefferson Street United Merchants Partnership (JUMP) - who share as their common goal the corridor's sustained economic revitalization. The following case studies contribute to that goal by presenting successful efforts to revitalize similar corridors in other cities. The places described here share a common history of "golden eras," with thriving cultural scenes and commercial vitality undercut by social and economic restructuring. Displacement of families and businesses, the closure of iconic arts and entertainment venues, fissures in the financial and intellectual bedrocks of economic empowerment and the civil rights movement – these struggles, along with the enduring legacy of the neighborhood anchor institutions that remain, comprise a shared story that extends to the present day as each area is in some phase of economic revitalization. At their best, efforts to revitalize historic black business districts can restore legacies of strong civic capacity while remediating the negative physical and social effects of divestment.

## Methodology

Through conversation with Metro Nashville Planning Department staff, and scholars with expertise in the subject of community and economic development, the following seven sites were considered for preliminary study:

- Auburn Avenue (Atlanta, GA)
- East Market Street (Greensboro, NC)
- Farish Street Entertainment District (Jackson, MS)
- Greater Shaw/U Street (Washington, D.C.)
- Indiana Avenue (Indianapolis, IN)
- Parrish Street (Durham, NC)
- 18th & Vine Jazz District (Kansas City, MO)

Selection criteria for more in-depth study included demographic and structural comparability with the Jefferson Street corridor, and a demonstration of collaborative strategies for redevelopment, including partnership building between corridor stakeholders, and efforts to prevent resident displacement. Two sites – Auburn Avenue, and East Market Street – were selected initially. A third site, Martin Luther King Jr. Drive in Winston-Salem, NC, was later selected following a conversation with leadership from the HBCU Community and Economic Development Coalition. While not an historic business district, this corridor's history and recent redevelopment offer useful insights into the process of interorganizational capacity building.

Cases are presented in three sections. First, a general overview provides a history of development, from the corridor's golden era and decline to its recent revitalization. This is followed by an outline of the organizations involved in the revitalization, with particular attention given to the structure of stakeholders' relationships. Key informant interviews and archival data were used to conduct a simple network analysis of the relational structure supporting each corridor's redevelopment. Network diagrams, offering a visual representation of structure in its general sense, are accompanied by an overview of the specific parts individual organizations had in the redevelopment process. Lastly, revitalization activities specific to each corridor are described in reference to an idealized framework for neighborhood business district revitalization (Morgan, 2011), in which real estate development, business development, business financing, and business district organizing and improvement are linked as a coordinated set of activities.

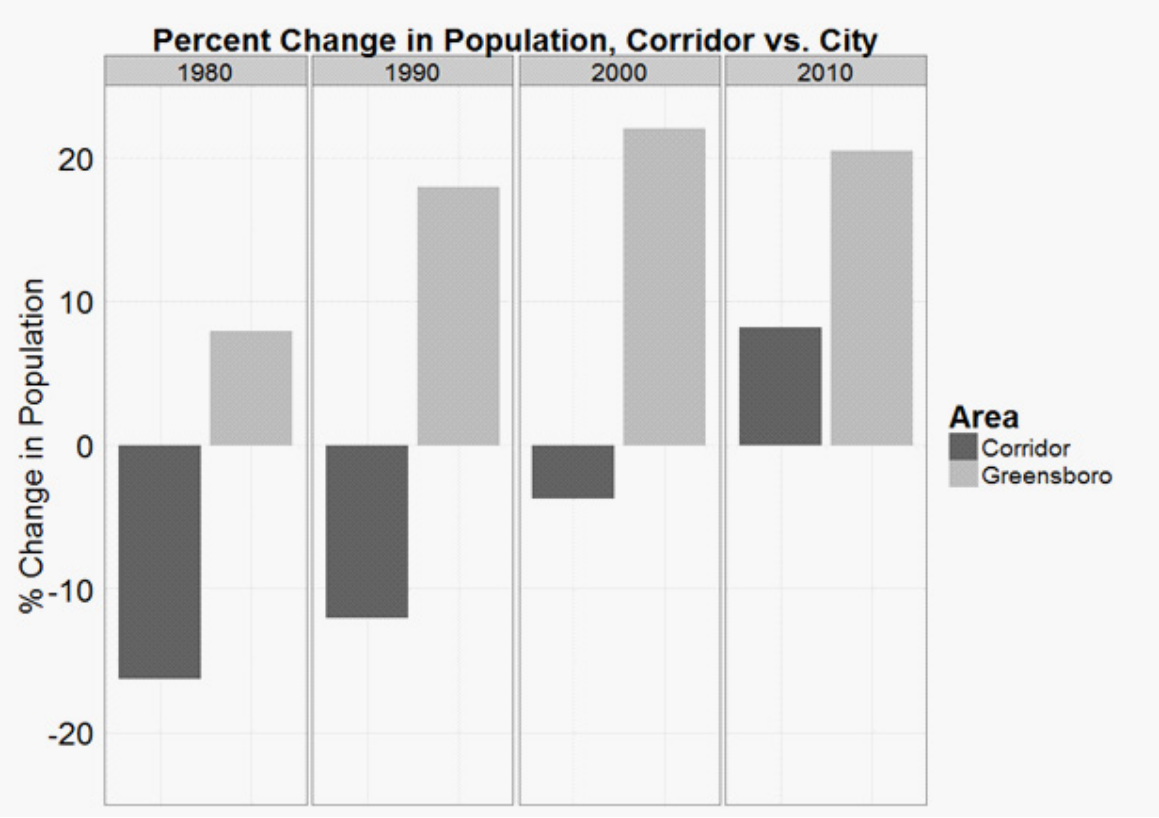
## East Market Street (Greensboro, NC)

### General Overview

Following the Civil War, a "second downtown" emerged along Greensboro's East Market Street, serving as the commercial and cultural center for the city's African-American population. The cornerstones for the corridor's development were - and in many respects, remain – the Bennett College and North Carolina Agricultural and Technical State University (formerly the Agricultural and Mechanical College for the Colored Race) campuses, established in 1873 and 1891, respectively. The relationship between these two institutions and neighboring businesses sustained a thriving community throughout the first half of the twentieth century. By the early 1950s, however, deteriorating infrastructure and environmental degradation from by a nearby incinerator and manufactured gas plant set the stage for East Market Street's decline (City of Greensboro, 1998). By 1960, urban renewal was underway. The corridor was razed and redeveloped as a commuter highway, with nearly 1,000 households and 80 businesses displaced in the process. Far from renewal, two of the corridor's key projects – a strip mall (formerly the Cumberland Shopping Center) and a postal distribution facility – would ultimately become vacant and blighted. Census data depict the area's downturn, as population along the corridor continuously declined from 1970 to 2000 (Figure 1), and housing production stagnated from 1980 to 2000 (Figure 2), despite Greensboro's overall growth.

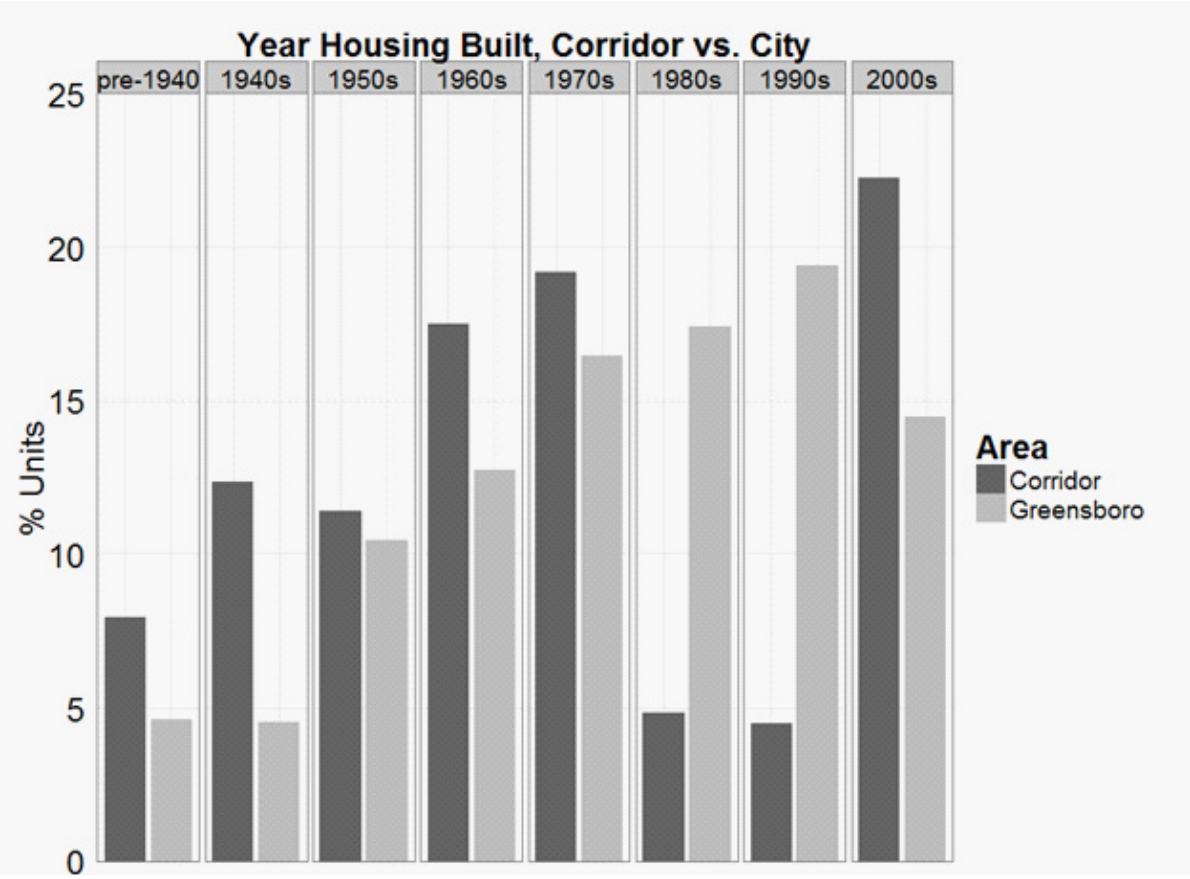
In 1995, East Market Street was selected as the inaugural site for the American Planning Association's Community Planning Assistance Team initiative.

**Figure 1.**
Percent Change in Population by Decade, Corridor versus City (1970-2010), Greensboro.



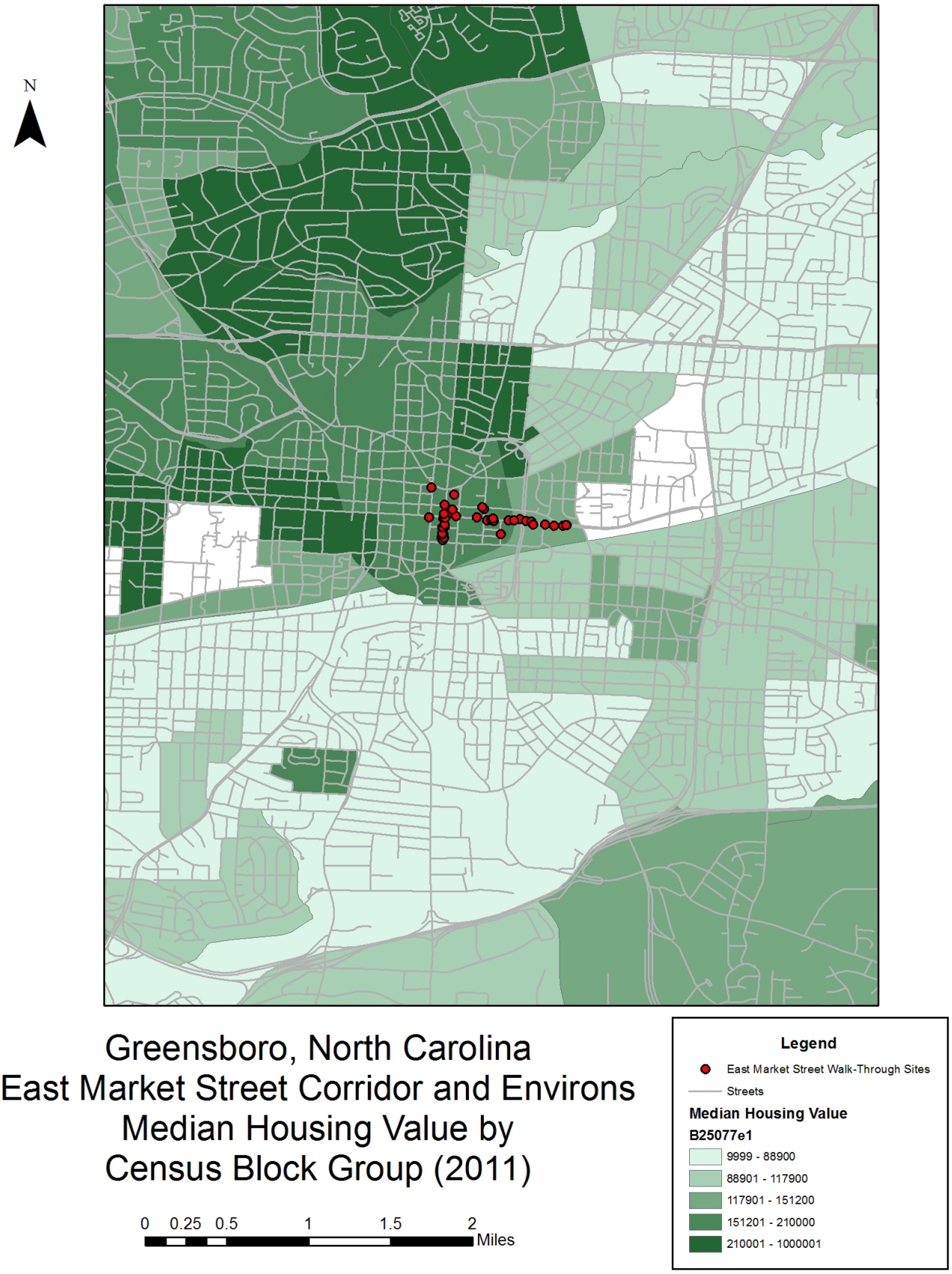

**Note:** Data obtained from U.S. Census Bureau, Decennial Censuses, 1970, 1980, 1990, 2000 and 2010. City is census-designated place, Greensboro. Corridor includes census tracts 3708101000, 3708101101, and 3708101200 with data allocated to 2010 geography using the Longitudinal Census Tract Database

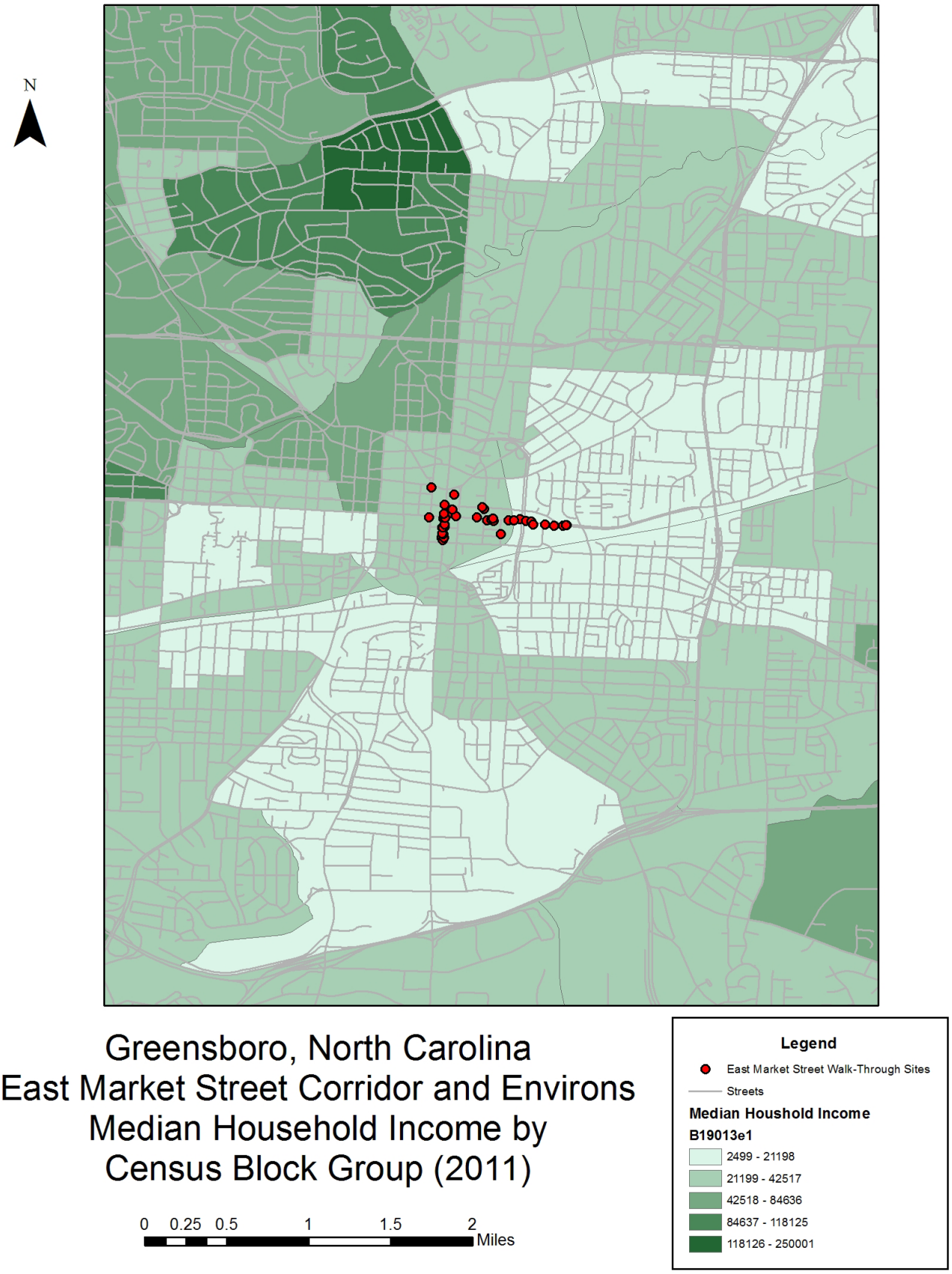
**Figure 2.**
Year Housing Built, Corridor versus City, Greensboro




**Note:** Data obtained from U.S. Census Bureau, American Communities Survey, 2007-2011. City is census-designated place, Greensboro. Corridor includes census tracts 3708101000, 3708101101, and 3708101200.

Key components of the subsequent plan included 1) repairing fractured relationships between the City of Greensboro, East Market Street area residents, NCA&T State University, Bennett College, and the business community at large, 2) the creation of the East Market Street Development Corporation (EMSDC), and its designation as lead agency in projects along the corridor, and 3) transforming East Market Street from an eight-lane thoroughfare to a four lane, pedestrian-friendly corridor. In concert with repairing stakeholder relationships in a corridor-specific context, NCA&T was included in a plan for regional development initiated by Action Greensboro, a partnership between six Greensboro foundations established in 2001 to develop the area's knowledge-based industries. Ongoing economic development has been supported by an entrepreneurial development program operated in cooperation with the NCA&T School of Business and Economics, a loan program meant to facilitate façade improvements, the construction of the Dudley-Lee Cultural Commerce Center at the former site of the Cumberland Shopping Center, and property acquisition for future development. Community development projects have included a housing repair program operated by the NCA&T Department of Construction Management and Safety, and the construction and renovation of community centers and parks in adjacent neighborhoods. Since 1997, the corridor has seen over $250 million in new public and private investment.


N
Greensboro, North Carolina
East Market Street Corridor and Environs
Median Housing Value by
Census Block Group (2011)
0 0.25 0.5 1 1.5 2
Miles
Legend
East Market Street Walk-Through Sites
Streets
Median Housing Value
B25077e1
9999 - 88900
88901 - 117900
117901 - 151200
151201 - 210000
210001 - 1000001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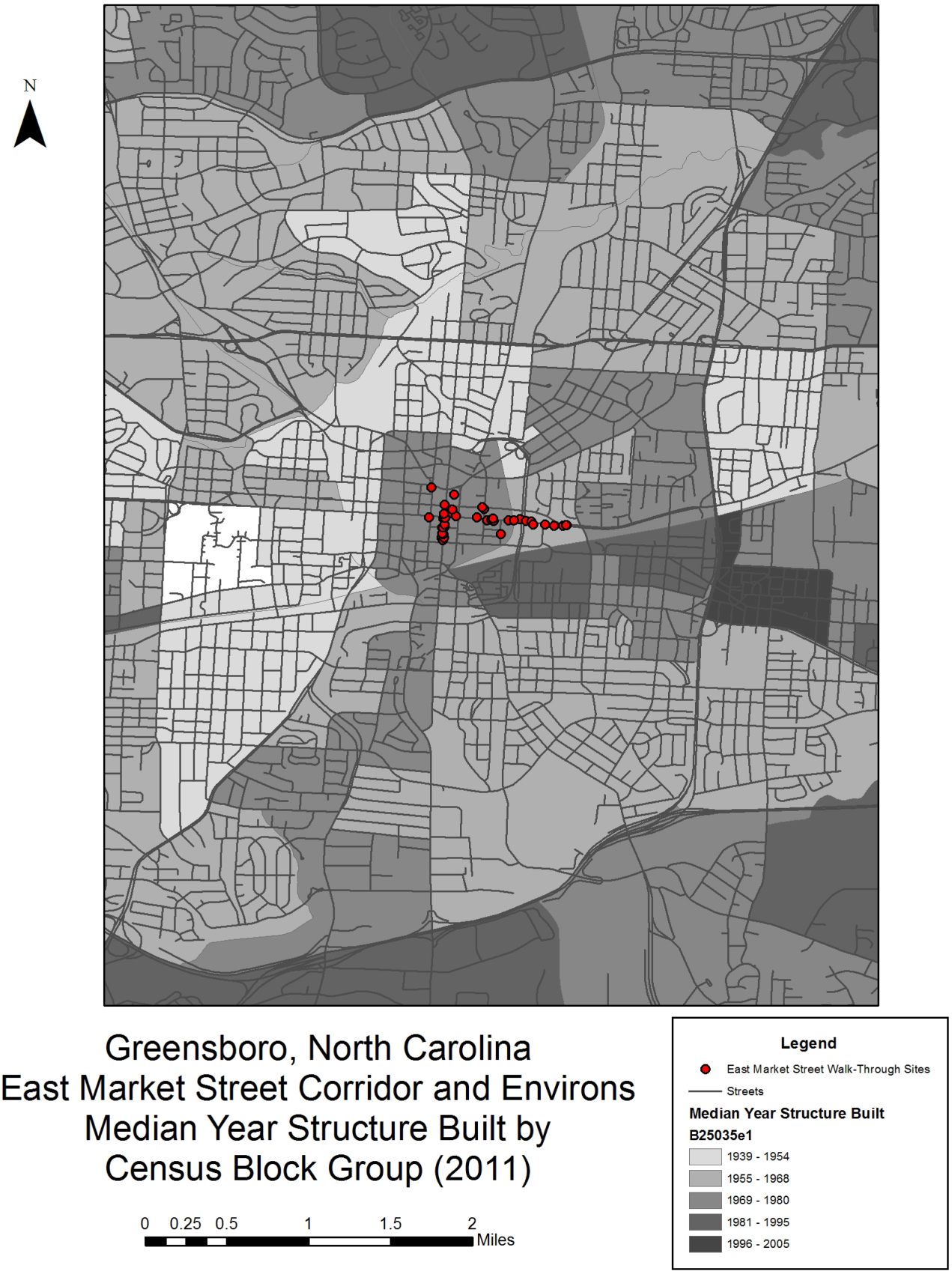
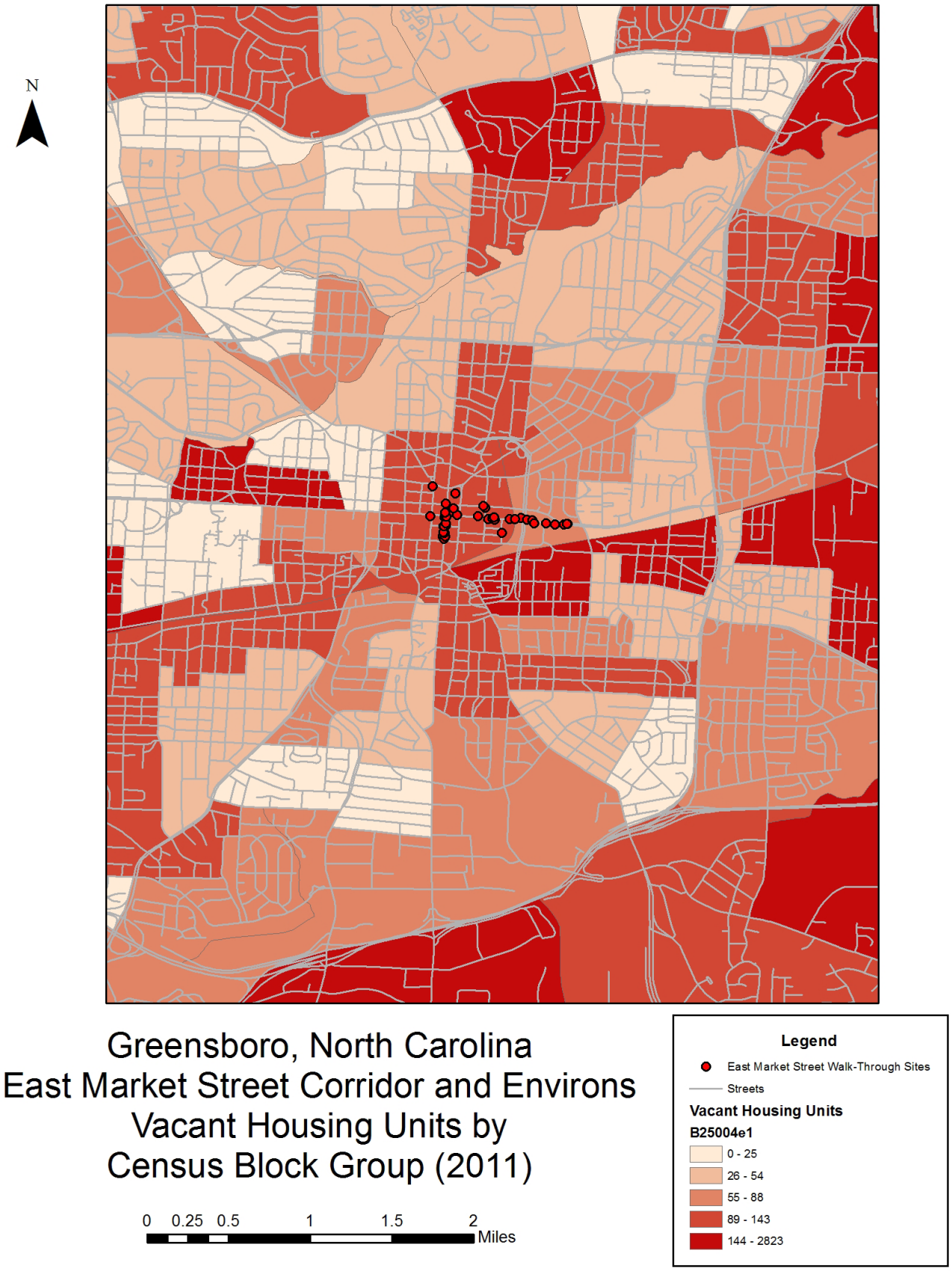
Greensboro, North Carolina
East Market Street Corridor and Environs
Median Household Income by
Census Block Group (2011)
0 0.25 0.5 1 1.5 2
Miles
Legend
East Market Street Walk-Through Sites
Streets
Median Houshold Income
B19013e1
2499 - 21198
21199 - 42517
42518 - 84636
84637 - 118125
118126 - 250001


N
Greensboro, North Carolina
East Market Street Corridor and Environs
Median Year Structure Built by
Census Block Group (2011)
0 0.25 0.5 1 1.5 2
Miles
Legend
East Market Street Walk-Through Sites
Streets
Median Year Structure Built
B25035e1
1939 - 1954
1955 - 1968
1969 - 1980
1981 - 1995
1996 - 2005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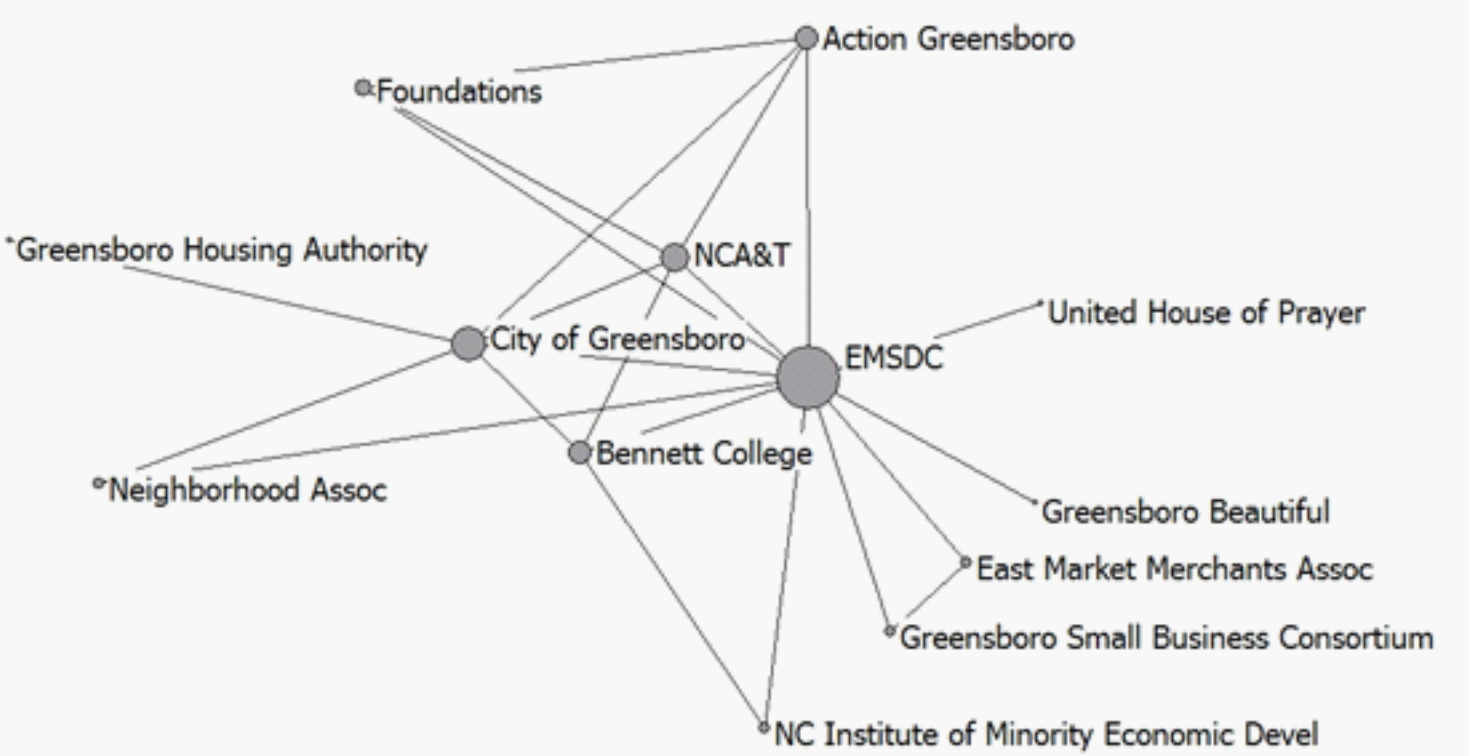
Greensboro, North Carolina
East Market Street Corridor and Environs
Vacant Housing Units by
Census Block Group (2011)
0 0.25 0.5 1 1.5 2
Miles
Legend
East Market Street Walk-Through Sites
Streets
Vacant Housing Units
B25004e1
0 - 25
26 - 54
55 - 88
89 - 143
144 - 2823

## Interorganizational Model

"Prior to the APA Community Planning Team effort, no organizational capacity focused on developing the corridor was apparent" (City of Greensboro, 1998, p. 47)

The Community Planning Assistance Team initiative provided grounds for an unprecedented level of cooperation between numerous public and private organizations. From the initial partnership between the City of Greensboro, NCA&T, Bennett College, and a steering committee comprised of community volunteers, an interorganizational model quickly evolved centered on EMSDC – the "focus, forum, and fulcrum" for the corridor's transformation. The network diagram and outline below highlight key actors and interorganizational links that have been instrumental in the redevelopment process.

- City of Greensboro
  - Submitted proposal to American Planning Association's Community Planning Assistance Team program.
  - City Council designated EMSDC as lead agency for corridor's redevelopment.
  - City Council recommended $1 million bond package to ballot in 1996, and $6.5 million bond package in 2000.
  - Designated creation of two redevelopment areas at corridor gateways.
  - Partnered with Greensboro Housing Authority in Willow Oaks HOPE VI development.
  - Retained Teska & Associates to conduct corridor market analysis.
  - Through Greensboro Transit Authority, partners with NCA&T to provide students transportation at no cost.
- East Market Street Development Corporation
  - CDC established in 1997 staffed by President, Director of Operations, and Housing Coordinator.
  - Designated by Greensboro City Council as




**Note:** The diagram represents relational structure, where relationships are specified in general terms of organizations working together towards corridor revitalization. Node sizes are relative to connectivity, with the largest nodes representing the most connected organizations.

lead agent for corridor development.

- » Board of Directors includes three permanent positions representing City of Greensboro, NCA& T, and Bennett College.
- » Operates programs addressing i) corridor/neighborhood partnerships, ii) neighborhood beautification, iii) economic revitalization, iv) housing development, v) business development, and vi) marketing and public relations.
- » Provides technical and financial assistance to small businesses in partnership with NCA&T, Bennett College, NC Institute of Minority Economic Development, Greensboro Small Business Consortium, and private foundations.
- » Retained Indianapolis-based consulting firm, Development Concepts, to produce EMSC Development Plan.

❖ Action Greensboro

- » Non-profit organization formed in 2001 as partnership between six Greensboro foundations.
- » Six focus areas include i) attracting young professionals, ii) downtown revitalization, iii) recruiting new businesses and industries, iv) rebranding Greensboro, v) small business development and entrepreneurism, and vi) improving public schools.
- » Initiated partnership between NC A&T and UNC Greensboro which evolved in 2009 into "Opportunity Greensboro," a consortium comprised of Greensboro's post-secondary education and business communities.

❖ North Carolina Agricultural and Technical University (NCA&T)

- » HBCU situated near center of the corridor with enrollment of nearly 11,000 in 2012.
- » With Bennett College, organized series of focus groups to garner community participation in East Market Street Development Plan.
- » Restructuring of development office and push for increased enrollment in 1999 leads to increased investment in capital improvements and housing, and increasing enrollment.
- » NCA&T School of Business and Economics partners with EMSDC to assist local entrepreneurs with the development of marketing plans.
- » Partners with Greensboro Transit Authority in operation of Higher Education Area Transit program, improving corridor's connectivity by providing free transportation to students.

❖ Bennett College

- » HBCU college for women situated near center of the corridor with enrollment of 736 in 2012.
- » "Revitalizing Bennett Campaign" raises more than $30 million, increasing endowment and capital improvements.
- » Operates Summer Entrepreneurship Institute in partnership with EMSDC and North Carolina Institute for Minority and Economic Development.

❖ Greensboro Housing Authority

- » In partnership with City of Greensboro, received $23 million HOPE VI grant in 1997 for construction/rehabilitation of Willow Oaks community, near corridor's eastern edge.

❖ North Carolina Institute of Minority Economic Development

- » A Durham-based nonprofit providing business training and employment services.
- » Partners with EMSDC and Bennett College

to provide curriculum-based training and technical assistance to entrepreneurs.

- United House of Prayer for All People
  - A Washington DC-based "mega-church", with Greensboro site located between NCA&T and Bennett College.
  - Partnered with EMSDC for acquisition of the 14-acre former post office site in the middle of the corridor.
- Greensboro Small Business Consortium
  - Managed by Greensboro Chamber of Commerce, provides referrals and training to local entrepreneurs.
- Greensboro Beautiful
  - Nonprofit volunteer-based organization focused on conservation and neighborhood improvements.
- East Market Street Merchants Association
  - Partners with EMSDC to promote corridor businesses and host special events.
- Foundations
  - Six local foundations partner in 2001 to form Action Greensboro, engaging the city's academic and business communities to promote economic growth.
  - In 2004, selected by Mary Reynolds Babcock Foundation as recipient of "Promoting Successful Entrepreneurship" grant for $200,000 to provide small business training and technical assistance.
- Neighborhood Associations & Watches
  - Thirteen neighborhood associations and watches adjacent to or near corridor.
  - Work with EMSDC to identify and improve housing in need of rehabilitation.
  - Report public safety concerns to Greensboro Police Department.

## Core Activities and Outcomes

### Real Estate Development

As noted in the East Market Street Redevelopment Plan:

> Much of the land within the corridor is in the form of small parcels with diverse ownership… Additionally, there is a significant amount of 'institutional' ownership within the area. North Carolina A&T State University, Bennett College, along with the many churches in the area, have assembled property…The combination of the diverse ownership along with the institutional land holdings makes land assembly for any significant development a major, if not impossible, undertaking (City of Greensboro, 1998, p. 45).

In light of this challenge, real estate development has targeted relatively large parcels, and has come as an extension of EMSDC's links with its institutional partners. Particularly significant was the acquisition and demolition of the blighted Cumberland Shopping Center, situated at the corridor's western edge adjacent to downtown Greensboro. In a project managed by EMSDC, the Dudley-Lee Cultural Commerce Center was constructed at the site, providing 30,000 square feet of commercial space to 11 new businesses (East Market Street Corridor Walk-Through, Figures 34-36). EMSDC's links with institutional partners facilitated the sale, in 2005, of the vacant postal distribution facility to the United House of Prayer for All People, a national religious organization based in Washington, D.C. A mixed-use development, including 250 housing units and 57,000 square feet of retail and commercial space was proposed for the site in 2007, but stalled soon thereafter as a result of the economic downturn. Both EMSDC and the church have remained active, however, in pursuing the project's financing.

A $23 million HOPE VI grant awarded in 1997 to the Greensboro Housing Authority, in partnership with the City of Greensboro, led to the demolition and rehabilitation of 380 units of distressed public housing near the corridor's eastern edge. Two of the mixed-income and mixed-use project's three phases are near completion, providing 300 units of housing affordable to low-income households, 40 units of senior housing, and 200 units of for-sale housing. 40,000 square feet of retail and commercial space are in development.

### Business Development

Stemming from Action Greensboro's efforts to develop knowledge-based industries in the Greensboro area, and the subsequent partnership between EMSDC, the NCA&T School of Business and Economics, and the North Carolina Institute of Minority Economic Development, business development activities have largely focused on entrepreneurial training and assistance. Nearly 200 local entrepreneurs received curriculum-based training in business plan development and implementation to date.

In addition to entrepreneurial training, EMSDC actively promotes the corridor by maintaining property and business listings on its website, and the quarterly distribution of the East Market Street newsletter.

### Business Funding

EMSDC operates a small-business lending program providing gap financing with below market interest rates to corridor businesses. The program has leveraged more than $5 million in private investment along the corridor.

### Business District Organizing and Improvement

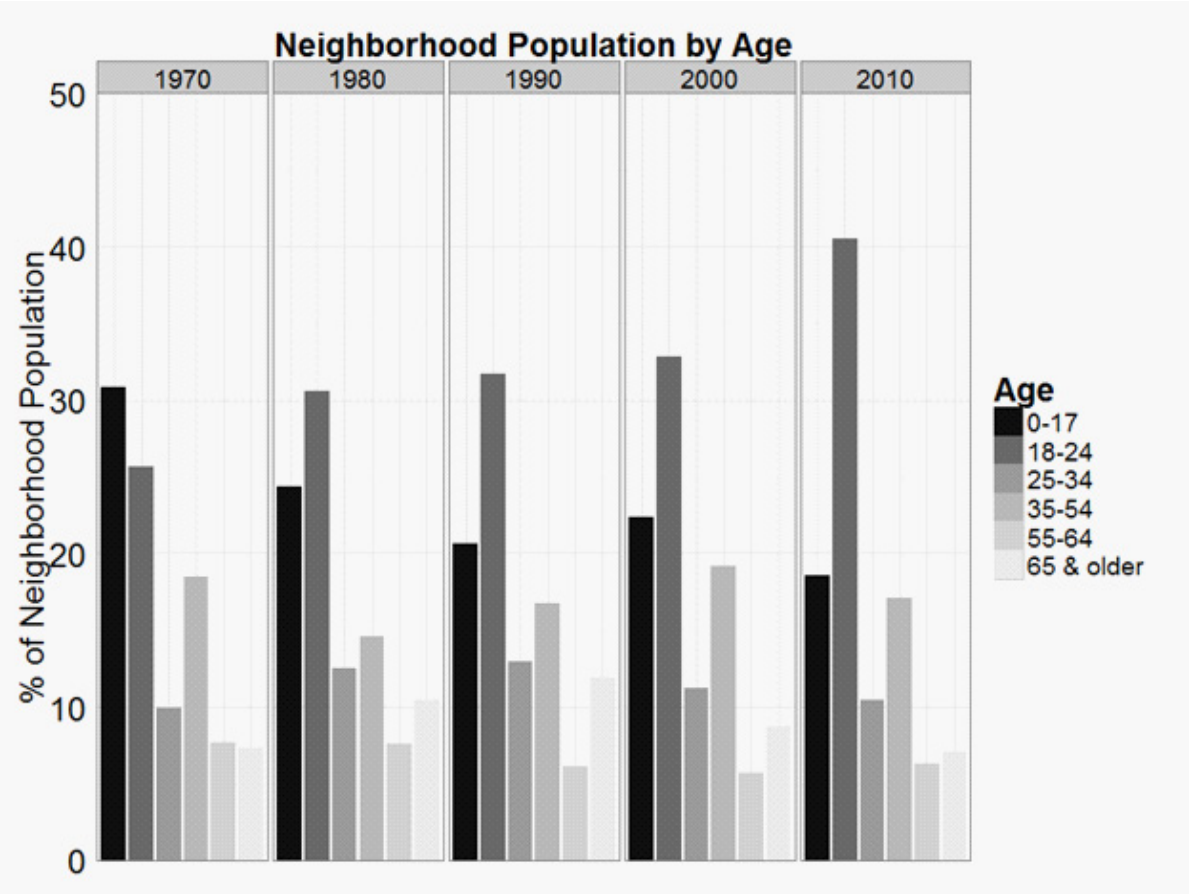
The majority of the activity on the corridor can be categorized as business district organizing and improvement, with the most significant component being the corridor's reduction from eight to four lanes (East Market Street Corridor Walk-Through, Figures 38-40). Key organizing activities include the creation of the East Market Merchants Association and EMSDC's ongoing participation in the Greensboro Small Business Consortium.

## Summary

Since its initiation 15 years ago, redevelopment of the East Market Street corridor continues as a work in progress. Along with significant and highly visible improvements, and a broad consensus regarding their positive impact on east Greensboro, there is also a sense that the corridor's revitalization has yet to turn the corner. The pace of redevelopment has, no doubt, been affected by the recent economic recession, particularly in the case of the former post office facility – a site regarded as the "linchpin" for the corridor's future economic vitality (Clegg, 2013; Sims, 2013). To some extent, however, the pace of redevelopment is by design. From the initial series of community forums hosted by the City of Greensboro and NCA&T in 1996, to the dialogue occurring now between EMSDC, the United House of Prayer, and community residents regarding the future of the post office site, development on East Market Street has been a deliberative, consensus-based process, in keeping with the "community-driven" process specified in the East Market Street Development Plan.

Considering that, prior to 1995, the organizational capacity for East Market Street's revitalization was non-existent, the organizational structure underlying its redevelopment is, perhaps, the most significant outcome to date. The relationships between the City of Greensboro, NCA&T, Bennett College, and EMSDC form the core of the interorganizational network affecting the corridor's redevelopment. As the bridge between corridor businesses, community residents, and public and nonprofit organizations, EMSDC holds the network's most central position. However, as the CDC's President, Mac Sims, notes, "EMSDC would not exist if it wasn't for the support from the City (of Greensboro)" (Sims,

**Figure 3.**
Neighborhood Population by Age, 1970-2010, Greensboro.




**Note:** Data obtained from U.S. Census Bureau, Decennial Censuses, 1970, 1980, 1990, 2000 and 2010. Neighborhood includes census tracts 3708101000, 3708101101, and 3708101200 with data allocated to 2010 geography using the Longitudinal Census Tract Database.

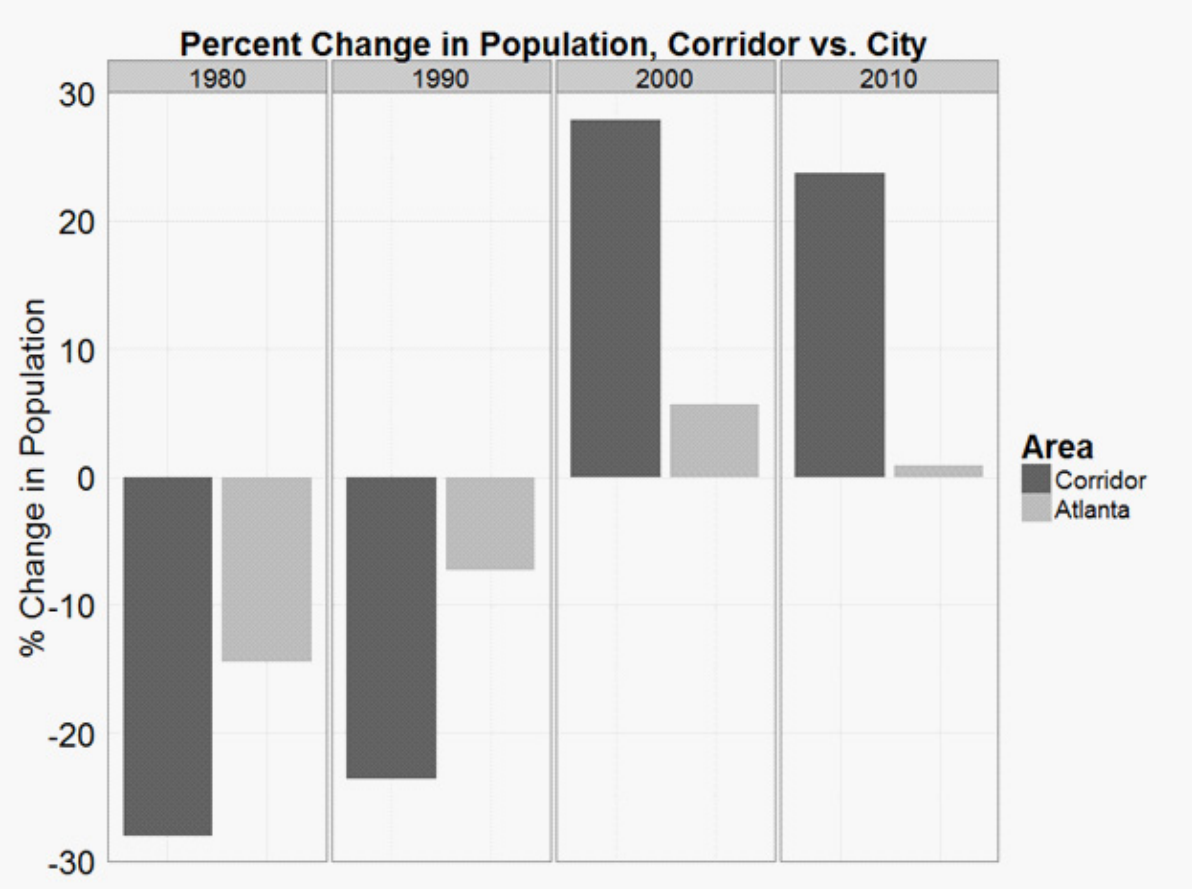
2013). NCA&T and Bennett College have a unique role in that both are involved in the redevelopment plan's implementation, while concurrently affecting a demographic shift in the corridor's surrounding neighborhoods. As indicated in Figure 3, 18 to 24 year olds' share of neighborhood population steadily increased from 1970 to 2000, and grew dramatically between 2000 and 2010, coming to represent just over 40 percent of the area's total population. This shift is attributable, in large part, to NCA&T's push to increase enrollment over this same time period.

## Auburn Avenue (Atlanta, GA)

### General Overview

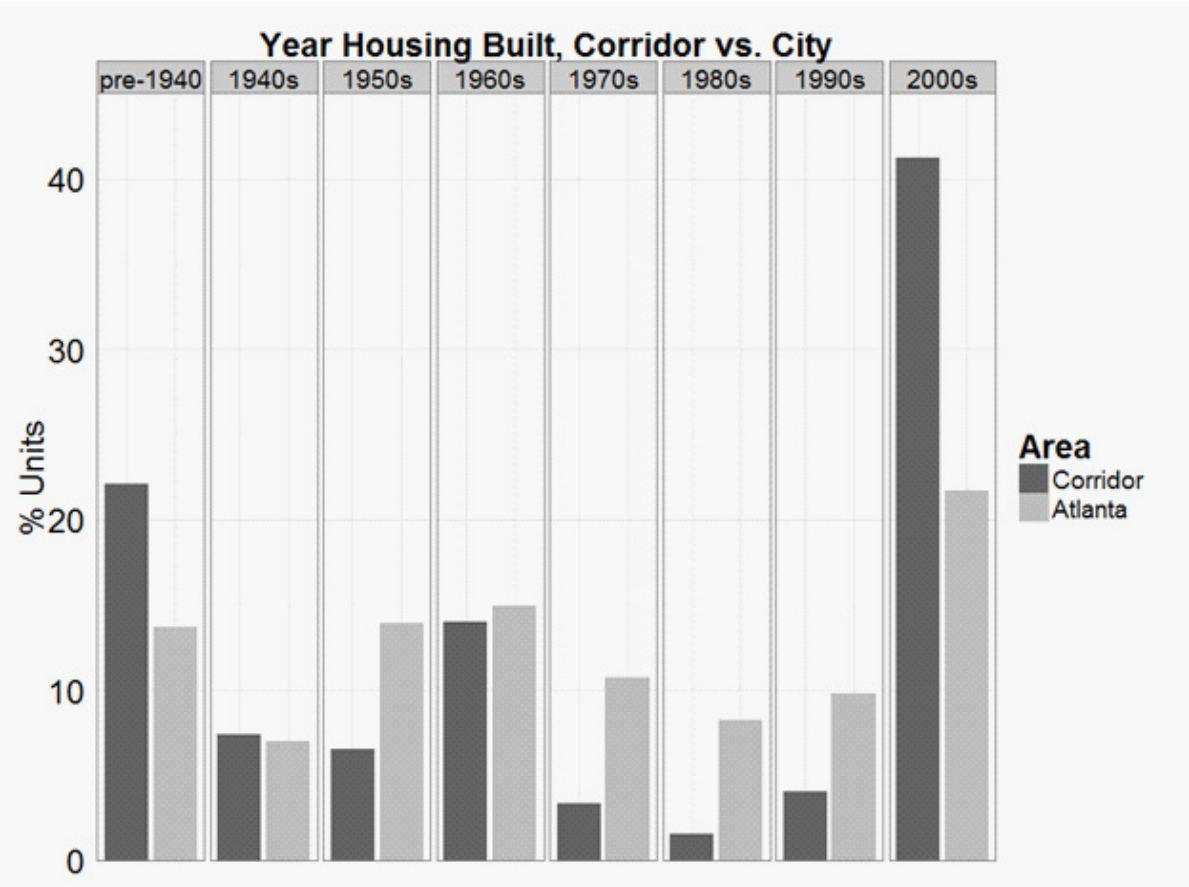
As Atlanta reemerged from the destruction of the Civil War, its African-American population was interspersed across the city, but socially centered on a broad network of churches and associated mutual aid societies and fraternal orders. Already home to Big Bethel AME, the largest African-American congregation in the city, and the Butler Street YMCA - informally known as "the city hall of Black Atlanta" - Auburn Avenue rose to national prominence after several black-owned businesses targeted in the Atlanta Race Riots of 1906 relocated to the corridor from the city's central business district (Sweet Auburn Avenue: Triumph of the Spirit, 2013). In the decades that followed, Auburn Avenue was home to "more financial institutions, professionals, educators, entertainers and politicians … than any other African American street in the South." The corridor's decline began with the advent of the Civil Rights Movement, whose leadership had located to the city's west side. The symbolic shift in Atlanta's African-American cultural and political center was soon followed by a relocation of residents and businesses that also moved west after desegregation. Decline was exacerbated by the downtown connector freeway (I-75/85), an urban renewal project initiated in the early 1960s, which cut the corridor in half. Through the 1980s and 1990s, the Atlanta metro area came to be known as the "poster child

**Figure 4.**
Percent Change in Population by Decade, Corridor versus City (1970-2010), Atlanta.




**Note:** Data obtained from U.S. Census Bureau, Decennial Censuses, 1970, 1980, 1990, 2000 and 2010. City is census-designated place, Atlanta. Corridor includes census tracts 13121028000, 13121029000, and 13121011900 with data allocated to 2010 geography using the Longitudinal Census Tract Database.

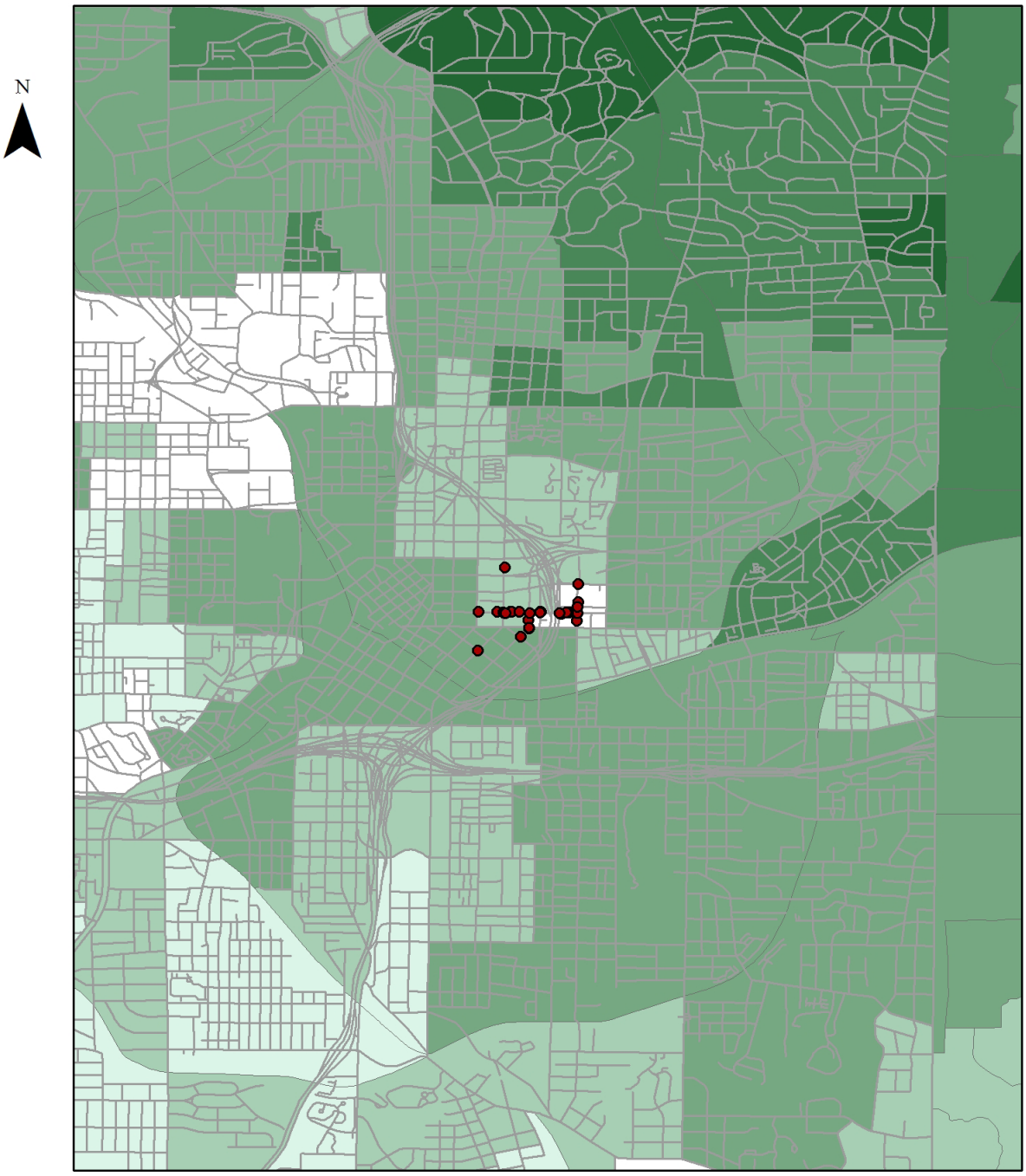
**Figure 5.**
Year Housing Built, Corridor versus City, Atlanta.



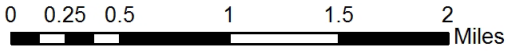

**Note:** Data obtained from U.S. Census Bureau, American Communities Survey, 2007-2011. City is census-designated place, Atlanta. Corridor includes census tracts 13121028000, 13121029000, and 13121011900.

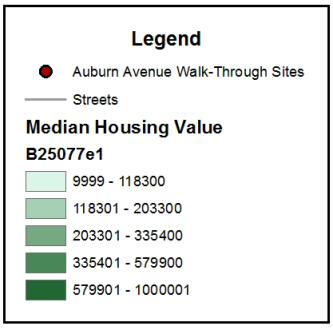
of sprawl" (Basmajian, 2013). While suburbanization affected the entire city, census population and housing data indicate that the impact was particularly hard felt in the Auburn Avenue area (Figures 4 and 5).

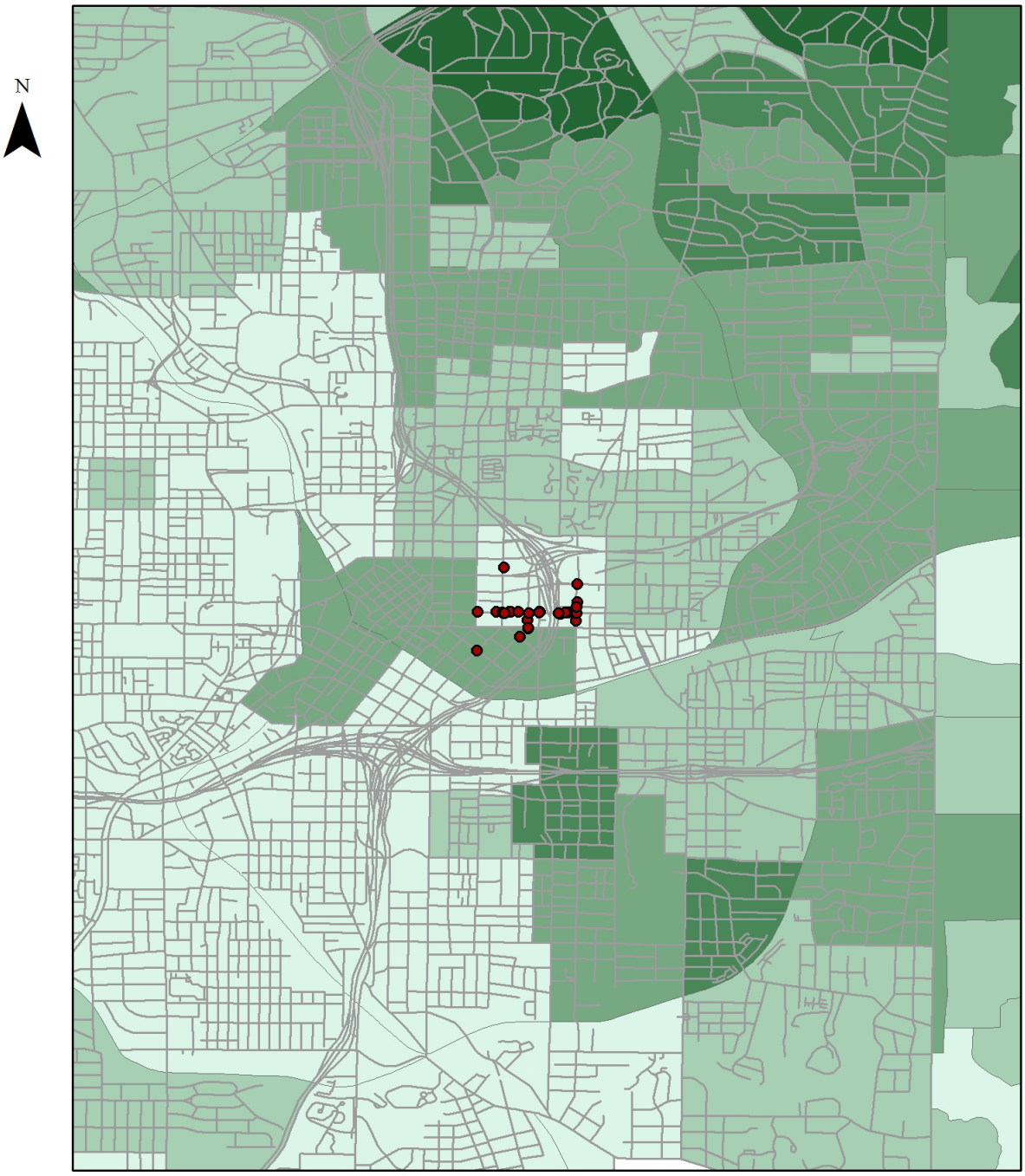
A slow progression of redevelopment began in the 1980s, after Congress designated Martin Luther King, Jr.'s birth home and the surrounding 35-acre area on the corridor's eastern end a National Historic Site. Since then, revitalization has largely been focused on real estate development, with the early involvement of the Historic District Development Corporation (HDDC), and, more recently, Georgia State University (GSU) and Big Bethel AME. A HOPE VI grant awarded to the Atlanta Housing Authority in 2005 led to the renovation of a 495 unit barracks-style public housing development near the corridor's center. In 2012, in light of increased urban resettlement and the expansion of GSU, the National Trust for Historic Preservation included Auburn Avenue among "America's 11 Most Endangered Historic Places." A Main Street organization, Sweet Auburn Works, has since been established to coordinate the corridor's revitalization and preservation. Recent attention to economic development has resulted in Auburn Avenue's designation as an "Opportunity Zone" by the Georgia Department of Community Affairs, creating tax incentives for job creation in the area. Additionally, the first phase of the Atlanta Streetcar Project, a 2.6 mile route between the King National Historic Site and the city's central business district, will bolster the corridor's connectivity.



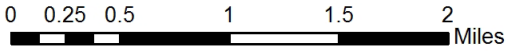

Atlanta, Georgia
Auburn Avenue Corridor and Environs
Median Housing Value by
Census Block Group (2011)

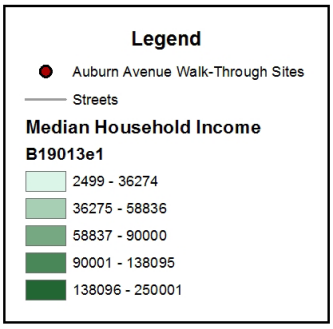


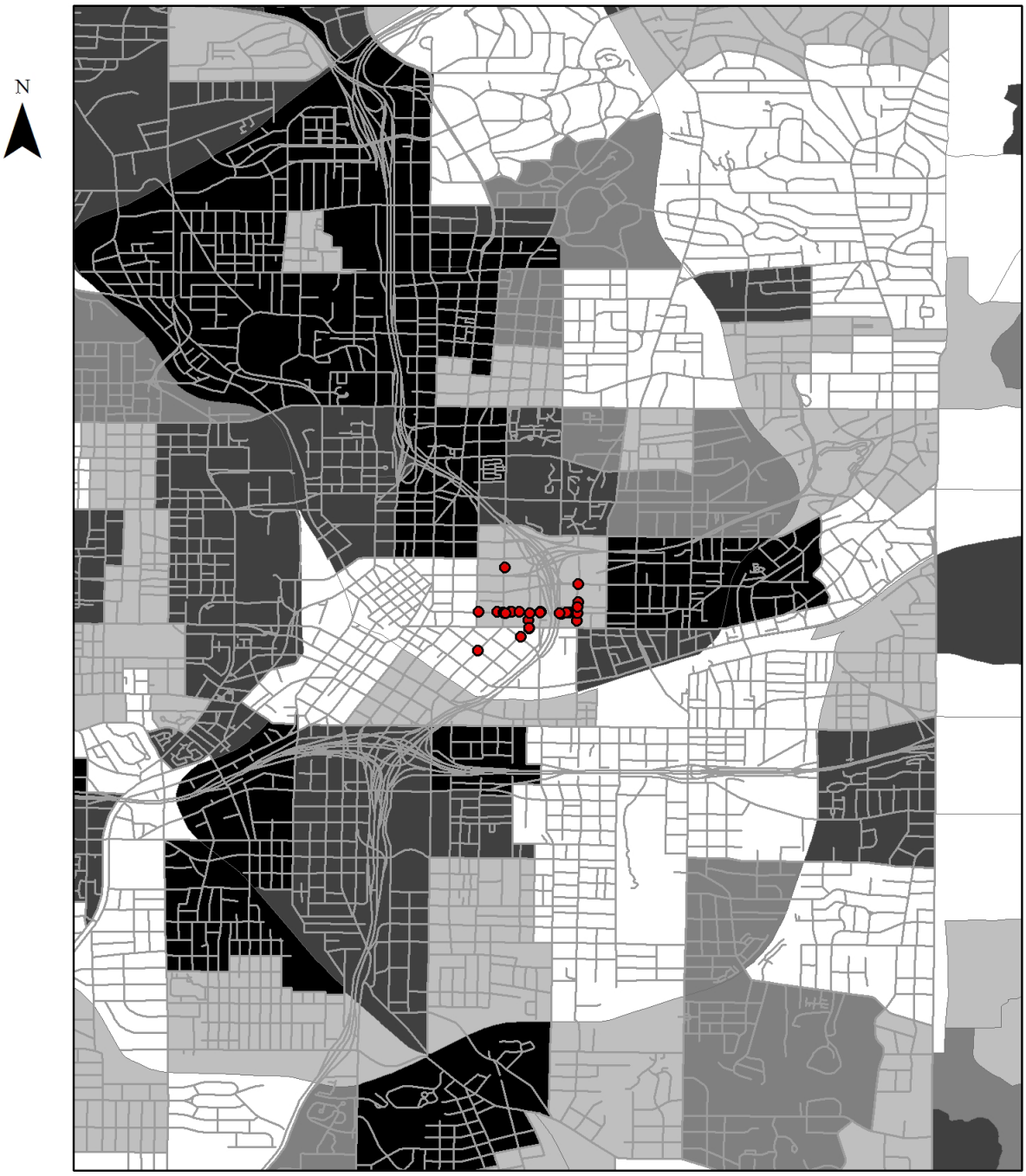





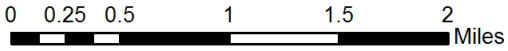

Atlanta, Georgia
Auburn Avenue Corridor and Environs
Median Household Income by
Census Block Group (2011)

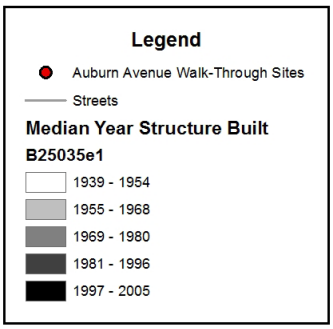


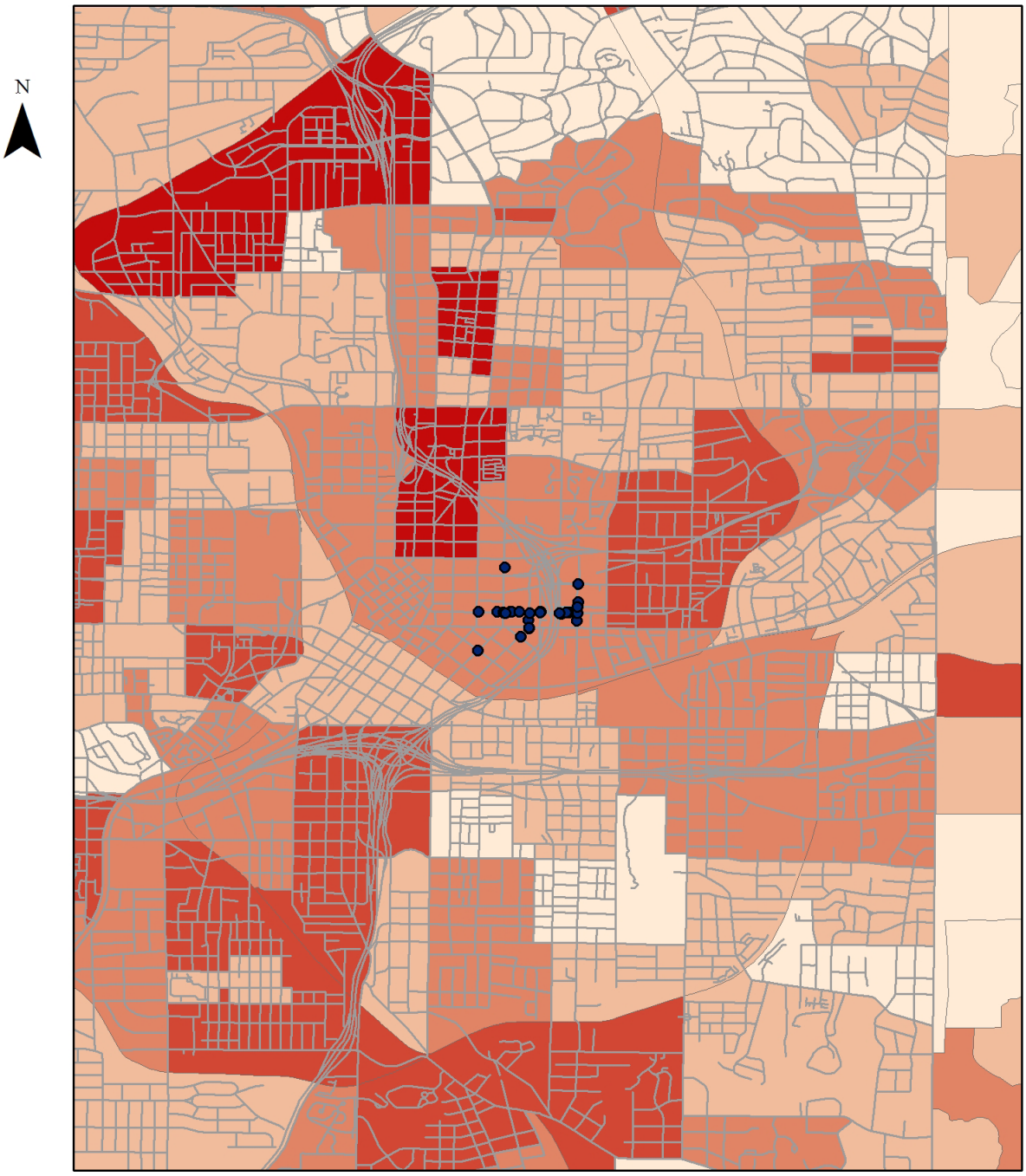






Atlanta, Georgia
Auburn Avenue Corridor and Environs
Median Year Structure Built by
Census Block Group (2011)






Atlanta, Georgia
Auburn Avenue Corridor and Environs
Vacant Housing Units by
Census Block Group (2011)

0 0.25 0.5 1 1.5 2 Miles

**Legend**

Auburn Avenue Walk-Through Sites

Streets

**Vacant Housing Units**

**B25004e1**

0 - 65

66 - 147

148 - 266

267 - 509

510 - 1238

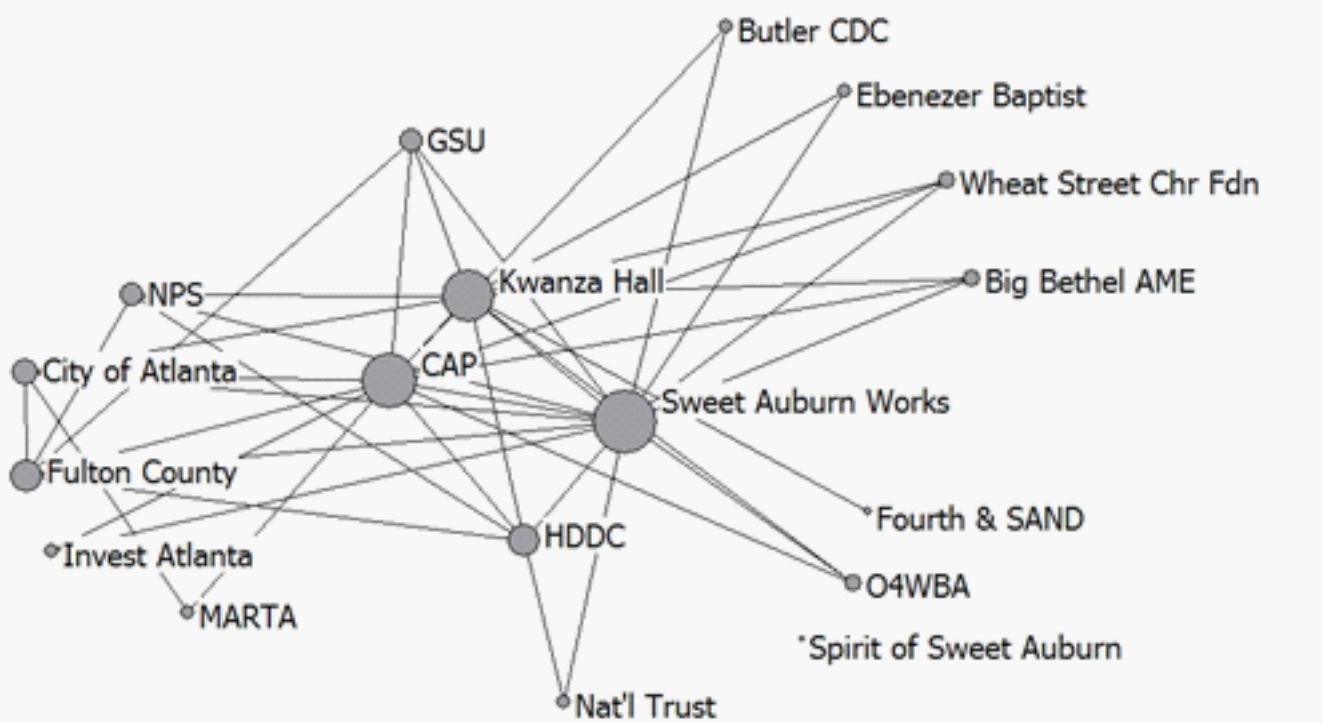
## Interorganizational Model

"It goes without saying that the implementation of this Community Redevelopment Plan Update will require the active participation and dogged determination of a wide variety of partners…However it is recognized that a new, targeted organization needs to take the reins and forge new opportunities that heretofore have not existed in Sweet Auburn" (City of Atlanta, 2005, p. 73)

"Since 1992…the neighborhood has gone through three master planning initiatives. Sweet Auburn doesn't need another master plan. Sweet Auburn needs a Marshall Plan, with historic preservation and the adaptive reuse of existing buildings as the principal drivers for investment and development in the corridor" (Councilmember Kwanza Hall, cited in Fourth Ward Alliance, 2012)

While numerous stakeholders have worked to revitalize Auburn Avenue over the past thirty years, their efforts have, until recently, been constrained by a lack of coordination (Youngblood, 2014). The National Park Service and the City of Atlanta, for example, both proposed redevelopment plans (in 1986 and 1994, respectively) to garner momentum from the development of the Martin Luther King, Jr. National Historic Site, and later, the 1996 Olympics. Both plans went unrealized due, in large part, to competing visions for the corridor's redevelopment. A former director of the Atlanta Preservation Center, who, in 1987, characterized the corridor's revitalization as having "too many cooks in the kitchen, and that's why the soup has never been finished" (Smith, 1987), was among early advocates for partnering with the National Trust for Historic Preservation to establish a Main Street organization. That strategy was ultimately adopted in 2012, when HDDC, with support from the National Trust, convened a steering committee to form Sweet Auburn Works.

Presently, revitalization on Auburn Avenue is coordinated to an unprecedented degree. Sweet Auburn




**Note:** The diagram represents relational structure, where relationships are specified in general terms of organizations working together towards corridor revitalization. Node sizes are relative to connectivity, with the largest nodes representing the most connected organizations.

Works, Central Atlanta Progress (CAP), and Atlanta City Councilmember, Kwanza Hall, are the most central actors, bridging the participation of public agencies, GSU, the corridor's churches, and residential and business communities.

- Sweet Auburn Works
  - Main Street organization established in 2012 to coordinate strategic planning related to the corridor's real estate and economic development.
  - Steering committee chaired by representatives from HDDC, Fulton County, City of Atlanta, and CAP partners with National Trust to produce Sweet Auburn Assessment Report.
  - Managing process to update zoning regulations and design guidelines affecting corridor development.
  - Organizing neighborhood clean-up events in partnership with 4th & SAND
  - Partners with Invest Atlanta to gain State of Georgia's approval for the creation of Auburn Avenue Opportunity Zone
- Atlanta City Councilmember Kwanza Hall
  - Former HDDC board member and recent co-chair of Sweet Auburn Works steering committee, elected in 2005, and re-elected in 2009, on platform of balanced redevelopment and historic preservation in Sweet Auburn and Old 4th Ward.
  - Named "Best Local Political Figure" in 2012 by Atlanta alternative weekly, Creative Loafing.
- Central Atlanta Progress (CAP)
  - Nonprofit community development organization founded in 1941.
  - Established Atlanta Downtown Improvement District in 1995 as funding mechanism in anticipation of 1996 Summer Olympics.
  - Partnered with Invest Atlanta to promote the establishment of the Eastside Tax Allocation District in 2003.
  - Partnered with City of Atlanta to produce "Imagine Downtown: Encore" plan in 2009, synthesizing transportation, open space, and housing and commercial development plans affecting the downtown area, including the Sweet Auburn corridor.
  - Coordinating residential and business community involvement in Atlanta Street Car Project.
  - Managing I-75/85 Underpass Enhancement project with support of Georgia Department of Transportation.
- Historic District Development Corporation (HDDC)
  - Community Housing Development Organization (CHDO) founded in 1980 by Coretta Scott King to revitalize and prevent displacement of residents in the MLK National Historic District.
  - To date, HDDC has renovated more than 110 single-family homes and constructed more than 500 units of multifamily housing in the Sweet Auburn neighborhood.
  - Initiated partnership with National Main Street Center to form Sweet Auburn Works.
- Invest Atlanta
  - Formerly the Atlanta Development Agency, a local government authority operating as City of Atlanta's economic development arm.
  - Partnered with CAP to promote the establishment of the Eastside Tax Allocation District in 2003.
  - Partnered with Sweet Auburn Works to gain approval for Auburn Avenue's designation as an Opportunity Zone in 2012.

- City of Atlanta
  - Approved creation of Eastside Tax Allocation District in 2003.
  - Partners with CAP and MARTA in development of Atlanta Streetcar Project.
  - In 2012, completed renovation of Sweet Auburn Curb Market, Atlanta's oldest municipal farmer's market.
  - In 2013, approved first update to zoning regulations affecting corridor's development in more than 30 years.
- Fulton County
  - Established the Auburn Avenue Research Library on African-American Culture and History in 1994.
  - Department of Arts and Culture provides operating support and funds expansion of APEX Museum.
  - Economic Development Division partners with GSU to implement citywide innovation and entrepreneurial development programs.
  - Approved creation of Eastside TAD.
  - County Commissioner, Joan Garner, co-chairs Sweet Auburn Works steering committee.
- Metropolitan Atlanta Rapid Transit Authority (MARTA)
  - Providing technical and logistical support, and Federal Transit Authority funding to the Atlanta Street Car Project.
- National Park Service
  - Since 1980, manages Martin Luther King Jr., National Historic Site on the corridor's eastern edge, a 35-acre site including Dr. King's birth home, Dr. and Mrs. King's tombs, and preserved active residential properties.
  - Site brings nearly 1 million people to the Sweet Auburn neighborhood each year.
- Georgia State University
  - The second largest institution in the University System of Georgia with a projected enrollment of 36,000 by 2015.
  - A recent major player in Sweet Auburn's revitalization, with several acquisitions along the corridor since 2007 for student housing, administrative sites, and intramural fields.
  - Operates Small Business Development Center, providing technical assistance to small business owners.
- Big Bethel AME Church
  - Founded in 1847, the oldest predominantly African-American congregation in Atlanta.
  - A major holder of commercial property, including buildings and vacant land,
  - Partnered with Integral Group to construct the mixed-use development, Renaissance Walk, including 160 residential units and 30,000 sq ft ground floor retail space.
- Wheat Street Charitable Foundation
  - Manages properties of Wheat Street Baptist Church, one of the nation's oldest African-American congregations with major holdings in corridor properties.
  - Owns site of Wheat Street Gardens, a four-acre urban garden with year round weekly farmer's market.
- Butler Street CDC
  - Formed in 2013 to manage redevelopment of properties held by historic Butler Street YMCA.
  - Partners with Sweet Auburn Works and CAP to plan redevelopment of buildings and vacant property covering two blocks on corridor's south side.

- Old Fourth Ward Business Association (O4WBA)
  - Established in 2012, a nonprofit membership-based organization representing business owners in the Old Fourth Ward district, including Auburn Avenue corridor.
  - Manages website and newsletter to promote corridor and increase utilization of city and county resources.
- 4th and Sweet Auburn Neighborhood District (4th & SAND)
  - Part of Neighborhood Planning Unit-M, one of Atlanta's 25 neighborhood-level governmental structures established to foster public engagement in zoning and development decision-making.
  - With Councilmember Kwanza Hall, organizes community engagement in recent zoning regulation updates.
- Spirit of Sweet Auburn
  - Since 2001, organizes annual street festival, Sweet Auburn Springfest, described as the "largest street festival in the Southeast."
- National Trust for Historic Preservation
  - Operates National Main Street Center program to assist with revitalization and preservation of historic commercial districts.
  - Providing technical assistance to Sweet Auburn Works for development of Main Street Organization.

## Core Activities and Outcomes

### Real Estate Development

Extending from the National Park Service's early involvement in restoring the area surrounding Dr. King's childhood home, real estate development the corridor was focused initially on the rehabilitation of single-family housing and small, historic commercial sites. Founded in 1980, HDDC served as the corridor's primary residential developer for more than two decades, implementing a block-by-block strategy of renovating homes for Sweet Auburn's existing residents. With increased demand from the "creative class" for housing in downtown neighborhoods, HDDC expanded its scope in 2000 with a mixed-use project featuring lofts and an art gallery. After CAP and Invest Atlanta successfully lobbied the City of Atlanta, Fulton County and Atlanta Public Schools to establish the Eastside Tax Allocation District (TAD) in 2003, the trajectory of residential development took a dramatic turn with ground breaking for three major projects. Situated on a 41-acre site near the center of the corridor, the Grady Homes HOPE VI development (now Auburn Pointe), was completed in 2008, providing 324 elderly and 304 multifamily units, and 69 for-sale homes. Renaissance Walk, located just west of the I-75/85 overpass, was completed in 2007, and came as the culmination of a 14 year effort by Big Bethel AME to acquire six parcels to assemble three acre site for 160 condominiums (20% designated affordable) atop 30,000 square feet of retail space. GSU's University Commons was also completed in 2007, placing nearly 2,000 units of student housing further west on the corridor. In the six years since, two additional student housing complexes, and the acquisition of the Atlanta Life building have made GSU a major force in the redevelopment of the corridor's west side, in an area that has been referred to as "Panther Town," after the school's mascot.

### Business Development

In comparison to real estate development, business development on the corridor has lagged. However, within the past year, a partnership between Sweet Auburn Works and the City's economic development agency, Invest Atlanta, has gained approval from the State of Georgia for the corridor to be designated an Opportunity Zone. As a result, a program is being implemented to offer a $3,500 tax break per hire, for up to five years, to new and relocating businesses that hire two or more full-time employees.

### Business Funding

While the majority of funding from the Eastside TAD is designated for large-scale private development, 7% ($3 million in 2013) is directed toward a small business loan providing gap-financing grants to support small business and investment. An additional source of business funding, the Atlanta Catalyst Fund, was established in 2012 by Invest Atlanta, providing loans between $50,000 and $100,000 to small businesses operating in designated Business Improvement Districts. The program's first investment, Lotta Frutta, is located on the Auburn Avenue corridor.

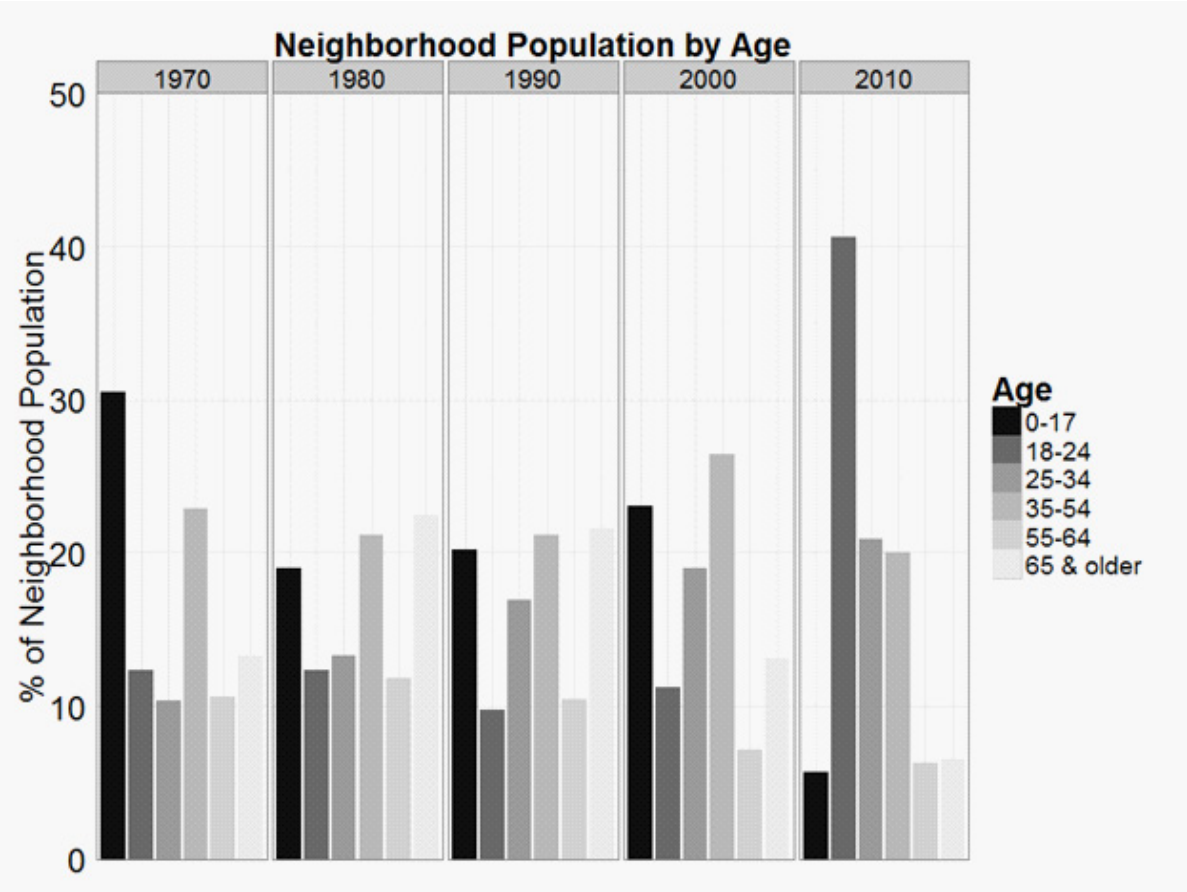
### Business Organizing and Improvement

Until recently, business organizing and improvement activities on the corridor had been limited to streetscape improvements and an underutilized façade improvement program. The Spirit of Sweet Auburn had been established in the 1980s as the corridor's business association, but narrowed its focus by the mid-1990s to organizing the Sweet Auburn Springfest. While the festival promotes the corridor, attracting hundreds of thousands of people each year, the extent to which it directly benefits Auburn Avenue businesses is unclear. The Old 4th Ward Business Association, founded in 2012, is a renewed effort to represent the collective interests of the corridor's business community.

## Summary

Spanning over three decades, the trajectory of Auburn Avenue's revitalization has taken an upturn in the past year with the establishment of the Main Street organization, Sweet Auburn Works. Where previous efforts at revitalization had been stymied by a lack of coordination between the corridor's numerous stakeholders, Sweet Auburn Works, in its short tenure, has successfully facilitated community-driven zoning updates, and a renewed focus on Auburn Avenue's economic development. The corridor's selection as the site of Phase I of the Atlanta Street Car Project, and the inauguration of the Atlanta Catalyst Fund signal a citywide interest in connecting Auburn Avenue's historic assets with commercial revitalization. The area's growing population, represented especially by 18-24 year olds (Figure 6), is largely attributable to GSU's expansion. The corridor's future will, undoubtedly, be affected by the university's ongoing transformation from regional commuter school to residential campus and research institution.

**Figure 6.**
Neighborhood Population by Age, 1970-2010, Atlanta.



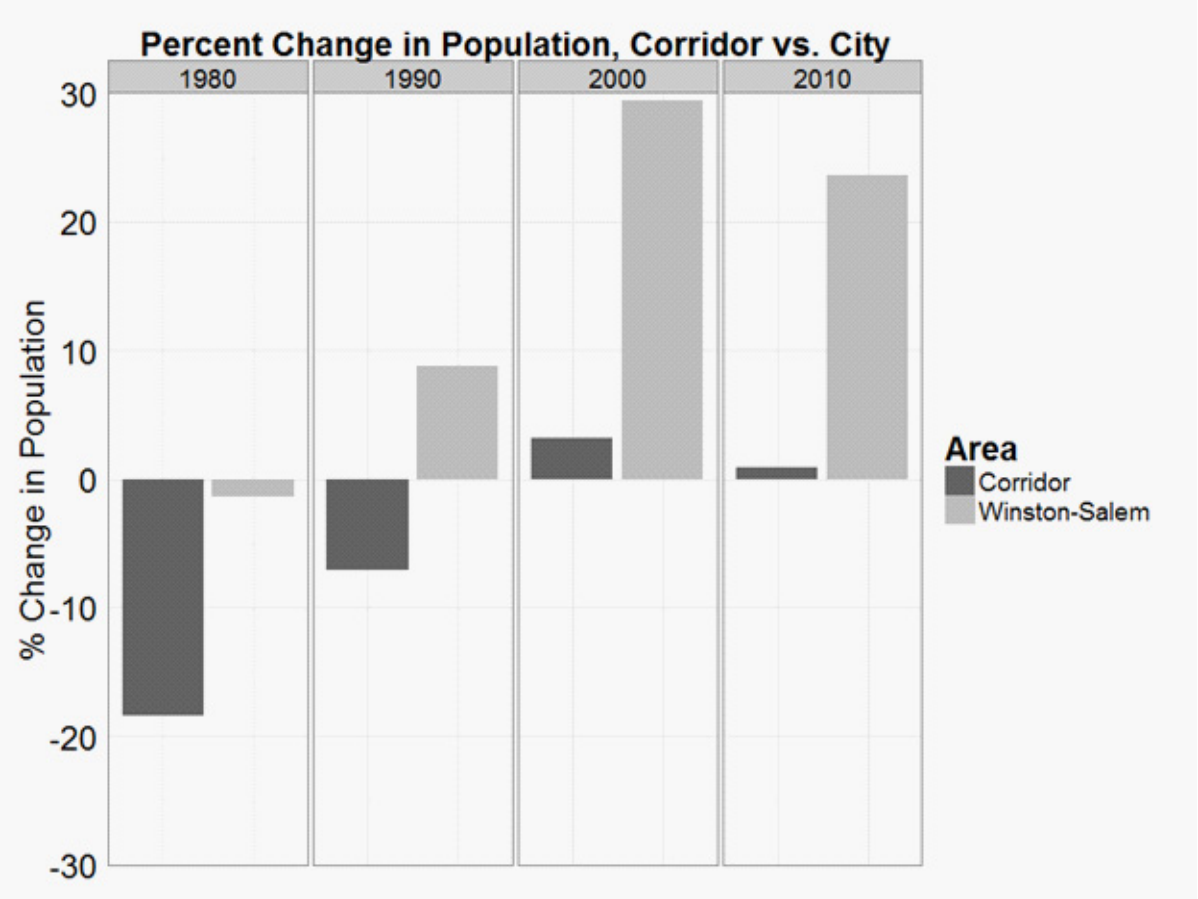

**Note:** Data obtained from U.S. Census Bureau, Decennial Censuses, 1970, 1980, 1990, 2000 and 2010. Neighborhood includes census tracts 13121028000, 13121029000, and 13121011900 with data allocated to 2010 geography using the Longitudinal Census Tract Database.

## Martin Luther King Jr. Drive (Winston-Salem, NC)

### General Overview

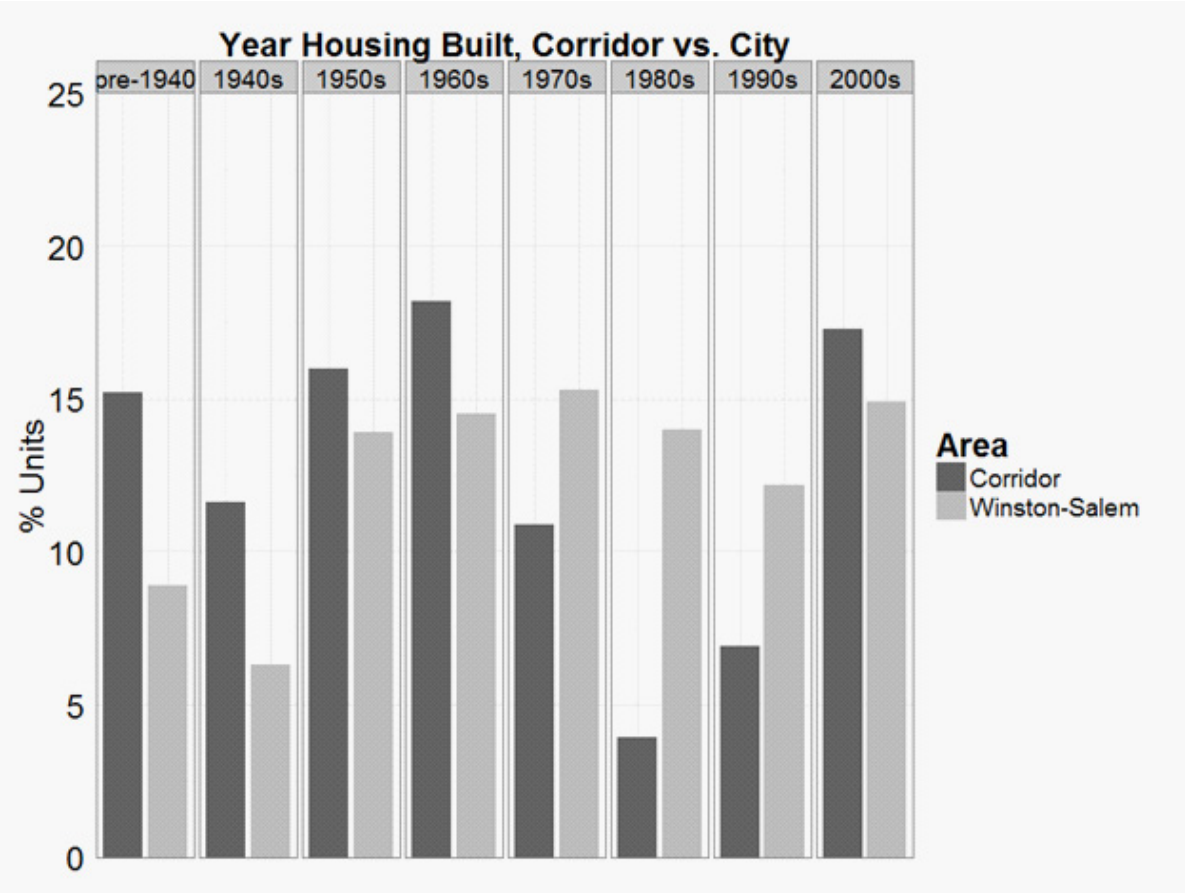
During Winston-Salem's industrial boom (ca. 1880-1920), segments of present-day Martin Luther King Jr. Drive connected the Columbia Heights neighborhood– a residential area for African-American professionals, and the site of Slater Industrial Academy (later Winston-Salem State University, WSSU) – to the city's central business district (Oppermann, 1994). During that period, African-American businesses and churches developed in the central business district near the dozens of tobacco and textile manufacturing plants that employed a large share of Winston-Salem's African-American population. The tobacco industry was particularly robust through the Depression-era, and expansion of its manufacturing plants pushed African-American residents and businesses out of the downtown area into East Winston, along the MLK corridor's present location. Commercial activity that developed in East Winston was displaced once again in the late 1950s by urban renewal. The construction of the freeway US 52, in particular, cut off most of East Winston's arterial connections to the downtown area, and established an enduring pattern of racial segregation and uneven development compounded in the 1980s with the decline of the city's tobacco and textile manufacturing industries (see Figures 7 and 8).

**Figure 7.**
Percent Change in Population by Decade, Corridor versus City (1970-2010), Winston-Salem.




**Note:** Data obtained from U.S. Census Bureau, Decennial Censuses, 1970, 1980, 1990, 2000 and 2010. City is census-designated place, Winston-Salem. Corridor includes census tracts 37067007000, 37067008010, and 37067008020 with data allocated to 2010 geography using the Longitudinal Census Tract Database.

**Figure 8.**
Year Housing Built, Corridor versus City, Winston-Salem.



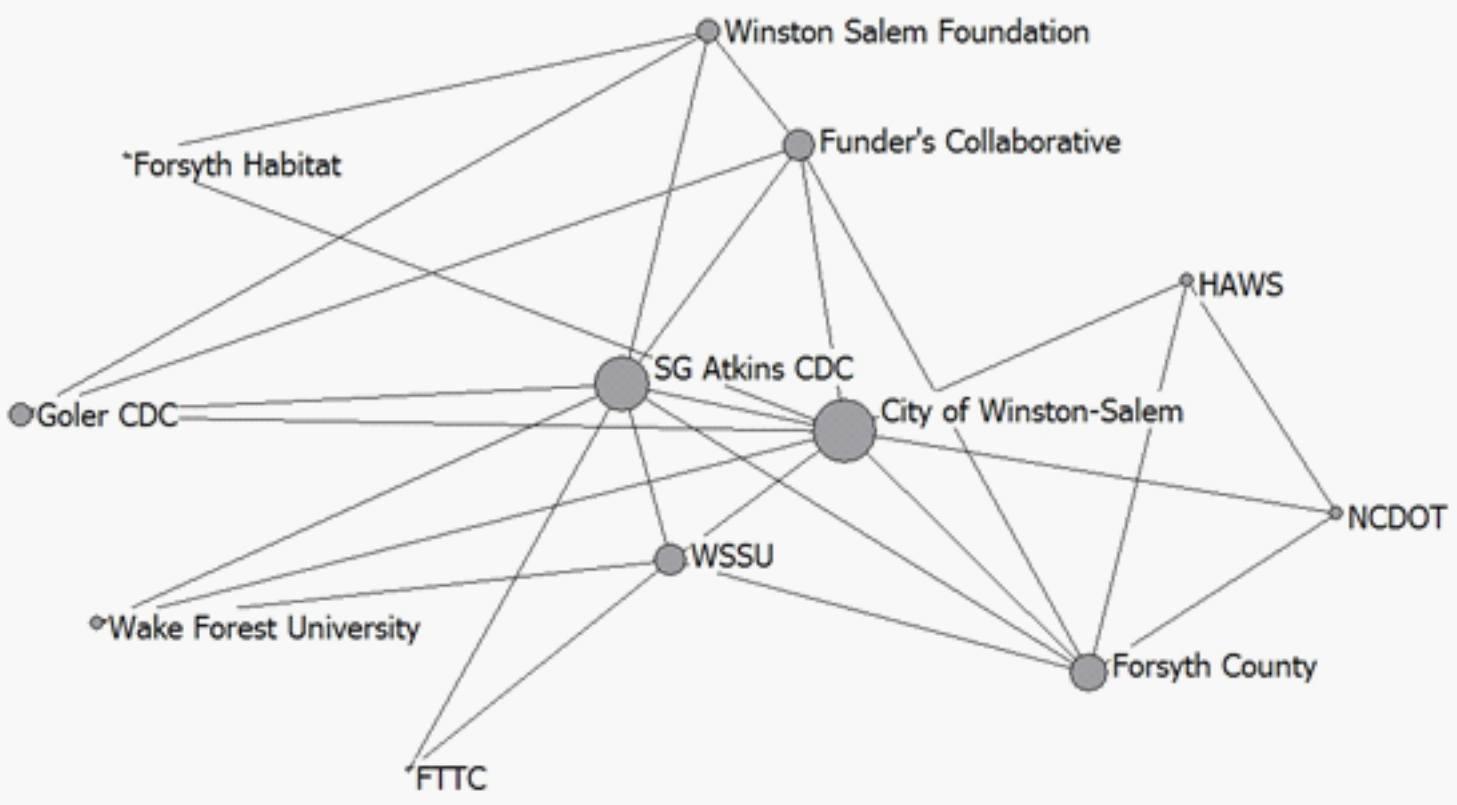

**Note:** Data obtained from U.S. Census Bureau, American Communities Survey, 2007-2011. City is census-designated place, Winston-Salem. Corridor includes census tracts 37067007000, 37067008010, and 37067008020.

In 2001, the City of Winston-Salem launched a comprehensive plan to establish the city as a hub for biomedical research and information technology, and to rebrand Winston-Salem as the "City of Arts and Innovation." The MLK corridor's inclusion in the plan has largely been represented by two of its anchor institutions – Goler Memorial AME Zion Church to the north, and WSSU to the south. As the community development arm of one of the downtown area's only remaining historic African-American congregations, Goler CDC has focused on historic rehabilitation and new construction of housing near downtown. Since completing its first project in 2005, rehabilitating 79 senior housing units, the CDC has been a catalyst in the downtown area's recent housing boom (Garms, 2013). WSSU, in addition to expanding its own infrastructure and programs, was a founding partner in the development of the Wake Forest Innovation Quarter (formerly Piedmont Triad Research Park), and established the S.G. Atkins Community Development Corporation to serve corridor adjacent neighborhoods. After receiving a $1.2 million grant from the Economic Development Administration in 2012, the CDC is completing the renovation of a 40,000 square foot site where it operates a business incubator and community garden. In the coming years, the MLK corridor's connectivity with the whole of Winston-Salem and the region will be enhanced as a result of the City of Winston-Salem's recent acquisition of the historic Union Station, a former passenger rail station adjacent to WSSU.

## Interorganizational Model

Prior to 2000, Winton-Salem's capacity for community redevelopment was centered on local government (Ognibene, 2010). In the late 1990s, a social capital initiative coordinated by the Winston-Salem Foundation – in partnership with Harvard sociologist, Robert Putnam, and the Local Initiatives Support Coalition (LISC) – dramatically altered the structure of the city's nonprofit sector. Between 1990 and 2000, the number of community development corporations operating in Winston-Salem doubled from 35 to 70 (Kady, 1999). The proliferation of CDCs was both supported and regulated by the City of Winston-Salem and LISC. The City, for instance, targeted its support to CDCs operating in its Neighborhood Revitalization Strategy Area (NRSA), established in 2000 to incentivize private investment in East Winston. LISC established a Funder's Collaborative in 2007, which targets its members' charitable contributions towards select CDCs.

- City of Winston-Salem
  - Installed streetscape improvements in 1999.
  - Established Neighborhood Revitalization Strategy Area (NRSA) in 2000, directing public and private funding to projects enhancing real estate and business development in East Winston.
  - Since 2006, identified three Revitalizing Urban Commercial Area (RUCA) sites along MLK corridor.
  - City-County Planning Board partners with SG Atkins to develop MLK Overlay Zone, approved by city council in 2011.
  - Acquired Union Station site (formerly Davis Garage) in 2011 through eminent domain.
  - Department of Community and Business Development operates Small Business Loan Program for businesses located in NRSA.




**Note:** The diagram represents relational structure, where relationships are specified in general terms of organizations working together towards corridor revitalization. Node sizes are relative to connectivity, with the largest nodes representing the most connected organizations.

- Housing Authority of Winston-Salem (HAWS)
  - In 2002, received $18 million HOPE VI grant for redevelopment of Happy Hill Gardens, near MLK corridor's southern edge.
  - In 2013, received $500,000 Choice Neighborhoods Initiative planning grant for Cleveland Avenue neighborhood at northern edge of MLK corridor.
- NC Department of Transportation (NCDOT)
  - Completed US 52 improvements in 2013, improving on- and off-ramps for MLK corridor.
  - In 2013, began construction of Salem Creek Connector, 1.1 mile four-lane road between MLK Corridor (at WSSU) and Wake Forest Innovation Quarter.
- Winston-Salem Foundation
  - Community foundation serving Forsyth County nonprofit organizations.
  - Launched social capital initiative, Everyone Can Help Out (ECHO) in 1999, committing at least $2.5 million over five years to programs focused on community bridging and collaboration.
- Local Initiatives Support Coalition (LISC)
  - A national community development support organization, providing financial and technical support to housing, health equity, and education initiatives.
  - Partnered with Winston-Salem Foundation and Robert Putnam to implement social capital initiative in 1999.
  - Closed operation in Winston-Salem in 2007 after establishing Funder's Collaborative.
- Funder's Collaborative
  - Established in 2007 by LISC to pool funding from 12 public and private partners to provide operating and technical support to select Winston-Salem CDCs, including SG Atkins and Goler.
- S.G. Atkins CDC
  - Established in 1998 by WSSU to serve area surrounding University in southeast Winston-Salem.
  - Providing 13 new construction and 3 rehabbed single family homes since 2001.
  - In 2008, retained development firm, Brailsford & Dunlavey, to prepare MLK corridor master plan.
  - Expanded micro-business development with opening of the Enterprise Center in 2011.
  - Partnered with City-County Planning Board to develop MLK Corridor Overlay adopted in 2011.
- Goler CDC
  - Established in 1999 by Goler Memorial AME Zion Church to serve communities near Winston-Salem's downtown.
  - Since 2005, developed senior housing, and mixed-income communities in downtown.
  - Partners with SG Atkins Enterprise Center to operate Piedmont Contactor Resource Center, improving clients' access to construction industry.
- Habitat for Humanity of Forsyth County
  - Building 350 homes in Forsyth County since 1985.
  - Partners with City of Winston-Salem to build affordable housing in East Winston.
- Winston-Salem State University (WSSU)
  - HBCU situated on corridor's southern end, with total enrollment doubling from 3,000 to more than 6,000 students since 2000.
  - Established SG Atkins CDC in 1999 with grant from HUD.

- » $140 million in new construction and improvements of student housing, facilities and student center.
- » School of Business and Economics' Center for Entrepreneurship provides training and support for SG Atkins clients.

- ❖ Wake Forest University
  - » Private university with total enrollment of 7,400 in 2013.
  - » Operates Community Law and Business Clinic at SG Atkins' Enterprise Center.

- ❖ Forsyth Technical Community College
  - » Public community college with nationally recognized biotechnology program.
  - » Small Business Center provides entrepreneurial support at SG Atkins' Enterprise Center.

## Core Activities and Outcomes

### Real Estate Development

Given that corridor land use has predominantly been residential (35% in 2009), real estate development has been focused on renovation and new construction of single-family homes. Beginning with the early involvement of Habitat for Humanity in the 1980s, housing development has slowly progressed over the past decade with the increased capacity of the Goler and SG Atkins CDCs. Large scale projects near the corridor include the HOPE VI redevelopment of the Happy Hill Gardens public housing project completed in 2007, and WSSU's two on-campus student housing towers completed in 2013.

While retail development has historically been limited on the corridor (6% in 2009), a first step in the SG Atkins CDC's revitalization plan was realized in 2011 with the opening of a new CVS pharmacy near the corridor's northern end on a site previously owned by a church. Prior to the pharmacy, retail space along the corridor had been limited to the East Winston Shopping Center (site of East Winston's first supermarket, developed in 1982), and the Eastway Plaza (developed in 1994), also at the corridor's northern end.

Office development has also been limited (7% in 2009), but is anticipated to increase with the maturation of the nearby Wake Forest Innovation Center, and the Enterprise Center, a business incubator operated by the SG Atkins CDC. The Enterprise Center is, itself, an example of recent development, occupying a 40,000 square foot rehabilitated site near the corridor's center.

### Business Development

As recipient of a $1.2 million grant from the U.S Department of Commerce, the SG Atkins Enterprise Center is the corridor's most notable example of business development activity. The center currently supports 17 clients with businesses representing Winston-Salem's growing health care and information technology industries. A related program managed by Goler CDC, the Piedmont Contractors Resource Center, is improving historically underutilized businesses representation in Winston-Salem's construction industry. Additional programming is periodically offered by the City of Winston-Salem, whose 10-week Business Training Program is free of charge to minority and women business owners, low-income persons or employers of low-income persons.

### Business Funding

In addition to in-kind support, the Enterprise Center helps connect businesses to funding available through the Small Business Administration and the City of Winston-Salem's Small Business Loan Program. The latter is managed by the City's Department of Community and Business Development and offers loans averaging $35,000 to micro-businesses located in the NRSA.

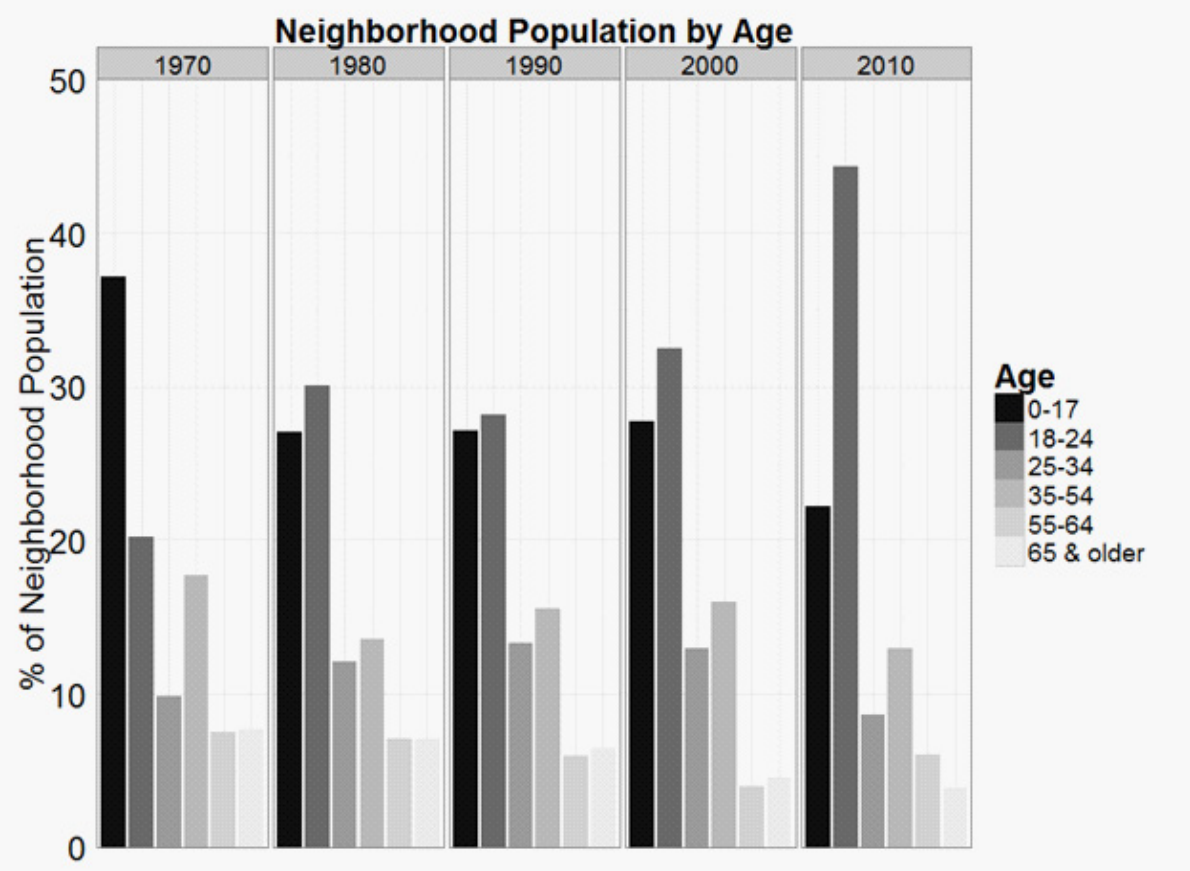
### Business District Organizing and Improvement

The corridor's two shopping centers have historically been characterized by a high degree of turnover due, in part, to low density and limited purchasing power of neighborhood residents (SG Atkins CDC, 2009). In addition to streetscaping improvements and a building improvement loan program, the City of Winston-Salem approved an overlay district ordinance in 2011 in an effort to improve corridor business stability.

## Summary

Although situated between downtown Winston-Salem, WSSU, and the Wake Forest Innovation Quarter, Martin Luther King, Jr. Drive has, historically, had more the appearance of a suburban than urban corridor (Smith, 2014). A first step in zoning reform, developed through a partnership between the SG Atkins CDC, WSSU, and the City of Winston-Salem, has laid the groundwork for high density, mixed use development. In addition to establishing the overlay district, the partnership has led to catalyst projects, either recently completed or in the pipeline, which signal the start of the corridor's revitalization. While the integration of corridor and regional development activities is evident in each of the cases, it is, perhaps, most clear in the case of Martin Luther King, Jr Drive and Winston-Salem, where redevelopment of the former is a facet of the broader effort to transform the economic base of the latter. An early partnership between the corridor's WSSU and Wake Forest University has been instrumental in this process.

**Figure 9.**
Neighborhood Population by Age, 1970-2010, Winston-Salem.




**Note:** Data obtained from U.S. Census Bureau, Decennial Censuses, 1970, 1980, 1990, 2000 and 2010. Neighborhood includes census tracts 37067007000, 37067008010, and 37067008020 with data allocated to 2010 geography using the Longitudinal Census Tract Database.

## Conclusions

Four major elements of a strategy framework emerging from a holistic consideration of the case studies include partnerships centered on corridor anchor institutions, the establishment of a lead organization, the coordination of economic development across multiple scales, and the enhancement of transportation connections between the corridor and central business district.

### Partner with Anchor Institutions

As may have been expected, each case demonstrates that revitalization is an outcome of public-private partnerships. Key partnerships are specified here, however, as relationships between local government and neighborhood anchor institutions, with the latter defined as "cultural, education, medical, or other geographically-based, relatively immobile, and largely non-profit , organizations…(where) significant 'sunk investment' ties their interests to the neighborhood" (Bockmeyer, 2014). Anchor institutions, like NCA&T and Bennett College in Greensboro, WSSU and Goler AME in Winston-Salem, and Big Bethel AME and Wheat Street Baptist in Atlanta, are not only partners in revitalization, but the pillars on which their respective corridors and surrounding neighborhoods where initially built.

The pattern of anchor institution-centered partnerships is most apparent in Greensboro and Winston-Salem, where NCA&T, together with Bennett College, and WSSU are connected with CDCs and city government in a triad at the center of their respective corridor's redevelopment. The pattern is evident in Atlanta, albeit abstractly, where the cluster of historic churches and the Butler CDC are connected to Sweet Auburn Works and the city, as it is represented by CAP and Councilmember Hall.

### Establish Lead Organization

CDCs, generally, can effectively bridge disparate interests and capacities apparent in the complexity of neighborhood redevelopment (Glickman & Servon, 2008). That function was evident in every case, where the establishment of a lead organization – EMSDC in Greensboro, Sweet Auburn Works in Atlanta, and SG Atkins CDC in Winston-Salem – provided a meaningful turning point toward progress in an otherwise discontinuous process of starts and stops.

While a newly formed lead organization played a pivotal role in each case, there is variation in how each organization formed. Greensboro presents the most direct process, with EMSDC forming early on with the express purpose of leading the redevelopment effort on East Market Street, per the APA planning team's recommendation. The Winston-Salem and Atlanta cases present more of a process of evolution. In Winston-Salem, for instance, the SG Atkins CDC's central position in the MLK corridor's redevelopment is a result, in part, of developments occurring after the organization had already been formed – namely, the establishment of the Neighborhood Revitalization Strategy Area and the Winston-Salem Funder's Collaborative, which effectively narrowed the field of CDCs after their proliferation in the late 1990s. In Atlanta, nearly 25 years after a Main Street Organization was recognized as a remedy for their being "too many cooks in the kitchen" (Smith, 1987), Sweet Auburn Works formed in a context defined by resurging demand for urban housing and GSU's rise to prominence.

### Coordinate Development at Multiple Scales

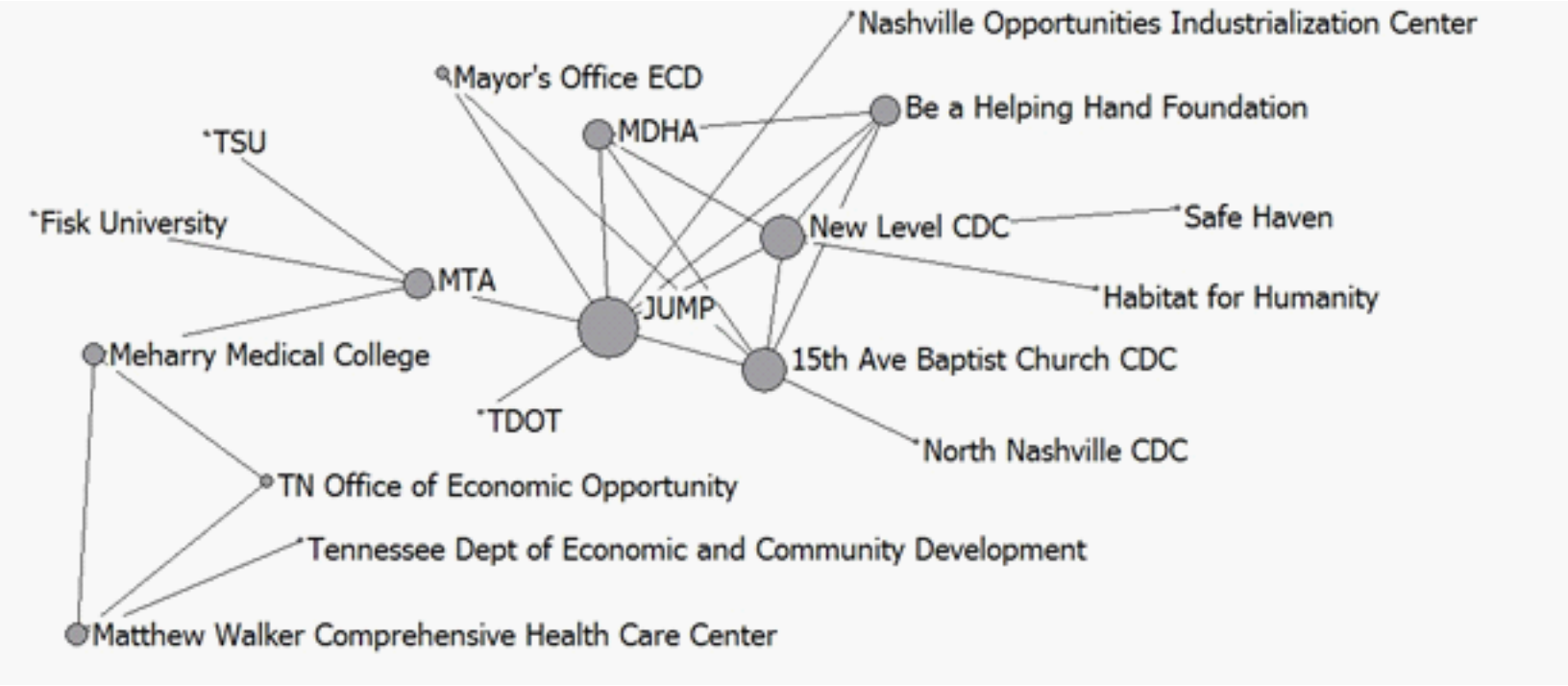
In every case, redevelopment is occurring at multiple scales, such that corridor related strategies reflect citywide and regional plans for economic development. This is particularly evident with business development, where corridor and neighborhood-level activities can be counted, in themselves, as outcomes of a broader, regional economic development strategy. The focus on entrepreneurial training in the case of East Market Street, for instance, is an outcome of Action Greensboro's effort to spur technology

transfer through a partnership between NCA & T and UNC Greensboro. Similarly, the S.G. Atkins CDC's business incubator, with its objective of developing tech savvy participants, is a direct extension of a broader effort to shift Winston-Salem to a knowledge-based economy. In each case, corridor redevelopment is linked to regional economic development through the university-as-anchor institution. While bringing together a different set of inputs, the general model of an anchor institution serving as a link between regional and corridor development is evident on Auburn Avenue, as well. Given that the broader objective in Atlanta is to bring a more family-oriented focus to the downtown area's status as "convention city" (Ball, 2014), the corridor-targeted incentive program, or "Opportunity Zone," will serve to extend downtown tourism to Auburn Avenue's established, yet disconnected historical and cultural assets.

## Enhance Transportation

Lastly, each case presents an effort to enhance connectivity between the corridor and its respective city's central business district. Again, corridor anchor institutions play a role by shaping specific transportation strategies. In Greensboro, for instance, in what is, perhaps, the most modest example, the transit authority is providing free transportation to NCA&T students. In Atlanta, the street car project is helping connect the King Center's nearly one million visitors per year to the rest of the downtown area. The Salem Creek Connector, and eventually, Union Station, in Winston-Salem are connecting WSSU to the Wake Forest Innovation Quarter. Given the shared historical context of decline exacerbated, if not triggered, by transportation projects, it is fitting each case presents an effort to enhance connectivity between the corridor and its respective city's central business district.

The extent to which these elements are operating in the redevelopment of Nashville's Jefferson Street can be partially assessed by looking at the corridor's interorganizational network as illustrated below.



Involvement of the corridor's **historic anchor institutions** is primarily represented by its churches and affiliated CDCs, namely Mt. Zion Baptist's New Level CDC and the 15th Avenue Baptist Church CDC. There are also three HBCUs represented in the network. Two of these (Tennessee State and Fisk Univeristies), however, are pendant-type organizations, meaning that they have only a single connection to the rest of the network. Given the level of involvement of HBCUs, as described in the case studies above, the network diagram here indicates that the potential for Nashville's HBCUs to connect with one another, as well as other corridor stakeholders, has yet to be fully realized.

The pendant-type relationships characterzing TSU and Fisk's involvement in the corridor's redevelopment effort may be related to the fact that, although there is a relatively well-connected cluster of CDCs serving the corridor, none has been designated as lead organization. The creation of a **lead organization** is repeatedly referred to by stakeholders in the case studies above as a watershed in garnering the broad base of support necessary to move redevelopment efforts forward. Without the focus afforded by a lead organization, the potential for partnership dissipates across a set of weakly connected organizations. In the case of Jefferson Street, MDHA and the Be a Helping Hand Foundation are apparent exceptions.Their connections, however, are limited to one another, and to the CDC cluster. The creation, or designation, of a lead organization may improve the overall level of collaboration affecting Jefferson Street's redevelopment.

While the network diagram does not give a direct indication of the Jefferson Street corridor's **integration into development activities at multiple scales**, it can be noted that, apart from TDOT's relationship with the Jefferson Street United Merchants Partnership, state agencies' involvement is isolated from the corridor's most central organizations, being connected only indirectly through Meharry College and the Matthew Walker Health Center. If Meharry, in its capacity as anchor institution, were to become more centrally involved in the corridor's redevelopment, it might, then, effectively bridge the support of state economic development agencies to other partenerships affecting the corridor. Additionally, considering the involvement of universities in the case studies above, especially WSSU and Wake Forest's role in transforming Winston-Salem's economic base, Jefferson Street's position in regional development might be enhanced by broadening the scope of partnerships to include other institutions that are not necessarily corridor adjacent, such as Vanderbilt or Middle Tennesse State Universities.

Efforts to **enhance transportation** along Jefferson Street were set forward with the Gateway to Heritage project and MTA's University Connector route, both unveiled in 2012. Improvements include the installation of sheltered bus stops at key corridor intersections., and, moving forward, a plan to increase evening service connecting TSU and the Capitol District along MTA's route 29. With the development of the Sulfur Dell stadium certain to increase traffic at the corridor's eastern end, furthering the connectivity of the anchor institutions on the corridor's western end will be increasingly important.

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## Photographs of East Market Street Corridor

**Figure 1.** African Continental Cuisine, 257 N. Greene Street – Minority-owned business near Greensboro CBD, two blocks south of Market Street. Example of somewhat balanced local versus national chain development along the corridor.

**Figure 2.** Historical landmark and points of interest signage, W. Market Street & S. Greene Street. Signage directing visitors to points of interest in and near the CBD are prominent throughout the area.

## Photographs of East Market Street Corridor

**Figure 3.** Recycling bins, E. Market Street & Elm Street. This and other examples of "urban greening" are prominent along the corridor near the CBD, but less so as one moves to the East along E. Market Street.

**Figure 4.** International Civil Rights Center and Museum, 134 S. Elm Street. Museum constructed in the former Woolworth's Building at the site of the beginning of the "Sit-ins" movement, a significant part of the U.S. Civil Rights Movement. The center opened on February 1, 2010, on the 50th Anniversary of the "Sit-ins" movement.

## Photographs of East Market Street Corridor

**Figure 5.** "Sit-ins" movement historical marker, N. Elm Street & E. Friendly Avenue. Numerous historical markers are located along the Market Street corridor and environs, with many associated with the area's African American history.

## Photographs of East Market Street Corridor

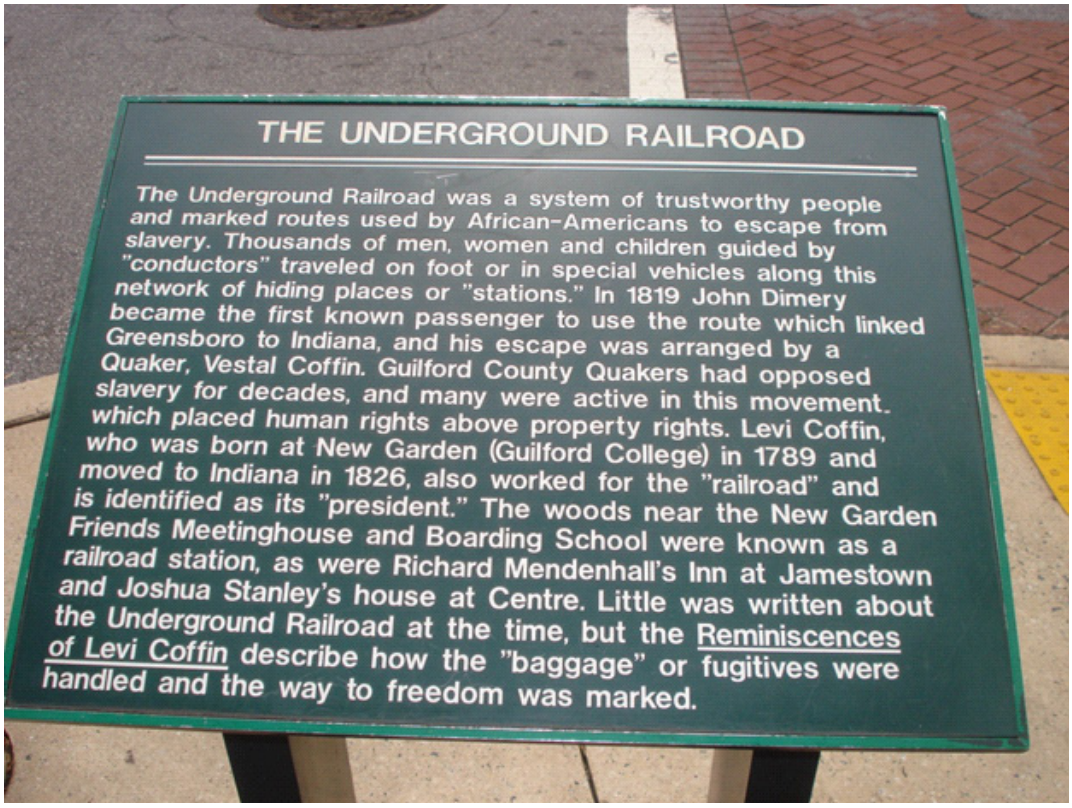


**Figure 6.** Underground Railroad historical marker, S. Elm Street & February One Place. One of many historical markers denoting significant events in African American history.

**Figure 7.** The Zone – Sports Bar & Grill, 221 S. Elm Street. Minority-owned business near the vicinity of the E. Market Street and S. Elm Street intersection. The area appears to be experiencing significant commercial redevelopment, including several small, local, and minority owned ventures. The area is active during mid-day with downtown workers patronizing many of the businesses for lunch. Nighttime activity is dominated by young people, mostly teenagers and college students.

## Photographs of East Market Street Corridor

**Figure 8.** Harlem Bistro, 223 S. Elm Street. Another minority-owned eatery near the E. Market Street & S. Elm Street intersection.

**Figure 9.** Hints Clothing Store, 236-F S. Elm Street. The area has a relatively diverse mix of local and minority-owned businesses and services. Thus far, the economic health of the district close to the CBD appears to be on the upswing.

## Photographs of East Market Street Corridor

**Figure 10.** Triad Stage Theatre, 232 S. Elm Street. Several properties near the S. Elm Street & E. Market Street intersection are dedicated to the arts and non-profit ventures.

**Figure 11.** View from approximately 220 S. Elm Street looking north at midday. E. Market Street is about a half block in the distance. Note that there are very few, if any, vacant properties. Also note that there is significant foot and vehicle traffic.

## Photographs of East Market Street Corridor

**Figure 12.** View from approximately 220 S. Elm Street looking north at midday. E. Market Street is about a half block in the distance. Note that there are very few, if any, vacant properties. Also note that there is significant foot and vehicle traffic. Many street trees are present, some included in streetscaping improvements.

**Figure 13.** Jimmy Johns Gourmet Sandwiches, 216 S. Elm Street. While most of the businesses in the vicinity of the S. Elm Street & E. Market street intersection appear to be local, there is some presence of national chains.