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The River, the Railroad Tracks, and the Towers: How Residents' Worldview and Use Value Transformed Wilton Manors into a Diverse, Gay- friendly, Urban Village

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FLORIDA INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY

Miami, Florida

THE RIVER, THE RAILROAD TRACKS, AND THE TOWERS:
HOW RESIDENTS' WORLDVIEW AND USE VALUE TRANSFORMED WILTON
MANORS INTO A DIVERSE, GAY-FRIENDLY, URBAN VILLAGE

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the

requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in

COMPARATIVE SOCIOLOGY

by

Emma Ergon-Rowe

2011

To: Dr. Kenneth Furton
College of Arts and Sciences

This dissertation, written by Emma Ergon-Rowe, and entitled *The River, the Railroad Tracks, and the Towers: How Residents' Worldview and Use Value Transformed Wilton Manors into a Diverse, Gay-friendly, Urban Village*, having been approved in respect to style and intellectual content, is referred to you for judgment.

We have read this dissertation and recommend that it be approved.

Alex Stepick

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Date of Defense: November 10, 2011

The dissertation of Emma Ergon-Rowe is approved.

Dean Kenneth Furton
College of Arts and Sciences

Dean Lakshmi N. Reddi
University Graduate School

Florida International University, 2011

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this dissertation to my daughter, Naomi Esperanza Rowe, who has been my hope, joy, and inspiration since the day I set eyes on her - and who has never known a mother who wasn't also a student.

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

THE RIVER, THE RAILROAD TRACKS, AND THE TOWERS:
HOW RESIDENTS' AGENCY AND USE VALUE TRANSFORMED WILTON
MANORS INTO A DIVERSE, GAY-FRIENDLY, URBAN VILLAGE

by

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Florida International University, 2011

Miami, Florida

Professor Hugh Gladwin, Major Professor

This case study examines the factors that shaped the identity and landscape of a small island-urban-village between the north and south forks of the Middle River and north of an urban area in Broward County, Florida. The purpose of the study is to understand how Wilton Manors was transformed from a “whites only” enclave to the contemporary upscale, diverse, and third gayest city in the U.S. by positing that a dichotomy for urban places exists between their exchange value as seen by Logan and Molotch and the use value produced through everyday activity according to Lefebvre. Qualitative methods were used to gather evidence for reaching conclusions about the relationship among the worldview of residents, the tension between exchange value and use value in the restructuring of the city, and the transformation of Wilton Manors at the end of the 1990s. Semi-structured, in-depth interviews were conducted with 21 contemporary participants. In addition, thirteen taped CDs of selected members of founding families, previously taped in the 1970s, were analyzed using a grounded theory approach. My findings indicate that Wilton Manors' residents share a common worldview which

incorporates social inclusion as a use value, and individual agency in the community.

This shared worldview can be traced to selected city pioneers whose civic mindedness helped shape city identity and laid the foundation for future restructuring. Currently, residents' quality of life reflected in the city's use value is more significant than exchange value as a primary force in the decisions that are made about the city's development.

With innovative ideas, buildings emulating the new urban mixed-use design, and a reputation as the third gayest city in the United States, Wilton Manors reflects a worldview where residents protect use value as primary over market value in the decisions they make that shape their city but not without contestation.

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CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION

“For all its apparent normalcy, the Island City is a rare outpost of integration” states an article on Wilton Manors, Florida (Eifling 2005). This was not always the case. Not long after the opening of *Georgie’s Alibi* in 1997, the gay clientele oriented restaurant-sports bar that the city’s folklore attributes to sparking its renaissance, some “hoods” driving with a blacked-out license plate stabbed one of the three co-owners, Terry Norman, as he walked out of the bar one night (Eifling 2005). In the years since that event took place, the people of Wilton Manors have struggled to find a balance between opposing forces that exist within their two-and-a-half square mile island-city.

From its roots in the boom-and-bust era of Florida’s development in the 1920s, the first subdivision in Wilton Manors was marketed by Edward John “Ned” Willingham as a “white only” enclave “protectively restricted . . . to be strictly a high –class residential suburb” (from the scrapbook of Francis L. Abreu, N.d; courtesy Fort Lauderdale Historical Society). Willingham, a farmer, businessman, and land speculator from Georgia, arrived in Fort Lauderdale in 1923, bought a farm north of Middle River and west of Dixie Highway in 1924, and supplemented his purchase with an additional 30 acres. By 1925 he had accumulated 345 acres of pine land and was ready to plat Wilton Manors and found the city as a northern residential subdivision of the City of Fort Lauderdale (McIver 1997; Thuma 2005). Unfortunately by 1925 the boom was unraveling due to a series of economic downturns: “[The] Internal Revenue Service had begun demanding tax payments on big-ticket sales – in cash. Speculators started trembling. . . . During the previous summer the Florida East Coast Railway, overwhelmed

by the crush of passengers and cargo, declared an embargo to catch up on railroad and rolling stock maintenance. Shipment of construction materials slowed to a stop by early winter . . .” (MacIver 1997:15). After pushing hard to get the development opened in 1925, it appeared that finally Wilton Manors was ready for market by January 1926 (MacIver 1997). In February of that year it became clear that the buyers had dwindled. Among the selling points was that it was to be an “. . . exclusive, convenient, accessible . . .” and “. . . all sales . . . restricted to Caucasians” subdivision (McIver 1997:16). But by April 10, 1926 the Willingham Development Co., ran its last ad: “The boom was over. The Great Depression that came to the rest of the country in 1929 arrived in Florida in early 1926” (McIver 1997:17). Only three years after he had arrived with dreams of fortunes, Ned Willingham’s dream was gone with the winds of the 1926 hurricane season and the national economic downturn and depression of the late 1920s.

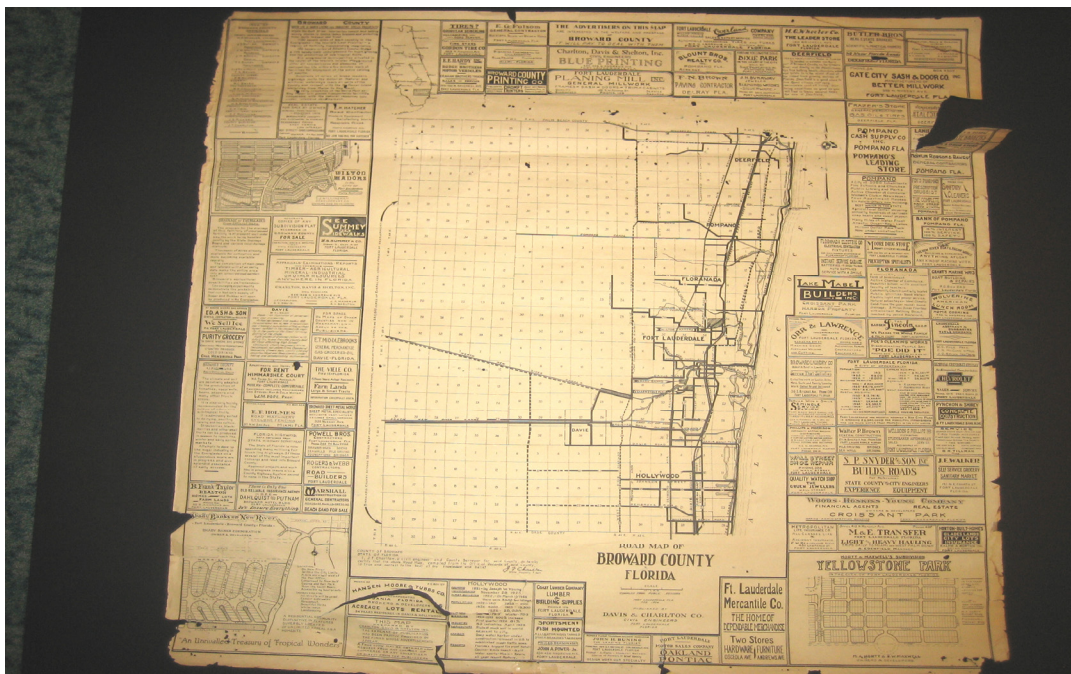


Figure 1. 1926 Advertising map; note Wilton Manors ad upper left. *Road Map of Broward County, 1926.* Fort Lauderdale Historical Society. Photo by Emma Ergon 2011

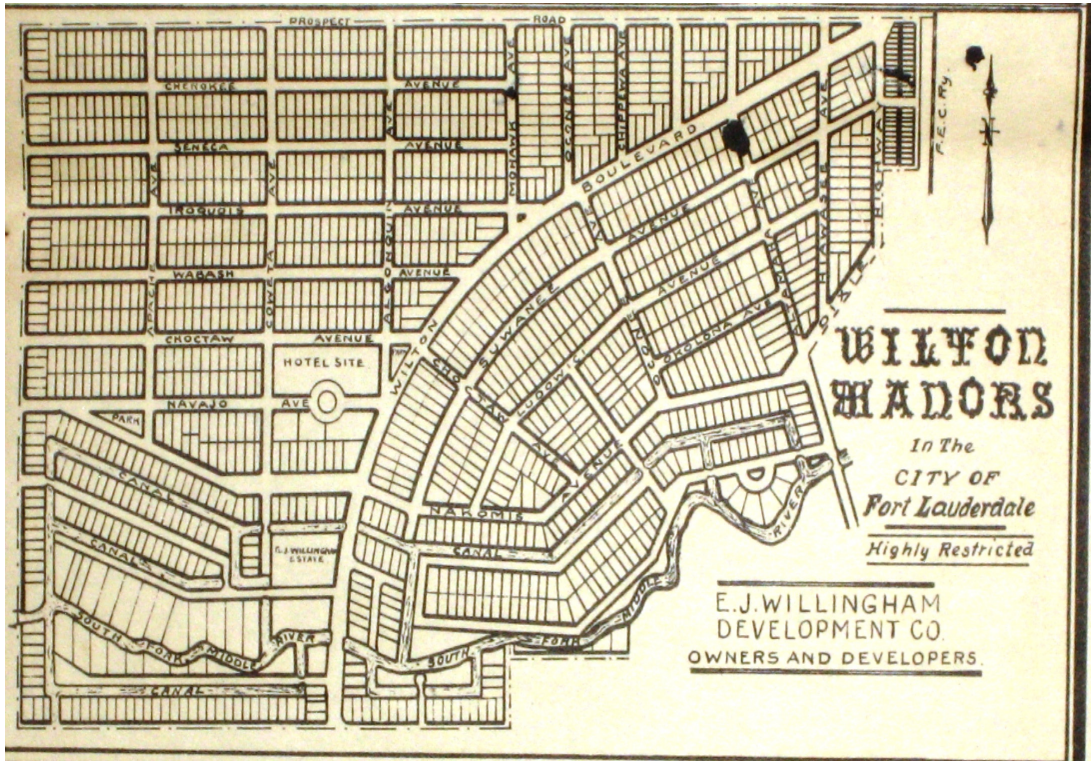


Figure 2. Close-up of advertising map; notice streets in Wilton Manors were originally named after indigenous North American tribes. Ned” Willingham was marketing his new development in the 1920s to “high-class” customers - notice “Highly Restricted” assurance. *Road Map of Broward County, 1926*. Fort Lauderdale Historical Society. Photo by Emma Ergon 2011

Historical accounts report that after its initial abandonment, Wilton Manors finally took root in the 1940’s when Dave Turner, a descendant of Florida pioneers and widely considered the city’s founding father, bought 283 building lots from the Willingham estate in 1945. Along with 95 other families, he set out to incorporate the Village of Wilton Manors in 1947, with a population of approximately 350 people (McIver 1997), as an independent city from Fort Lauderdale and Oakland Park:

World War II swept away the lingering effects of the Depression, and V-J Day set off the great boom which hasn’t stopped yet. Soon after the war, subdivisions that had lain dormant since the ‘20s, their street lights rusting and their pavement cracking, began to fill in. One of these was Wilton Manors, between the forks of the Middle River. In 1945, the Turners moved into a new home there. Two years later the subdivision’s residents decided to incorporate, to obtain city services without being absorbed by either Fort Lauderdale or Oakland Park. (The Miami Herald March 11, 1973 [Turner family papers])

On the basis of these accounts and on contemporary data, this study examines how use value is created and sustained by residents despite the unremitting pressure of capitalist market forces on this small island-urban-village between the north and south forks of the Middle River and north of an urban area in Broward County, Florida. Wilton Manors' economic, political, and social transformation from a run down, bedroom community to the restructured, third gayest city (Gates 2004) in America in the last 15 years provides contemporary access for the study of the dynamics of exchange value and use value forces and how they shape the everyday life of residents in the city. The city is amenable to study primarily for three reasons: the small geographic size and clear city boundaries demarcated by the river provide a natural and manageable environment within which to gather data and observe internal city dynamics; the historically documented change in the city's orientation from a white only enclave to a diverse, gay-friendly city within a 70 year span of time provides data about social inclusivity, discrimination and diversity, and the city's use value that are relevant today; and, despite the city's diversity, the degree of collaboration between the different groups who live and work there provides a social context within which to observe how these groups coexist and cooperate in the development of the city.

In light of incidents such as the violence recounted above and their relative absence in recent years, my goal became to design a study that contributes to the understanding of the forces that shaped Wilton Manors' transformation. My hope in studying Wilton Manors is also that the insights gained from interviewing selected citizens and analyzing other historical data, will contribute to further understanding the nature of the relationship between aspects of people's culture, their agency, and their built environment -

specifically cities. After reviewing the literature and a preliminary feasibility study, I thought that exchange value versus use value, as time- and space-specific embodiments of worldviews, are concepts that would serve to organize the analysis of the decisions that people make about the cities where they live. Understanding how people can learn to coexist in urban cities is becoming increasingly important-- a United Nations report stated that in 2008 the world passed a tipping point when more than half of the world's people were reported to live in cities (<http://www.unfpa.org/pds/urbanization.htm>). The literature reviewed in the next chapter also suggested that key urban transformations that take place in specific urban places should be studied in that context; based on these reasons Wilton Manors seemed like a prime case for the contextual study of these phenomena.

The focus of this study is on the sociocultural transformations that occurred in Wilton Manors as a means of understanding how people shape cities by their interactions, choices, and agency. Wilton Manors is not unique in this transition; however it is very unusual in South Florida to observe the continuing involvement of descendants of the original founding families in the community. Together with gays tired of the "scene" on South Beach, and others looking to find a stable and safe environment a synergy was created resulting in a new use value for Wilton Manors' residents. In order to theoretically link and contextualize my observations of Wilton Manors, I will review literature relevant to space and place to identify previous work done on processes of place attachment through the kinds of meanings people associate with their environment as part of the creation of use value. In doing this I hope to shed light on underlying motivations

for choosing use value over market value in decisions made regarding the city's restructuring.

The importance of place in understanding contemporary life has been elevated in recent socioeconomic research as Richard Florida (2002: xix) writes: “. . . place is the key economic and social organizing unit of our time.” In the everyday lives of people, where they live means more to them than a cluster of buildings and physical structures – their cities are also a world of associated meanings. As Gieryn (2000) suggests, a sociology informed by place should be neither reductionist nor determinist and the analytical utility of place is destroyed if the three defining characteristics of place, material form, and meaningfulness are separated. Place is defined as being simultaneously the built structures in a certain geographic space and the actors' interpretations, representations, and identifications where both the material and interpretive work in a mutually dependent way.

Understanding mechanisms of city-change and development in particular places may provide us with the tools that are needed to make better decisions and exert greater control over the quality of our everyday lives. The analytical importance of the study of place is in its relationship to other ontological realms that sociologists study like behavior, beliefs, institutions, and change because all of social life is emplaced - it occurs in a contextual space (Gieryn 2000).

In the literature, one of the debates over the factors that give structure to locations and built environments such as cities pits the urban ecologists against the political economists (Gieryn 2000). Ecological explanations for the shaping of cities are based on models of competition and survival of the fittest, where actors shape cities by controlling the locales

that are most beneficial for their own interests. Political economic models explain development based on economic capitalist interests where cities are shaped by the pursuit of profit and political complicity for the creation and accumulation of wealth. Cities are seen as being shaped by selective capital investments (Harvey 1973) or entirely by economic restructuring (Castells 1977).

A third approach claims that both ecological and political economic models overlook the role of agency, people, and groups in shaping cities (Logan and Molotch 1987). Coalitions actively accomplish the formation of cities in ways that are unique and that vary from city to city; these growth machines are constituted by place-entrepreneurs or rentiers, politicians, and others who increasingly try to extract exchange value from land use decisions and who often find themselves in opposition to community activists who are concerned about the use value of place and who oppose growth because of its detrimental consequences for the quality of life or environmental health. This point of view resonates with much of what has been happening in Wilton Manors over the last 10 to 15 years. Development and restructuring have brought the small city back from near collapse in the 1980s in ways that at times have shown remarkable collaboration between groups and at other times with considerable disagreement. For this study I will examine explanations for the overarching accommodation of the various interest groups that up until now has resulted in positive restructuring and new identity for the city.

Importance of the Study

There are several practical and theoretical reasons why I chose to do this study. On a general level this study's importance lies in its contribution to the understanding of the forces that structure cities at a time when where we choose to live may be one of the most

important decisions of our lives (Florida 2002). People are choosing to live in places based on quality of life issues rather than strictly the previously accepted economic motivations (Florida 2002). Whether or not this shift in focus is real or a product of our own conceptualizations, it has repercussions for planners, community leaders, national decision makers, capital investors and everyday people, among others. More specifically, this study addresses Molotch's (1993) four criticisms of urban political economic theories: 1) urban political economy is overdeterministic overlooking human agency; 2) urban political economy leaves no room for culture, those aspects of structure that have to do with shared symbols, systems of human interaction, and conceptions of the collective good; 3) it is totalistic, assuming homogeneity across places without regard for diversity and variation in spatial and social arrangements; and 4) urban political economy has failed to acknowledge the most important structure: that of the physical environment within which all human activity must take place and the ways in which it is inevitably shaped.

Additionally, Wilton Manors is a unique case that may fill some of the gaps in the literature on different types of cities or communities within them. In particular, literature on gay cities is relevant since it may shed light on the underlying mechanisms that allow certain characteristics of cities to emerge, for example, the emergence of new forms of diversity and social inclusion. As the current third gayest city in the United States (Gates 2004) Wilton Manors is in a category that is particularly relevant for the study of these mechanisms.

Finally, the two-and-a-half miles geography and the relatively small population of approximately 12,000 people facilitate accessibility and increase feasibility for scientific

study. Not only is the population relatively small but it is also highly engaged in community activism. The combination of these characteristics, along with a very active historical society that has dedicated itself to preserving Wilton Manors' historical and cultural resources makes it not only amenable to observation but an ideal environment to study questions of urban regeneration through cultural creativity and social inclusion. The primary focus is on the identification of factors involved in city transformation – what are the factors and how they are interrelated.

Introduction to the City

In some places when they give you the key to the city it is usually in the form of an oversized key-shaped object. When Mary Ellen Charapko gave me the key to Wilton Manors, it came in the shape of Diane Cline. Initially I had no idea who she was – nor that her friends call her “Mrs. Wilton Manors” (Baier 2007). I called her at Mary Ellen’s suggestion and made an appointment to meet at the opening of the dog-park section of Colohatchee Park (See Figures 4, 5). During our first conversation over the phone Diane immediately suggested that no matter what I was doing, I was going to need to read Cynthia Thuma’s (2005) book on Wilton Manors; it just so happened that the Wilton Manors Historical Society (WMHS) was selling it (See Figures 4, 5). And, by the way, she was also the president of the society and should she bring one to our meeting - only \$20 and all the proceeds went to the WMHS.

This was my initiation into Wilton Manors and my introduction to the string of leadership positions that Diane has held in her 77 productive years, not the least of which were the first Vice Mayor of Wilton Manors, interim Mayor, and City Council President. I did not know it at the time but I was going to need her energy and willingness to share

her list of names and contact information of locals to keep me going. Anyone else would have given up on me and my project as there were three years of relatively little “fruit” to be had while I finished required classes, received Institutional Review Board approval, and filed the required paperwork with the University’s Graduate School.

As my experience and knowledge of the people and the city grew, I set about designing a study that would explain the social changes that crystallized in the mid to late 1990s as a contribution to the social science literature. The literature that seemed most likely to fit the objectives of the study gradually came into view and focused on the political economy of place, social inclusion, and the literature on values, beliefs, and attitudes (dimensions of worldview) and their translation into everyday life via Giddens’ (1990) structuration theory.

Wilton Manors: The Place

Wilton Manors, Florida is the location of the study. In the past 15 years Wilton Manors has undergone many changes that make it uniquely positioned to illuminate the links between worldview and agency and for exploring notions of place and use value and the roles these play in the construction of cities. One of the reasons why Wilton Manors is an interesting case is that, unlike other cities that have been studied, Wilton Manors is not an ethnic enclave, nor an exclusively working class community, although anecdotal evidence relates that it has been in the past. It is not primarily African-American nor Latino nor is it completely run by descendants of Southern, Anglo-European founding families. Its beginnings in the 1920s as a white-only enclave suggest an orientation towards social exclusion (albeit typical of the times) and yet, eighty six years later it has emerged as a self-defined diverse and gay-friendly city.

Although the 2010 U.S. census reported that in Wilton Manors, Whites (non-Latino) constituted 71.21% of the population, there is ethnic diversity in the population. Approximately 13% of the population is Hispanic or Latino (of any race) and 12.03% are Black or African American (non-Latino), (see Table 1). The 2000 Profile of Selected Social Characteristics (the latest year for which data is available) reported that 20.5% of the residents were foreign born with 67.7% of those born in Latin America, 17.1% born in Europe, 7.5% born in Asia, 7.5% North American, and .2% born in Africa.

Additionally, in terms of the ethnicity of all residents 14.2% were of Irish ancestry, 13.3% were German, 12.1% considered themselves of English heritage, 9.1% Italian, 8.5% West Indian, with a variety of other ethnicities reported (Arab, Czech, Danish, Dutch, French, French Canadian, Greek, Hungarian, Lithuanian, Norwegian, Polish, Portuguese, Russian, Scotch-Irish, Scottish, Slovak, Sub-Saharan African, Swedish, Swiss, Ukrainian, Welsh, and 24% reporting other ancestries (U.S. Census Bureau) (see Appendix 1). This data reflects a significantly large number of ethnicities within a two-and-a-half square mile city which may be construed as diversity.

Historically, census data may be interpreted to mean that Wilton Manors has increasingly become a culturally diverse place. The percent foreign born living in Wilton Manors has increased from 6.2% in 1960 to 20.5% in 2000; rates that are comparable to Broward County's 25.3% foreign born in 2000 (U.S. Census Bureau) (see Table 3).

D'Oliveira reported in 1991 that Black and Hispanic populations had increased significantly in Fort Lauderdale, Oakland Park and Wilton Manors in the 10 years preceding the 1990 census. In his Sun-Sentinel article he reported that Wilton Manors' census figures showed the city's population declining from 13,000 to 12,000 while its

black population rose from 230 to 1,100 in 1990. The city's Hispanic population also rose from 300 to 700 in 1990. The article also noted that the town's black population was at the time concentrated in Highland Estates, a small neighborhood bordered by Northeast Sixth Avenue on the west, Northeast 26th Street on the south, the north fork of the Middle River on the north and Northeast Ninth Avenue on the east and Northwest Ninth Avenue. Currently, based on the 2010 census, approximately 25% of the city's population is either Black or Hispanic.

Household data shows that 97.5% of the total population of Wilton Manors (11,632 reported by the 2010 census) lives in households, with 16.5% living with non-relatives, and 8.8% of those reported living with unmarried partners (some of whom are presumably same-sex partnerships). In the 2005-2009 five year estimates, the American Community Survey reported that out of 6,472 households, 12.8% were estimated to be unmarried partner households with 61% of those headed by a male householder with a male partner and 14.6% estimated to be female householders with a female partner (U.S. Census Bureau^b) suggesting a significant proportion of gay households (potentially 76% of unmarried partner households are gay households).

In 1990 it was reported that out of 5,983 housing units, 90.76% were occupied, and of those 52.35% were owner occupied and 38.41% were renter occupied (see Table 2). In 2000 it was reported that out of 6,321 of the total housing units, 93% were occupied with 57.50% owner occupied and 42.5% renter occupied with a 1.4% homeowner vacancy and 6.1% renter vacancy. Of the total housing units (7,162) reported in the Profile of General Population and Housing Characteristics for 2010 (U.S. Census Bureau) 87.1% were occupied with 46.51% being owner occupied and a 5.5% homeowner vacancy rate

(40.55% were renter occupied housing units with a 9.2% vacancy rate); 85.11% of the population live in owner occupied housing units. It is possible, that the vacancies may be explained not by owners or renters leaving Wilton Manors but by the 1,179 unit increase in new housing between 1990 and 2009 (or a 20% increase in housing units), some of which have not yet been sold or rented due to the economic downturn of the last five or so years. Differences across census years from 1990 to 2010 show that the rental vacancy rate, which one might expect would be the most affected rate in housing due to increased prices and the consequent population's displacement, actually remained fairly constant (9.3% and 9.2% respectively). Additionally, anecdotal evidence suggests that many of the current homeowners have been living there for years, some for generations, and therefore the increase in market value of property has not displaced them out of their homes nor the city.

What can be said about descriptions of class in Wilton Manors? In looking at the census data across time and comparing workers in the higher status managerial and professional occupational category with those in the operators, fabricators, and laborers category it appears that in the 1980 and 1990 census both groups went up by 1% (23% versus 9% and 24% versus 10% respectively); in 2000 both groups almost doubled (46% and 17% respectively) and in 2010 the percentage of people in Wilton Manors working in both categories declined (39% versus 11%) (see Table 4). Out of all workers with earnings the largest proportion of the population has been concentrated in the technical, sales, and administrative category until 2010 when 39% of the population was reported to be in the Managerial, Professional versus 24% in the Technical, Sales, and Administrative. In 1980, 23% of the population was in the Managerial, Professional and

37% in the Technical, Sales, and Administrative; in 1990 the percentages reported were 24% versus 34% respectively; and in 2000 it was 46% versus 50%. These data show that at the time of the 2000 census, Wilton Manors was changing from primarily a working class city to one solidly middle class.

The level of education has also risen with time: in 1980, 77% of those over 25 years of age reported High School as the highest grade completed compared with 31% in 2010. In 1990 (the earliest year for which this data is available for Wilton Manors) 6% had completed Graduate or Professional degrees compared to 13% in 2010 which shows that the population's level of education is clearly increasing.

Compared to Broward County, Wilton Manors has always been slightly ahead in terms of the proportion of the population with a Bachelors' degree: in 1990 (the earliest data available) 10% of Wilton Manors' population had graduated college compared to 3% in Broward County. In 2000, 17% in Wilton Manors had college degrees compared to 16% in Broward County; and in 2010 the proportion that had graduated was 20% versus 19% respectively.

Overall, the picture that emerges in terms of race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, housing, class and education shows that Wilton Manors is a place that is growing in development and that, for a 2.5 square mile city, is a diverse place where a third of the population either has a College degree or a Graduate or Professional degree.

Another characteristic of Wilton Manors that stands out is its geography; Wilton Manors, Florida, is a city located in Broward County just 2.6 miles north of downtown Fort Lauderdale. In the mid-1980s, Wilton Manors became known as the Island City since it is an island in the middle of Broward County following the north and south forks

of the Middle River (or technically an eyot). Its unique designation as an island within a larger urban context gives it a clear territorial demarcation within which social processes may be observed (see Figures 3-5, maps of Wilton Manors).

Table 1. Wilton Manors Demographics, 2010¹

	Number	Percent
Total Population	11,632	100
Gender		
Male	7,343	63.1
Female	4,289	36.9
Age		
Under 5 years	338	2.9
5 to 9 years	284	2.4
10 to 14 years	328	2.8
15 to 19 years	340	2.9
20 to 24 years	467	4.0
25 to 34 years	1447	12.5
35 to 49 years	3,507	30.1
50 to 64 years	3,161	27.2
65 to 79 years	2,036	9.9
80 +	605	5.2
Race		
White alone	8,283	71.2
Black/AA alone	1,399	12.0
Asian alone	247	2.1
Hispanic/Latino	1,498	12.9
Households	11,341	97.5
Householder	6,235	53.6
Spouse*	1,110	9.5
Child	1,529	13.1
Unmarried partner	1,029	8.8

¹ “The 2010 Census results will only have age, sex, race, Hispanic origin - there is no long form data such as educational attainment, income, etc. This will all come from American Community Survey which comes out every year (rather than every 10 years). American Community Survey has all levels of geography from National to State to County to places. For smaller geographies one has to use aggregated estimates. That is, for geographic entities with populations between about 50K down to about 25K there is 3-year aggregated data and for 25K or below geographic entities there is 5-year aggregated data. I believe Wilton Manors, Florida is small enough that you will have to use 5-year aggregated data” [Personal conversation with Dr. Katherine Condon – census expert].

* “Spouse” represents spouse of the householder; responses of “same-sex spouse” were edited to “unmarried partner” (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 Census) [unmarried partner can be same or opposite sex].

Table 2. Housing in Wilton Manors
Comparisons for Census Years 1990, 2000, 2009²

	1990	2000	2009
Housing Units	5,983	6,321	7,162
Occupied rate	91	93	87.1
Vacant rate	9.2	7	12.9
Homeowner Vacancy rate	2.3	1.4	5.5
Rental Vacancy rate	9.3	6.1	9.2
Owner Occupied Housing Units	2,260	3,380	3,722**
Prices (Rate)			
Less \$50,000	2.9	0	1.4
\$50,000- 99,999	60	17.1	2.8
\$100,000- 149,999	25.5	33.9	5.5
\$150,000- 199,999	9.1	30.3	8.7
\$200,000- 299,999	2.3	13.9	21.4
\$300,000- 499,999	.13*	4.5	40.6
\$500,000- 999,999	ND	0.3	18.8
\$1 million or More	ND	0	.89
Median (dollars)	91,800	148,900	352,500

² *For Census 1990 price category was \$300,000 or more; **American Community Survey, 2005-2009 Five Year Estimates (U.S. Census Bureau).

Table 3. Race and Ethnicity Comparisons for
Census Years 1960-2000³

	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000
<i>Wilton Manors</i>					
Race					
Total population	8,257	10,948	12,742	11,804	12,697
White	99.9(8246)	99.7(10911)	97.3(12393)	87.9(10373)	79.2(10058)
Black/AA	.02(2)	.02(2)	2.0(255)	9.3(1103)	13.2(1674)
Asian	ND	.21 (23)	.18(23)	1.07 (126)	1.61(204)
Hispanic/Latin	ND	ND	2.54(324)	6.21(733)	9.67(1228)
Other	.11 (9)	.11(12)	.43(55)	1.49(176)	1.76(224)
Percent foreign born	6.2	7.7	8.1	.9	20.5
Percent native foreign/ mixed parentage	16.1	15.9	ND	ND	ND
<i>Broward</i>					
Race					
Total population	333,946	620,100	1,018,200	1,255,488	1,623,018
White	83.4(278624)	87.2(540637)	87.6(892085)	81.7(1025583)	7.1(1145287)
Black/AA	16.4(54816)	14.3(77444)	12.7(113608)	18.9(193447)	29.1(333304)
Asian	ND	.13(812)	.47(4771)	1.48(18531)	2.25(36581)
Hispanic/Latin	ND	ND	3.96(40315)	8.6(10439)	16.7(271652)
Other	.15(506)	.20(1207)	.62(6349)	1.3(16694)	3.0(48642)
Percent foreign born	6.9	2.8	11.1	14.1	25.3
Percent native foreign/mixed parentage	14.6	7.6	ND	ND	ND

³ Definitions for the various categories changed across census years; in this table White, Black/AA, Asian categories include Hispanics who were counted separately. Percent native of foreign/mixed parentage was not found for years 1980-2000. Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Summary of Characteristics 1960-2000.

Table 4. Comparison of Social Class Indicators for Wilton Manors and Broward County, 1980-2010

	1980	1990	2000	2010
Wilton Manors	9,283	8,995	9,844	10,511*
Educational Attainment				
Persons 25 yrs. & over				
Elementary 0-8 th grade	971	501	407	405
High School 1-4 years	4,824	1,302	1,182	619
H.S. graduate (highest degree)	7,144 (77%)	3,243(36.1%)	2,963(30.1%)	3,233(30.8%)
College 1-4 years	3,488	2,531	2,828	2,807
Bachelors	ND	864	1,652	2,117
Graduate or Prof. Degree	ND	554	812	1,330
Occupation				
Workers with earnings	7,252	6,750	4,307	7,614
Managerial, professional	1,692	1,640	1,989	2,967
Technical, sales, administrative	2,673	2,279	2,164	1,827
Service occupations	1,218	1,176	1,362	1,561
Farming, forestry, fishing	89	117	6	0
Precision, production, craft, repair	940	871	760	450
Operators, fabricators, laborers	640	667	740	809
Household income (median)	\$16,268	\$38,366	\$41,691	\$49,858
Individual income (median)				
Male	ND	\$26,422	\$31,857	44,357
Female	ND	\$21,464	\$26,522	39,111
Percent below poverty line				
Persons	6.9%	10.2%	15.4%	8.7%
Families	4.1%	7.1%	10.7%	5.7%
Percent households receiving public assistance	3.3%	2.3%	2.4%	1.1%

Broward County	702,820	898,829	1,126,502	1,204,588
Education				
Persons 25 yrs. & over	99,153	66,349	61,183	58,045
Elementary 0-8 th grade	372,098	189,913	142,051	98,559
High School 1-4 years	495,280 (70.5%)	284,651(31.7%)	319,416 (82.0%)	1,047,992(87%)
H.S. graduate	125,655	237,246	327,325	342,322
College 1-4 years	ND	ND	ND	ND
Bachelors	ND	30,586	178,523	231,392
Graduate or Prof. Degree	ND	57,216	98,004	121,701
Occupation				
Workers with earnings	436,227	599,119	309,612	859,222
Managerial, professional	103,478	156,860	252,940	295,385
Technical, sales, administrative	149,436	217,137	235,165	256,999
Service occupations	65,185	88,742	124,050	156,242
Farming, forestry, fishing	7,358	9,425	1,810	820
Precision, production, craft, repair	61,335	70,212	70,767	81,497
Operators, fabricators, laborers	49,435	56,743	74,207	68,279
Household income (median)	\$16,580	\$30,571	\$41,691	\$51,731
Individual income (median)				\$43,968
Male	\$17,301	\$29,576	\$36,741	\$36,185
Female	\$10,241	\$20,722	\$28,529	
Percent below poverty line				
Persons	9.1%	10.2%	11.5%	11.7%
Families	6.3%	7.1%	8.7%	8.5%
Percent households receiving public assistance	4.0%	4.0%	2.1%	1.2%

Source: U.S. Census Bureau Years 1980-2010.

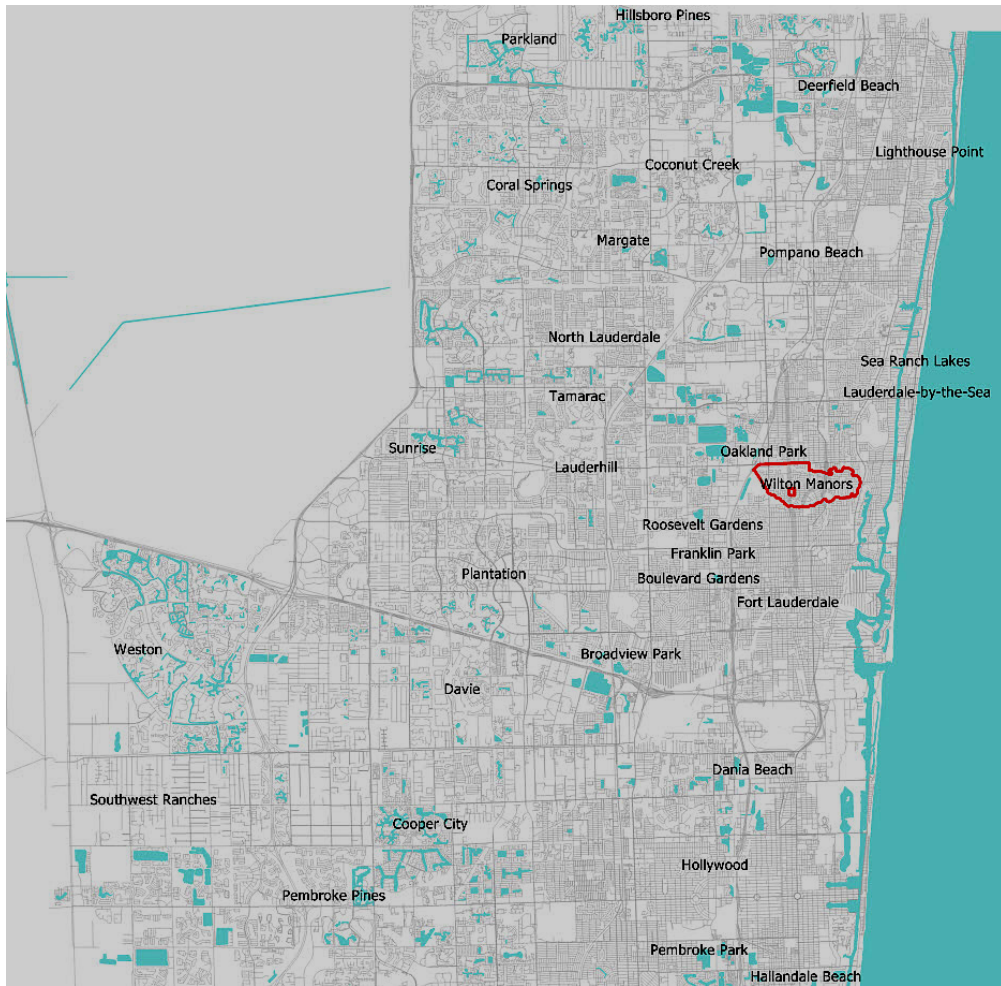


Figure 3. Map of Broward County, Florida. Source: U.S. Census 2010 Tiger/Line files (<http://www.census.gov/geo/www/tiger/>)

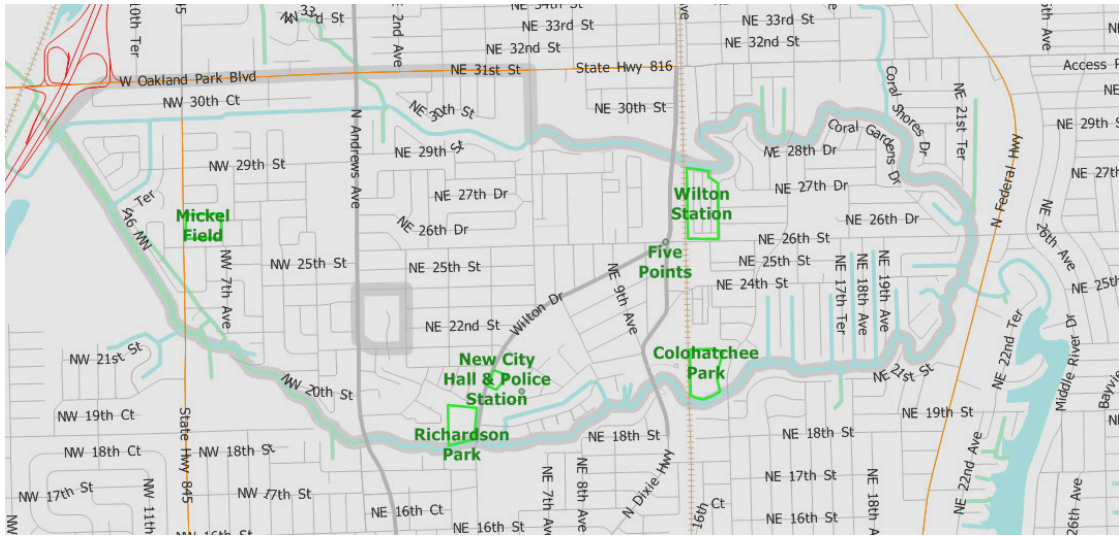


Figure 4. Map of Wilton Manors, Florida. Source: U.S. Census 2010 Tiger/Line files

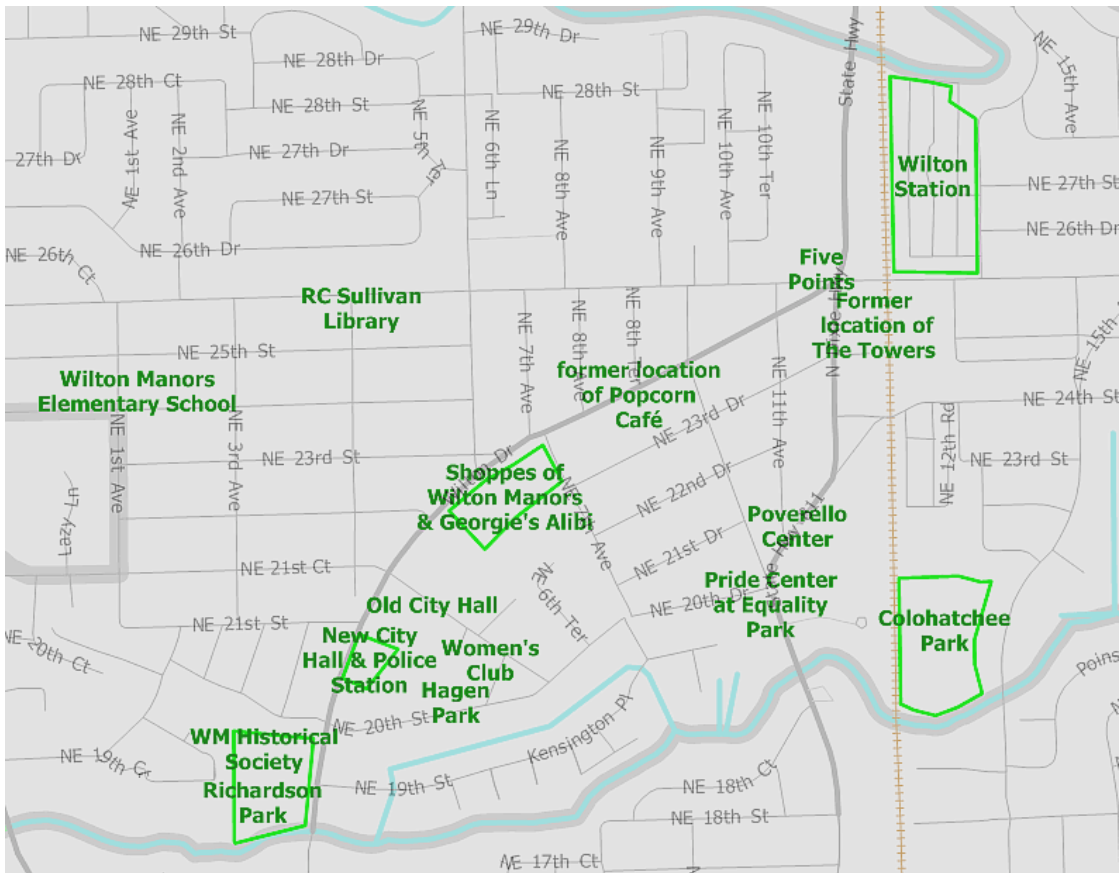


Figure 5. Map of Places in Wilton Manors, Florida. Source: U.S. Census 2010 Tiger/Line files

Research Questions, Conceptualization, and Assumptions

As described by many of the residents whom I interviewed, Wilton Manors had primarily been a lower to middle class neighborhood, dotted by industrial buildings, trailer parks, and consignment shops. In the late 1990s a convergence of political-economic and cultural factors led to a shift in the politics, economy, and social identity of the city, a shift that became the focus of my questions.

Research Questions. Since the shift that occurred in Wilton Manors led to the emergence of a more socially inclusive city, I wanted to look at factors that might account for the creation of this environment. The main questions that guided my research were: 1) was exchange value or use value the primary force that shaped the social, political, and economic restructuring that occurred in Wilton Manors in the mid to late 1990s; 2) how was use value created and sustained in the city; 3) does worldview help to explain decisions that people make about the cities where they live; and 4) is agency, one of the components of structuration (i.e. individual action), the prime mechanism by which worldview is translated into social structural change?

Conceptualization. In searching for an appropriate research design, I concluded that one way to approach answering the questions outlined above was to take a theoretical perspective that posited a dichotomy between Logan and Molotch's view that reflects the Marxian argument for the unrelenting advance of the urban growth machine leading to both blight and gentrification in urban places, and Lefebvre's modification of this view in the direction of a more complex understanding of use value. While Lefebvre ([1996] 2006) accepts overall Marxian frameworks like that of Logan and Molotch, he argues that, ". . . city and urban reality are related to use value. Exchange value . . . tends[s] to

destroy it by subordinating the city and urban reality which are refuges of use value . . . the urban is based on use value” (pp. 67- 68, 131).

Additionally, Lefebvre states that:

Use value, subordinated for centuries to exchange value, can now come first again. How? By . . . (an) urban society . . . which still resists and preserves for us use value A weakened but true vision of this truth is an urban reality for ‘users’ and not for capitalist speculators, builders and technicians. ([1996] 2006:167-168)

In my opinion, Lefebvre is referring to the renewed importance of use value in how citizens experience and perceive the neighborhoods and cities where they live. Those who live and work in cities determine the everyday value that the city has for them and struggle against those from within or without who see land use primarily as a speculative venture.

Logan’s and Molotch’s (1987) concepts of the exchange and use value of place are central to the main argument of this study. The argument and related concepts may be summarized as follows: when space becomes place it acquires meaning for the residents beyond the market value of the property. The meaning they assign place is rooted within the people themselves and conceptually, it may be argued, linked to their worldview. Worldviews vary and specific worldviews create places with characteristics that are rooted in and uniquely reflect that worldview. Based on these assumptions residents’ worldviews, particularly values and attitudes about social inclusion and individual agency, were examined. For the purposes of the study social inclusion is conceptualized as a component of a new form of use value that Wilton Manors has for its residents. Concurrently, the study examines residents’ attitudes towards social inclusion and how this openness towards the moving-in of gay entrepreneurs and residents affected the city’s restructuring. Accepting the moving-in of gays in large numbers into Wilton

Manors triggered social, economic, and political changes that I propose were largely based on gays and straights having similar worldviews, including aesthetic and social justice values that had consequences for the city's redevelopment. Tracing the worldviews of some original Wilton Manors pioneers using previously taped oral histories was done to gauge if the contemporary atmosphere had roots in Wilton Manors' past. If commonalities were found then it could be concluded that the city's current culture is linked to its early development. Specifically, I felt that the individual agency and community activism of pioneers and contemporary residents should be examined on the basis of the notion that agency is not a faceless force and that it is people who actively pursue the creation of use value in their neighborhoods and cities. Finally, use value based on residents' worldview was examined to assess whether or not it was a more powerful force in shaping Wilton Manors than exchange value. Understanding these dynamics will hopefully illuminate processes of change in the city in ways that will also have policy implications. Understanding how to create and sustain use value in cities and neighborhoods can serve as a powerful tool for community activists in contexts where residents' use value is pitted against internal or external exchange value forces, as happened when Jane Jacobs led her neighborhood movement in New York City against the forces of the growth machine in the 1960s (Flint 2009).

To summarize the conceptualization component, residents' worldview was conceived as hypothetical mental schemata that contain core values and beliefs among other things that are used as a framework for interpreting and acting in the world. Some of the values and perceptions contained in people's worldviews are conceived as the basis for assigning different use value to cities and neighborhoods, and were examined in relation

to the transformation of Wilton Manors. Conceptualizing the key factors in cultural terms was done in an attempt to expand and transcend the usual rational market arguments that underlie explanations of decisions made in cities. Use value serves as a conceptual tool that facilitates the identification and tracking of the meaning that Wilton Manors has for those who live there. As previously mentioned, the purpose for doing this is to gather and examine the data in relation to the political-economic analysis of urban places by Logan and Molotch (1987) and to ascertain whether or not Wilton Manors means something more to its residents beyond or in addition to its exchange value in ways that affect political and economic decisions. The selection of Wilton Manors as an unusual case of redevelopment, where the synergy created by the continued involvement in community affairs by original founding families and the activism of the newer gay arrivals may shed some light on how the use value of neighborhoods (the meaning they hold for those who live there - e.g., how people use places to live, shop, and earn money), people's worldview (specified by values, beliefs, and attitudes), and structuration (human agency and social structure) interact to create new use value for the city and its residents.

Contribution to the literature. This research is intended to contribute to the literature on the political economy of space and place, and to the literature on the role of worldview in shaping cities. Additionally, the value of this research stems in part from the recognition by some scholars that sociologists are skilled at analyzing patterns of social exclusion, but have paid less attention to processes of social inclusion (Haney 2002).

Assumptions. To begin answering the research questions outlined above, I made several assumptions. First I assumed the citizens of Wilton Manors had something in common beyond the usual characteristics of common ethnicity, religion, class, or political

views. After reviewing some of the contemporary literature, particularly Florida (2002, 2005) and Inglehart (1977a, 2000) and Inglehart and Welzel (2005) I concluded that shared values, beliefs, and attitudes, conceptualized as worldview, might serve as a basis from which to analyze and understand what the people in Wilton Manors had in common. I further defined worldview as a framework that people use as a guide for making decisions in their everyday lives. Second, I assumed that whatever their values, beliefs, and attitudes, they would be made manifest in the social, political, and economic decisions they made regarding the city. And third, I assumed that individual agency would be rooted in their values, beliefs, and attitudes and would give a unique and locally flavored structure and identity to the city which would be derived from the relative strength of exchange value or use value in the decisions made about the city.

These assumptions were derived from my observations during the ethnographic field work that along with the physical structural changes on Wilton Drive, there had been concomitant changes in the social and cultural profile of the city. Almost everyone I asked about these changes believed that they were triggered in the late 1990's by the opening of *Georgies's Alibi*, a primarily gay clientele oriented restaurant/bar/ sports club. The citywide restructuring that resulted from that event shifted the social, political, and economic profile of the city. Everywhere else in South Florida, neighborhoods seemed to be taken over either by deepening blight or gentrification by outsiders (including speculators) that resulted in the displacement of locals. But in Wilton Manors that pattern was broken. A more affluent and upscale group of people moved in but the old timers also stayed; it therefore did not seem like a typical case of gentrification. The newcomers were primarily gay; the old timers were primarily heterosexual couples or

single elderly people who had lived there for most of their lives. The gay newcomers also appeared to have greater economic means than the majority of the established Wilton Manors population, as indicated by several of the participants who noted that the city was a blue-collar, working class city. Inclusion perhaps was facilitated by the newcomer's higher economic status but the evidence seems to support my assumption that their biggest concern was related to the newcomers' vision for the city rather than their economic class.

Finally, I assumed that the participants' descriptions of the buildings and the significant physical structures of the city, along with their answers about what the city means to them and how they describe it to others, as well as whether or not they would move if the price was right would reveal their sentiments about the city. In this manner I would be able to gauge whether their decisions about the city were based on market value interests or use value. Respondents' descriptions of their experiences and memories of the city would give me some insight into what their values, which of the city's characteristics they want to keep or change, what part of the city's history is preserved by the existing landscape, and other quality of life variables. In the next chapter the relevant literature is reviewed in order to present a more thorough formulation of what is and what is not known about the relationship between cities, worldviews, agency, and political economic variables, i.e., exchange value and use value.

Location and Context

Wilton Manors is located in Broward County just north of downtown Fort Lauderdale, and since its founding in the 1920's the city has experienced several changes in its identity, being known throughout the 1980s as a working class, bedroom community to

most recently receiving the label of the third gayest city in the United States, following Provincetown, Massachusetts and Guerneville, California (Gates 2004). Recent characterizations sparked my interest in identifying the structures that contributed to the transformation and emergence of a new identity.

Some places develop around the economic needs of a group of people while others accommodate the social milieu, developing around social, ethnic, and cultural differences. Some emerge around the contours of the physical environment, taking advantage, for example, of natural waterways and ports. Inglehart (2000) found that there is a contemporary global shift in worldviews that is creating a new social landscape in various places based on common values (see Appendix 2). What values have contributed to the new social landscape in Wilton Manors, what competing worldviews shaped its trajectory and what activated these changes?

The opening of the restaurant/bar *Georgi's Alibi* by George Kessinger and his associates on April 3, 1997 was by many accounts, the trigger that led to the restructuring of Wilton Manors. Most of the stories told of the event say that it had a positive economic impact on the city and was a catalyst for its changing identity (Gates 2004); this notion will be elaborated upon later in the discussion. Shortly after *Alibi* moved into a rundown strip mall, the Shoppes at Wilton Manors - an area where crime and drug problems had contributed to many store-fronts being vacated - new stores, coffee shops, ice cream parlors, art galleries and mixed use buildings began to open, attracting a new type of clientele and resulting in the redefinition of Wilton Manors as a diverse, gay-friendly community. The social inclusion of gays is not unique to Wilton Manors and

reflects changes in worldviews that are reshaping economic, political, and social structures elsewhere in cities around the globe (Inglehart 2000; Florida 2003).

On a general level however, the intersection of culture and the construction of place has been variously cited in the literature, often in non-urban places. Basso (1996), for example, discusses how the link between place, name, and story promotes a form of discourse in Apache constructions of place, resulting in place names evoking vivid images. Apache conceptions of wisdom and other qualities of mind necessary to be a good Apache place critical importance on the crucial role of sense of place in the attainment of wisdom, because places become imbued with stories and associations that are used to transmit the group's history and culture. Places and the communities they represent become meaningful when the people living in them share a body of knowledge. "Local knowledge" is Geertz's (1973) term that can be used to tie naturally formed or constructed places to the internal landscapes of people's minds. Integrating these internal landscapes, and hence the cultural variables that are embodied in any study of a people, in the analyses of place is useful because cultures differ in how spatial schemata are developed and interpreted.

How did the social inclusion of diverse and gay people create a new use value for residents of Wilton Manors, how is that linked to its restructuring, and what role did the human element play in shaping these values? As I will further discuss in the literature review chapter, Yi-Fu Tuan (1977) brought attention to the importance of conceptualizing place as a human construction in space, an approach that serves to organize this research particularly as it relates to how use value is created and sustained in the city.



Figure 6-7. The Shoppes of Wilton Manors and *Georgie's Alibi*. Photo by Emma Ergon 2011

In his classic work, *The Image of the City*, Kevin Lynch (1960) also integrates the role of mental schemata in the images that people have of the cities where they live. On the basis of his work questions about the quality of residents' experiences were included in the interviews. Since Lynch contends that a city is not experienced by itself but in relation to its surroundings, to sequences of events, and to the memory of past experiences I hoped that these questions would help to illuminate the meaning that Wilton Manors had for the participants. Additionally, Lynch claims that citizens have associations with some parts of their city, and their images are soaked in memories and meanings that are partial, fragmentary and mixed with other concerns. Utilizing this conceptualization organized my approach during the interviews and will possibly give me a window into the landscape of residents' minds as it related to the city. These ideas will be further discussed in the literature review chapter.

Thus far I have given an overview of how I will discuss and analyze the changes in Wilton Manor's identity and structure and suggest possible explanations for these changes. Based on the different dimensions of the concepts of space and place provided by Yi-Fu Tuan (1977), Keith Basso (1996), and Kevin Lynch (1970) I wanted to look at the roles these dimensions play in the creation and maintenance of the city's use value, which, according to their models is at least partially constructed through residents' experiences. In so doing I hope to clarify why I believe studying Wilton Manors is theoretically important.

Space and place, use value, worldview, and structuration are concepts used in the literature that are linked to processes that shape and sustain a city, transforming urban space into places that contain the sentiments and memories of residents. These processes

are partially revealed in the descriptions of sentiments and images that the study's participants expressed about the city, giving us clues as to who they are and what values they hold as reflections of their worldview. In the case of Wilton Manors, the physical structures built as well as those torn down say something about the people's worldview and the city's use value.

Basso (1996) states, people that in modern places throughout the world people persist in asking, "What happened here?" Their answers reflect what they think of themselves as members of society. I tried to capture those beliefs by asking participants what changes they had witnessed in Wilton Manors during the time they had lived there. In the process of revitalization, there were new social traditions constructed along with new personal and social identities that echoed Basso's sentiment that "[w]e are, in a sense, the place-worlds we imagine" (1996: 8). Based on these ideas, I thought the descriptions that the participants gave of the city would serve as indicators of who they were, what they considered good or bad about a place, and their general outlook on life. This process would allow me to gauge whether residents would lean more towards the exchange value or the use value of the city in any decisions that they would have to make about its development. In this way I could identify if use value versus exchange value had hegemony over the restructuring that had occurred in the city.

The essence of my argument is in opposition to Logan's and Molotch's (1987) hypothesis that place is primarily created and modified by people whose main interest is in the market price of property. Based on the literature reviewed and developed below, the theoretical context for the study is bound by the notion that place is created and modified by people whose main interests are rooted in the way they live their everyday

lives and on enduring values and meaning beyond strictly economic considerations. In the case of Wilton Manors, values of self-expression, individuality, and inclusivity - components of residents' worldviews - were manifested in their daily lives. These values include whether or not the community feels that everyone has a right to the city as defined by Lefebvre (1996). According to Lefebvre the "Right to the City" requires restructuring the power relations that underlie urban space, transferring some control from capital and the state over to urban inhabitants. Social change in the city is explained by making the case for a value driven social construction of cities that creates and sustains use value in the face of unremitting pressure from capitalist market forces and the growth machine advocates.

While focusing my research on the transformation of Wilton Manors, I drew on previous research and analysis from diverse intellectual traditions. Besides those already cited above, the project was guided by theories from the Chicago School of Human Ecology and Anthony Giddens' Structuration Theory. Additionally, I employed the following definition of the concept worldview (also called *Weltanschauung*): "The overall perspective from which one sees and interprets the world..." and "a collection of beliefs about life and the universe held by an individual or a group" (The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language), as a principal concept in the analysis of the transformation of Wilton Manors at the turn of the 20th century.

After reviewing the research conducted by Richard Florida (2005) and Ronald Inglehart (2000) on the relationship between values and place it seemed particularly important to gather data on the residents' worldview to identify their values, beliefs, and attitudes, as well as to identify those of early Wilton Manors pioneers for comparison

purposes and to trace the trajectory and embodiment of these values in the city. One of the ways the study's design will achieve the goals of the research is to compare the two sets of data to assess whether or not the worldview that is the root of either an exchange value or a use value orientation shaping contemporary Wilton Manors has historical roots or whether the contemporary population represents a shift in worldview, and consequently in the use value the city has for them. Hopefully this helps to explain why Wilton Manors came back from the brink of blight and deterioration to an economic and social renaissance and if social inclusion as a use value played a significant, if unexpected, role in that restructuration.

The premise of the study is that culture embodied in people's worldview is the basis of everyday reality, not economics, and that the meaning that a city holds for its inhabitants is a reflection of that worldview and a factor in its construction. Mediated by structuration - the interaction of human agency, recurring patterns of behavior, and social structure (Giddens 1984) - worldviews become crystallized in particular places and at particular times and are reflected in the social structure and particular landscape of a city. Additionally, people tend to migrate to cities where others with similar worldviews live (Florida 2005). Implicit in this argument is a focus on human actors as deliberate agents of social transformation. If people repeating behavior gives structure and order to the social world as Anthony Giddens (1993) suggests, then people also have the power through repeated and patterned behaviors to transform the city's social and physical landscape – its structure.

Although the reality that I observed in Wilton Manors during the feasibility phase of the study had much to do with the exchange value of property, particularly as it related to

the restructuring of Wilton Manors after the opening of *Georgi's Alibi*, I became increasingly certain that it had been the community's activism and openness to outsiders that had created the necessary conditions for the restructuring. The residents' emotional attachments and pride in their island city, a title that became popular in the 1980s, combined with their open attitudes and ability to be socially inclusive, appear to have contributed to the residents withholding judgment of the newcomer gays until they understood what impact they would have on the city. As I wondered how this place functioned given all the groups and their apparent differences, I concluded that there must be aspects of an underlying culture that brought them together. The residents' ability to accept diversity, I thought, was part of their worldview as well as a component of the use value that the city held for them – they liked living in a diverse city. Defining worldview as a cultural instrument of ideational resources appeared to be a useful way to analyze the creation of use value and the role of culture in the everyday construction of cities. These concepts and their utility, along with what is and what is not known about the relationship between worldview, exchange value and use value, and the creation of place will be further elaborated on in the Literature Review section.

Additionally and to clarify, the conceptual framework outlined above hinges on Logan and Molotch's (1987) term "use value" of property, meaning its practical and symbolic significance. Use value includes the characteristics of and the quality of life that residents perceive and that are afforded to them by the city; for the purposes of this study I augment the concept by adding social inclusion to Logan's and Molotch's (1987) definition as a contribution to the literature. Also, I wanted to find out whether or not social inclusion was consciously applied as an exchange strategy to increase property

market value or if social inclusion was a preexisting use value rooted in the residents' worldview and that serendipitously increased property values and triggered the restructuring when gays were accepted into the community. Social inclusion may be the strategy employed by capital investors as part of a city-wide development strategy or it may be that certain people enjoy living in places that have diverse populations and who philosophically think that people have a right to live in whatever city they choose (Lefebvre 1996) as part of their worldview.

To find out how the citizens of Wilton Manors assign use value to their city I asked participants questions about how they would describe the city to people who know nothing about it, figuring that the words they used would reflect the use value[s] that the city had for them.

I also wanted to know if and how worldview and use value got translated into actual citywide structures – whether physical or sociopolitical and economic. To examine the relationship between worldview and structure I use structuration theory (Giddens 1993) to analyze how worldview via individual agency becomes translated into the city's social structures. I examined how individuals as social agents are the source of social change in the city, and specifically were the agents of change in Wilton Manors in ways that will be further delineated in Chapters 4 and 5.

The relationship between human agency and structure illuminates how values and attitudes become crystallized and manifest in places, resulting in a city with a particular identity. That identity is a strong force in the development of the city, particularly if it is strongly associated with either use value or exchange value. Some scholars argue that any model or practice of social inclusion, here defined as a use value, must prioritize

agency as a critical aspect (Askonas and Stewart 2000). Questions such as whether or not Wilton Manors will be seen primarily as a gay enclave or as a tourist destination, or if it will go back to its previous identity as a small, bedroom community or something else, are issues of identity that have yet to crystallize.

Who is included and who is left out are questions that will be determined by the relative strength of each respective group's worldview and agency. If a socially inclusive worldview turns out to hold true for a majority of the city's activists and continues to be part of the city's use value for its residents, then Wilton Manors should retain its identity as a place where diverse groups can maintain a peaceful coexistence and where the city's identity and land will not be sold to the highest bidder. If the social structures that are in place do not support inclusion chances are that individual community activists will work to change them in whatever ways are necessary for the city to survive and preclude an exodus of a significant proportion of its population whether gay or straight, or whatever other group might feel denied. Structures may shape individuals but individuals, through their own agency, also shape structures. What was observed and what this means for Wilton Manors will be discussed in subsequent chapters.

In examining the taped interviews with key Wilton Manors founders or descendants of founding pioneers, I looked for clues about the city's cultural roots. Did the pioneers' worldview form the basis upon which later social inclusion as a use value was built? I wanted to know how deep and how far back values, beliefs, and attitudes about diversity, could be identified. And I wanted to know if the pioneers were themselves inclusive people. These residents came after Ned Willingham whose all white enclave, targeted to

the well-to-do, never materialized; but did they share his vision for the city, and if so, how did things get turned around?

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

As I reviewed the literature associated with the primary theoretical concepts of this dissertation, worldview, exchange value, and use value, other concepts emerged that were naturally connected to the themes that I was examining. These other concepts, social exclusion and inclusion, and various types of relevant communities - exclusive, inclusive, the creative class, and gay friendly communities - link Wilton Manors to work previously conducted on communities.

It also made sense to include literature on gentrification and network migration as I felt that these concepts were useful in analyzing what I had observed in Wilton Manors; structuration theory and its component, agency, seemed to tie the other analytical concepts together.

Worldview and Place

Since the 1920's social science literature of the Chicago School's Urban Ecology, the beginning of a systematic theory of the city by sociologists in the United States, many scholars have studied cities from varying points of view including macro and micro theories (Abu-Lughod 1975; Castells 1979; Chase-Dunn 1985; Gans 1962; Goffman 1959; Inglehart 1977b; Lefebvre 1970; Logan and Molotch 1987; Rossi 1960). Chicago, New York, and Los Angeles, for example, are cities urban research scholars have studied to illuminate the connections between worldviews and social change in cities around the world (Florida 2002, 2005; Inglehart 1977b, 2000, 2005; Inglehart and Baker 2000). Inglehart (2000) carried out research investigations that found strong linkages between individuals' beliefs and the characteristics of their societies. Clifford Geertz (1973) used

worldview as a main category in his book *The Interpretation of Cultures*, where he defined the concept as:

“A people’s . . . picture of the way things in sheer actuality are, their concept of nature, of self, of society. It contains their most comprehensive ideas of order. . . . the world view is made emotionally acceptable by being presented as an image of an actual state of affairs of which such a way of life is an authentic expression. . . . a meaningful relation between the values a people holds and the general order of existence . . . (p. 127)

In a 2000 article, Curry wrote that there was a new turn in rural geography that focused on the meanings in the constructions of the rural landscape. A new focus included a willingness to consider worldview as a factor in analysis and explanation. The study of five Iowa towns concluded that the application of worldview as a framework for analysis of the everyday in these communities revealed that they each had a different vision of society. The study concluded that “[t]he metaphysical community-level understandings expressed by the five groups in this study shaped spatial patterns, creating places that express the fullness of the intertwined nature of worldviews, legal constructs, relationships with nature, and ethical systems” (p. 693). New directions reflected dissatisfaction with more materialist emphases on restructuring.

Cloke identifies this new interest as part of what he calls a ‘cultural turn’ in the study of rural geography . . . This interest in culture is enhanced by postmodernist thought and has encouraged geographers, rural geographers included, to be more willing to address the nonmaterial realms of meaning and understanding . . . Culture then concerns the perspectival mapping of the world, identity, and meaning and also the practice of situated acts. (Pp. 693-694)

Although case studies limit the ability to generalize results to other cities, Ragin states that “[i]n the study of a single case, the problem is to see if all the facts that are relevant in some way to the suggested frame agree with or support an interpretation” (1994:102). Urban ecologists claim that distinctive cities emerge where distinctive populations move

into residential areas and replace previous residential groups (Burgess 1925; McKenzie 1926; Park 1915, 1929; Whyte 1943; Wirth 1938). I focused on gathering evidence in this study to examine whether or not distinctive cities also emerge where populations with similar worldviews, regardless of racial or ethnic identities, move in close spatial proximity.

Ecological studies are generally based on the premise that the way people construct their environment is irrelevant to understanding human-land relationships (Basso 1996). Similarly, the meanings that the environment has for people have been seen as having little to do with how they lead their lives (Basso 1996). In this manner, human ecologists have largely ignored the meaning that people give to their environments. Ecological models have therefore failed to reduce this gap in understanding by focusing attention on social and systemic level analyses and ignoring the individuals who create cultural meaning everyday. Similarly, the meanings that the environment has for people have been seen as having little to do with how they lead their lives (Basso 1996).

Recognizing these cultural factors are crucial if we are to understand external realities. We need to understand that external reality is fashioned from local cultural materials, and that, to make appropriate sense of “what is” and “what occurs” in another’s environment we must know something about these contextual factors (Basso 1996; Hannerz 1980; Tuan 1997). As a place where people of different backgrounds and orientations are accepted in the neighborhood, Wilton Manors is an example of the intricacies of the relationship between place and worldview and how they intersect to create use value. As with American Indian tribes where knowledge of places is closely linked to knowledge of the self and to understanding one’s position in the larger scheme of things (Basso 1996),

taped recordings of the longtime residents of Wilton Manors gave me access to portions of a worldview that, like those of the American Indians, contain standards of acceptable social behavior and moral values as shaped by the setting of the city itself.

There are those who study the human-land relationship that assert that the local landscape acquires value and significance via the ideational systems by which they are apprehended and construed. Some scholars note that the physical environment is understood through symbolically constituted and socially transmitted systems in which each one delineates a particular way of being-in-the-world (Ricoeur 1979), an informal logic for interpreting and thinking about the world (Geertz 1973), and an array of conceptual frameworks for organizing experience and making it intelligible (Goffman 1974). The importance of worldview in understanding place was articulated by Franz Boas (1934) with his emphasis on place as social constructions par excellence and his claim that, eventually, bits and pieces of a common worldview are given situated relevance and connected temporarily. Worldview is a people's more or less systematic attempt to make sense of the environment (Tuan 1977). These precedents support the inclusion of worldview as an important component of a framework for city analysis and responds to Logan and Molotch's (1987) challenge to scholars that focus on the primacy of economic factors.

To understand a place it is assumed that one must take steps to enter the conceptual world of the people who produced it. For this reason oral tapes made in the 1970's were analyzed to explore, retrospectively and in reconstructive terms, participants' discourse about their city, how they were engaged with it and why they contributed to it as they did. These oral histories of members of founding families of Wilton Manors, allows me to

access and explore the culturally based assumptions, values, and beliefs that in part make an interpretation of the city's structure possible today. This methodology is supported by Basso: "For the self-conscious experience of place is inevitably a product and expression of the self whose experience it is ...and therefore...the nature of that experience...is shaped at every turn by the personal and social biographies of those who sustain it" (196:107).

Other research on cities has found that non economic factors for example, social capital, trust and reciprocity, face to face exchange, cooperation, embedded routines, habits and norms, and local conventions of communication and interaction, all contribute to a region's particular success (Hadjimichalis 2006). Worldview as a cultural construct may be a factor in studies that focus on norms, values, attitudes and their relationship to the development of cities. Scholars like Low (1999) have produced works that show the relationship between cultural beliefs and social practices in cities. Other researchers (Monti 1999; Swank 1996) have concluded that Americans' facility to bring a shared civic culture into existence, especially when values and attitudes promote collective organization and policies promote community activism, fosters economic growth. Haller (2002) notes that despite his criticisms of Inglehart (2002), his findings prove the significance of culture and values in general as important variables in the social production of modern society. Hechter's (2004) research also found that during the last century class politics had diminished and cultural politics had taken over; a shift, he concludes, that is explained by people's participation in groups on the basis of social solidarity, or as I propose, a shared worldview.

Use Value versus Exchange Value

As has been argued above, economic interests are not the only forces, and at times not even the main forces that shape cities. Cities are shaped in various ways, one of which occurs when local interests, enacted by coalitions of influential elites establish policies (Castells 1977; Harvey 1973, 1985; Ilchman and Uphoff 1969; Keeble 1986; Logan and Golden 1986; Sawers 1984). Another way in which cities are shaped is by mediation of people with interests derived from their own culturally shaped tastes and agendas (D'Andrade 1984). Some city scholars argue that an exclusive focus on economics in explaining the evolution of cities ignores the important roles of both government and emotional factors in decisions that are made which have nothing to do with capital accumulation or rational economic strategies (Beauregard 1987; Feagin 1987; Portes and Stepick 1993).

Real estate processes that produce changing land rents and development prospects for an area impact the nature of a community. Elite agents and constituents of the growth machine often have power struggles with each other over what kinds of impact certain choices will have on the community. Logan and Molotch's (1987) work draws on ecological theory and structuration theory in their depiction of social conflict in the urban city arena. Social change in their model is seen as produced by the tension between the exchange value of property (market value through rent or sale) and the use value of property (its practical and symbolic significance). This conflict is complicated by the nature of land as real property and by the fact that the same property can have both exchange and use value for the same actor. In this study I try to ascertain whether the

study participants see the city as a source of use value or market value in an effort to understand how the tension between these two shapes cities.

In *The Right to the City (Le Droit à la ville)* (1968) Lefebvre wrote about the rights of those excluded from taking central roles in the city by market led redevelopment via a class strategy. His argument against the commoditization of the city is based on the right to the *oeuvre* (participation) and appropriation (use value): “The right to the city...” he argued is “...complemented by the right to difference...” (Lefebvre 1996:34). These ideas emphasize the primacy of the city’s use values for the residents over the interests of developers and land speculators.

On the basis of Giddens’ (1979) notion that structuration is the result of a recursive process between individual agency and structure, I attempt to explain how diversity was a value that attracted others with similar attitudes and consequently resulted in a city that was founded on social inclusion by attracting and keeping similar types of people. There are various ways to explain how cities end up being the way they are. One that is particularly relevant is Inglehart’s (2000) work that identified a link between worldview and the characteristics of societies on a global scale (see Appendix 2 – The Inglehart Values Map). Wilton Manors as a case study may be a good test of the fit of this model on a local scale. The evolution of Wilton Manors into a diverse city is a function of the residents integrating social inclusion both as a component of their worldview and as the meaning that the city has for them, and it resulted in a new identity and a restructuring in ways that I find similar to the grouping of populations with similar values on Inglehart’s Values Map. The research that I carried out attempted to ascertain whether Wilton

Manors was a place where exchange value or use value had primacy in the restructuring that took place at the turn of the 21st century.

Use Value and Place

As Yi-Fu Tuan (1977) noted in the literature on environmental quality, relatively few works attempt to understand how people *feel* about space and place. For this reason the study involves the application of “experience” as a key term, getting at the nature of experience and of the experiential perspective in order to interpret place. It is a perspective that stems from the acknowledgment that the given cannot be known in itself but that what can be known is a reality that is a construct of experience, a creation of feeling and thought (Tuan 1977) and an interpretation based on one’s mental schemata. When space feels thoroughly familiar to us, it has transformed into a place with use value. Mental maps also measure what people bring to the cities they inhabit: pragmatic utility, subjective cityscapes with specific landmarks that serve to orient the carrying out of daily life with individual representations depending on each person’s particular experience with each place. Additionally, use value and sense of place intersect not only by locating things on a cognitive map but also by assigning meaning to built-forms or natural geography. Individuals and groups assign meaning to places where they have had significant experiences and through shared cultural understanding by which they arrange their behavior and interpretations of the social world.

Something in the built environment makes a building or a patch of ground stand out as different from its undistinguishable background. Residential locations show a similar hierarchy of values, for example. The rich and the powerful own more real estate and command more visual space and through these types of relations with the built

environment, social roles are reflected (Tuan 1977). There are a variety of ways in which humans use space to reflect a social order. In modern societies spatial patterns reveal social order and functional convenience. Tuan claims that “space of restricted meaning” is a characteristic of Western technological society. But it also appears among people with the simplest economy and social structure. An example is provided by the Pygmies of the Congo forest for whom the center of their settlement is public and the periphery is for interaction among friends and kin. Man-made space thus expresses the Pygmies’ informal social order. These concepts are useful in understanding what occurred in Wilton Manors because the newly built structures, the old ones that have been preserved, and the ones that have been torn down reveal the relative power of various groups in determining development in Wilton Manors.

Tuan (1977) gives another example of the utility of integrating cultural variables in the analysis of place; in the past, he writes people’s houses encoded the rules of behavior and worldviews that were transmitted across generations. For example, the chieftain of a village on the island of Nias in Indonesia has a large house whose size and location clearly indicates his status - a constant reminder to other villagers and to himself where he stands in society and in the cosmic order of things. The modern built environment however, reflects splintered beliefs and conflicting ideologies that are discerned in the meanings that people give a place. He argues that culture and cultural variables are increasingly important because modern society is increasingly literate and depends less and less on material objects and the physical environment to embody the values and meaning of a culture.

Each neighborhood has its own unique mix of use values which includes local knowledge and worldview. In the case of Wilton Manors, social inclusion is part of that unique mix and part of its structure. The transformation from an exclusive place to one where space has opened up for diverse people to coexist led me to search for answers to questions of how and why is a place transformed from exclusivity to one of social inclusion.

In constructing and maintaining cities, structures are seldom created based on an articulated worldview; “[w]here one does exist, relatively few people are capable of conceptualizing it in detail and in a systematic way” (Tuan 1977:131). And in the process of understanding how people experience space Tuan argues, we must move from direct and intimate experiences towards those that are increasingly more symbolic and conceptually apprehended. Eventually, space is transformed into place as it acquires definition and meaning. It is a process whereby space turns into a neighborhood or a home - in other words is transformed into use value. For this reason I was interested in identifying a coherent worldview that was based on what the residents had to say about their daily experiences in the city. Hopefully this would bring to light the underlying culture that I believe is a factor in the construction of the city’s structure.

The process involves several antecedent conditions that Tuan claims are necessary for an elemental sense of place to emerge:

The lasting affection for home is at least . . . partly a result of . . . intimate and nurturing experiences. . . . Intimacy between persons does not require knowing the details of each other’s life; it glows in moments of true awareness and exchange. Each intimate exchange has a locale which partakes in the quality of the human encounter. There are as many intimate places as there are occasions when human beings truly connect. . . . Trees are planted on campus to give it more shade and to make it look greener, more pleasant. They are part of a deliberate design to create place. (1977:138-141)

According to his analysis, the sentiments and lasting affection that people experience about a place imbues it with value and meaning. Some people may think of the house as home and place, but images of the past are evoked not so much by the physical construction but by the touch and smell of its components and furnishings and the associated experiences. Likewise, hometown is an intimate place that may be plain in architectural distinction and imageability but rich in the complexities of experienced everyday life. Tuan states that “[e]vidence from different cultures suggests that place is specific - ties to a particular cluster of buildings at one location” (1977:151).

Fundamentally however, the study’s conceptualization is based on the transformation of place as a result of the primacy of use value over exchange value. Through the process of structuration, it is hypothesized, people’s feelings about Wilton Manors and values about appropriate land use and development shape and reshape the city. Via structuration, it is my hypothesis, residents’ values and worldviews become translated into a cityscape that up until now has been more the product of use value than exchange value. The cityscape in this context includes the green space that is preserved for the residents’ use, the types of buildings constructed, the preservation of cultural and historical resources, and the quality of the social interactions that take place.

The buildings and the constructed landscape are the invisible realm made visible and tangible (Tuan 1977), and I think that worldview constitutes part of the invisible cultural realm, images that are reflected by architects’ physical representations. These cultural patterns are defined as the movements of personal and social life that are grasped intuitively by the architect, and that are symbolic manifestations of the understanding of the rhythms of a culture:

A house is a relatively simple building. It is a place, however, for many reasons. It provides shelter; its hierarchy of spaces answers social needs; it is a field of care, a repository of memories and dreams. Successful architecture 'creates the semblance of that World which is the counterpart of a Self'. For personal selfhood that world is the house; for collective selfhood it is a public environment such as temple, town hall, or civic center. (Tuan 1977:161)

In traditional rural China, for example, the marketing area is often a close-knit functional unit where someone approaching a rural settlement can see the silhouette of houses and trees rising above the cultivated fields (Tuan 1977). In comparison, some scholars say that urban neighborhoods lack this kind of visual prominence. They imagine a planner looking at the city discerning areas of distinctive physical and socioeconomic character which are called districts or neighborhoods and which are assigned names if local ones do not already exist. These neighborhoods are places for the architect; they have meaning as intellectual concepts. But what is the perception of the people who live in these areas? Local residents have no reason to use concepts that are remote from their immediate needs - the street where one lives is part of one's "intimate" experience - the larger unit, neighborhood, is a concept. The sentiment one has for the local street corner does not automatically over time cover the entire neighborhood. Concept depends on experience, but it is not an inevitable consequence of experience (Tuan 1977). The concept can be elicited and clarified by questioning which is why I included questions in the interview about how the participants felt about Wilton Manors, and the meaning that Wilton Manors has for them. In explaining the process of transformation from space to place Tuan (1977) further states that when the larger unit acquires visibility through an effort of the mind, then the entire neighborhood becomes a place. External events such as urban renewal, enable people to see the larger unit, especially if the unit has strong

local flavor, visual character, and clear boundaries. Houses and streets for example, do not of themselves create a sense of place, but if they are distinctive, this perceptual quality would greatly help the inhabitants to develop a larger place consciousness. I think that perhaps a strong sense of place is one of the reasons that Wilton Manors has survived the tough economic times.

Definitions of place also involve taking into account how time and place are related. Tuan (1977) states there are different approaches to this problem. Place is an organized world of meaning; essentially a static concept. If we see the world as process, constantly changing, then we would not be able to develop any sense of place. For this reason, preservation efforts are important, as they arise out of the need for tangible objects that can serve to stabilize a sense of identity associated with a particular time and space. In his analysis of the relationships between time and the experience of place Tuan concludes:

- (1) If time is conceived as flow or movement then place is pause. In this view human time is marked by stages as human movement in space is marked by pauses . . . each representation has its characteristic set of pauses or places.
- (2) While it takes time to form an attachment to place, the quality and intensity of experience matters more than simple duration.
- (3) Being rooted in a place is a different kind of experience from having and cultivating a 'sense of place.' (1977: 197-198)

On the basis of this analysis of place, I included questions about the quality of participants' experiences in Wilton Manors and probed participants about how strongly residents feel about living there and about the changes they have witnessed.

Kevin Lynch (1960) writes that the mental image of a city held by its citizens tells us something about it and about them, and is both the product of immediate sensation and of the memory of past experience. Mental images, it is concluded, are used to interpret

information and to guide behavior. The importance of constructing an image of the city is based on the need to recognize and pattern our surroundings and has long roots in the past; these constructed images have wide practical and emotional importance to the individual. Because an ordered environment can serve as a broad frame of reference and as an organizer of activity or belief or knowledge, we can use the image people hold of the city to access intangible notions of values, attitudes, and beliefs (Lynch 1960).

Lynch states for example, that on the basis of a structural understanding of Manhattan one can order a substantial quantity of facts about the nature of the world we live in. The questions I asked about participants' feelings about Wilton Manors and how they would describe the city to someone who knew nothing about it were based on this understanding.

Furthermore, Lynch suggests that environmental images are the result of a two-way process between the observer and his or her environment. In particular, the planned environment suggests distinctions and relations, and the observer based on individual purpose selects, organizes, and endows with meaning what he or she sees. The image developed serves to limit and emphasize what is seen, while the image itself is being tested against the filtered perceptual input in a constant interacting process. Thus the image of a given reality may vary significantly between different observers. The "public images," or "local knowledge," - the common mental pictures carried by large numbers of a city's inhabitants - however, may include a common culture. These common mental pictures carried by large numbers of a city's inhabitants, however, may be evoked by areas of agreement that intersect on a single physical reality: a common culture and a physical structure intersecting. Therefore an environmental image may be analyzed into

three components: identity, structure, and meaning. Specific images and breakdowns will be discussed in the findings section.

Structure as defined by Lynch (1960), includes the spatial or pattern relation of the object to the observer, with the image of the object having some meaning for the observer, whether practical or emotional. Identity and structure are of special relevance in our perceptual world and especially relevant in the case of urban environments where frequent rebuilding prevents the identification that builds up by historical process. Studying the social meaning of an area, its identity, its history, or even its name is important because it affects the imageability of a city and the basis from which decisions about the city are made. Through the meanings people give to a place, we can hope to access those aspects of the invisible realm that play a role in the transformation of space into place and that ultimately have repercussions for the quality of life of residents as well as city policy decisions.

Contemporary urban areas have characteristics that are as much the result of human action as of the original geological structures found there. Any existing, functioning urban area has structure and identity, discovering the strong images used in the everyday lives of its residents draws out the structure and identity latent in the landscape (Lynch 1960). The familiar named environment, as in the towers in Wilton Manors, provides an anchor for common memories and symbols which bind the group together and allow them to communicate with one another. As Lynch and others (Basso 1996) have discovered, the landscape serves as a vast mnemonic system for the retention of group history and ideals. The creation of the city's image is a two-way process between observers and observed and although what one perceives may be based on exterior form.

How one interprets and organizes the world is based on an interior framework, which for the purposes of this study I define as worldview. Internal structures of values, beliefs, and interpretations of experience may be said to constitute culture and structure and to differ between groups. These cultural differences may apply not only to the features of the environment that get attention but also to the way in which they are organized and understood.

The issues at stake in a city include the livability of the city. If the exchange value is equivalent to the economic dimension of the city then use value is its social dimension: “Places have a certain *preciousness* for their users that is not part of the conventional concept of a commodity” (Logan and Molotch 1987:17). Decisions that are made on the basis of what a place means to people are decisions that take into account use value (Logan and Molotch 1987) and often end up with very different outcomes than those taken on the basis of exchange value. A framework with use value at its center expands on interpretive frameworks that are dominated by ideas of market forces and the competitive advantage of capitalist interests.

The stakes involved in the relationship to place can be high, reflecting all manner of material, spiritual, and psychological connections to land and buildings. Places represent the focusing of experiences and intentions onto particular settings...full with meanings, with real objects, and with ongoing activities . . . (Logan and Molotch 1987:18)

The material and psychological use of place are entwined in residents’ appreciation of their neighborhood and its resources which often gives rise to “sentiment.” “*Sentiment* is the inadequately articulated sense that a particular place uniquely fulfills a complex set of needs” (Logan and Molotch 1987:20). Often, local conflict over land use occurs between those striving for greater profit and those residents safeguarding use values that are tied to

sentiments for a particular place: “ ‘Sentiment’ is indeed at work in structuring the city People’s feelings about their daily round, their psychological attachments to place, and their neighborhood ethnic solidarities are very real to them Sentiment and structure cohere in various ways in ‘generating the actual events of everyday life’ . . . in different places at different times” (Logan and Molotch 1987:99).

Logan and Molotch (1987) argue that the push for growth and the individual and collective efforts to enhance use values are two of the forces that shape the urban scene; the two processes together determine the patterns of neighborhood life: “The city is a setting for the achievement of both exchange values and use values; and the neighborhood is...where each resident faces the challenge of making a life on a real estate commodity” (p. 99).

There are a myriad of use values that people get from a place or a neighborhood. Each neighborhood has its own mix of use values that is a result of its historic development, ethnic and class relations, and relationships to outside institutions (Logan and Molotch 1987). According to Logan and Molotch (1987) there are six factors that make up the use value of neighborhoods:

The place of residence is a focal point for the wider routine in which one’s concrete daily needs are satisfied. Neighborhoods provide a place for shopping...schooling, child care, and routine health needs. For some, the locality is also a place of work. For others, it is a point of departure to a work place...The development of an effective array of goods and services within reach of residence is a fragile accomplishment... is the potential source of an informal network of people who provide life-sustaining products and services...Reciprocity rules...are hard-won gains...A neighborhood also provides a sense of physical and psychic security...Reassured by shared symbols, common cultures, kinship ties, and personal reputations, residents experience a sense of relative security, a sense they sorely need in the larger contexts of physical danger and...threats from the exchange system that surrounds them. Neighborhood can provide the benefit of membership in a social space that is viewed as orderly, predictable, and protective. (P. 105)

Although not included by Logan and Molotch, I would argue that in Wilton Manors use value incorporates notions of social inclusion also. A neighborhood provides residents with a source of identity:

Neighborhoods offer a resident not only spatial demarcations but social demarcations as well...The linkage people make between their location and their social standing means that residents' stakes in place go well beyond the actual material conditions of a given place...and involve the symbolic meanings that real estate takes on...(Logan and Molotch 1987:105)

The identification process builds up from shared historical experience. Logan and Molotch state that, "A neighborhood is far more than a mere collection of houses; rather, it is a shared experience of an agglomeration of complementary benefits (p. 108)" and these benefits they argue are sometimes summarized in a shared ethnicity and a sense of security:

Ethnicity works for these purposes because it does often accurately represent a shared life style, similar needs in the daily round, and the social boundaries for providing service and gaining interpersonal support. Ethnicity works because of its simple practicality; it neatly demarcates large numbers of people with a single term...This interaction suggests that ethnicity as a cognitive tool for organizing and sensing security is a real, but contingent, feature of urban life that...' must be constructed and activated' and not taken for granted by scholars as a natural phenomenon... the critical point in understanding the construction of ethnicity is, not the interaction of ethnic groups on the streets, but the exchange and production forces that touch all groups and thereby help shape those interactions. (P. 109)

The six factors that are categories of use value as described by Logan and Molotch (1987), are threatened by those whose primary interests in the city revolve around the exchange or market value and not the emotional and psychic value that are bound up with how residents solve their daily existential problems. Although use values occur in an exchange value context, problems emerge when the neighborhood becomes vulnerable to exchange pressures. How are use values created and sustained in the face of exchange

value forces? Logan and Molotch state that they cannot deduce a rule that will predict the outcome in all cases but reiterate four critical determinants:

(1)The strategic value of neighborhood in the larger system of places . . . (2) the nature of the internal pressures for exchange value returns and the particular strategies used; (3) the power and status of residents in the larger political economy; and (4) the sentiments and cultural systems of residents that guide the pursuit of local use values. (P. 123)

The “sentiments and cultural systems of residents” is the determinant that provides the focus for this study where use value as opposed to exchange value highlights the phenomenological aspects of the everyday world where use value is at the center of people’s concerns.

Social Exclusion

I integrated literature on social exclusion for comparison purposes and to assess whether or not Wilton Manors’ restructuration has elements of being socially exclusive. Also, this was done with the discussion points to certain characteristics that I can say are or are not part of Wilton Manors, and which serves as a background to the social inclusion part of my argument.

The Governance and Social Development Resource Centre (Khan 2009) defines social exclusion in the following way:

Social exclusion describes a situation where certain groups within a society are systematically disadvantaged because they are discriminated against. Such groups are often differentiated by race, ethnicity, age or gender. Social exclusion exists to some degree in all societies, and can occur across a number of dimensions: economic, social, political and cultural...Exclusion can be official or unofficial and can take place in a number of arenas, from the legal, health and education systems to the household and community. Processes of exclusion can be highly visible and deliberate, but can also be hidden and unintentional... As a concept, social exclusion helps us to focus on groups of people rather than individuals, which leads us to look at societies for the causes and solutions. One of the strengths of the concept of social exclusion is that it focuses attention on agency – who is being excluded and who is actively excluding others. It also draws our attention to the organisational or institutional structures that serve to

include or exclude. This places an emphasis on process, and helps us to focus on issues of power . . . (P. 4)

Previous scholars have argued that the idea of social exclusion has been around for some time but the actual term and the associated meaning has evolved relatively recently (Bynner 2004). Others think that it still lacks a clear definition and often the term is used in a number of distinct senses which leads to confusion at a conceptual level (Ratcliffe 1999). Kabeer (2000) suggests that difficulties may be attributed to the fact that the concept is rooted in the lived experiences of many different groups of people:

The concept of SE captures the experience of certain groups who are 'set apart' or 'locked out' of participation in social life. Moreover, it brings attention to processes of exclusion. This means understanding how disadvantage is produced through the active dynamics of social interaction, rather than through anonymous processes of impoverishment and marginalisation. As a framework for analysis, social exclusion allows for joined up thinking on the connections between various categories of people, problems and processes.
(<http://www.gsdrc.org/go/display&type=Document&id=1856>)

Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, the term was used as a synonym for poverty and although more current uses relate to social structure and power, there is still a wide spectrum to the aspects of social exclusion (Toye and Infanti 2004). Gareau and Ninacs (2004) confirm that there is no established consensus when it comes to a formal definition of exclusion, but that current use of the term refers to both a state of being and a process (Toye and Infanti 2004).

Social exclusion also has a physical dimension and is conceived by some as spatial marginalization and segregation (Närhi 2002). Social and physical exclusion intersect for example, in cases where women are excluded on account of their gender. Hille (1999) argues that experiences of violence, and incidents of sexual harassment produce a space

from which women are excluded; in this case the spatial exclusions in women's lives are reflections of gendered power relations.

It is also argued that marginalization and segregation is most often seen as the spatial concentration of the disadvantaged which has resulted in the isolation of many individuals and households from mainstream social and economic activities (Mcgregor and Mcconnachie 1995). For Raphael (2004), the value of the concept is that it recognizes that exclusion from society is more than an individual characteristic and results from social changes and government policy:

Social exclusion is used to broadly describe both the structures and the dynamic processes of inequality among groups in society which, over time, structure access to critical resources that determine the quality of membership in society and ultimately produce and reproduce a complex of social outcomes. Social exclusion is both process and outcome. While it has its roots in European Social democratic discourse, it has been increasingly embraced by mainstream policy makers concerned about the emergence of marginal subgroups who may cause a threat to social cohesion in industrial societies. In industrialized societies, social exclusion is a by-product of a form of unbridled accumulation whose processes commodify social relations and intensify inequality along racial and gender lines. (Galabuzi as cited in Raphael 2004)

Saloojee (2001) has argued that the roots of exclusion are often historical and are reproduced in old and new ways in contemporary society, and has identified multiple and varied sources of exclusion including: structural/economic (unequal economic conditions; low wages, dual and segregated labor markets; and so on); historical oppression (colonialism); discrimination; absence of legal/political recognition; institutional/civic non acceptance; and self-exclusion. The contemporary interviews are contrasted with those of the pioneers to ascertain if the contemporary values or existing elements of exclusive behavior in Wilton Manors have historical roots.

Finally, Cameron (2005) states that the concept of social exclusion has been assigned a local geographical dimension and is spoken about in terms of communities, neighborhoods, and so on. But he claims that these assumptions about geography and the spatial nature of exclusivity have contributed little to the debate on the nature of social inclusion. He presents the idea that implying inclusion in the exclusion literature inadequately defines inclusion as ‘not social exclusion’ and he argues for an independent definition of the concept that stands on its own.

Social Inclusion

Definitions of social inclusion in the literature are most commonly defined only negatively - as whatever is not socially excluded; Cameron states: “...much of the discussion of social inclusion is conceptually dominated by exclusion – social exclusion is the datum point against which social inclusion is both empirically measured and conceptually defined” (2006:397). He also argues that in post modernity social inclusion no longer has a specific geography; the economic, political, and behavioral norms that characterize social inclusion are no longer connected to a particular place or space. According to Cameron, social inclusion is constituted by a set of normative practices rather than space or place. Alternatively I argue in this study that when social inclusion is part of the norms or worldview of a group of people, and constituted by social practices, then it does exist in time-space and gives an identifiably inclusive structure and identity to the city.

Among the characteristics of social inclusion found in the literature are low levels of unemployment - although high levels of employment are a necessary but not a sufficient condition for a more inclusive society (Askonas and Stewart 2000). Loosely defined

social inclusion means: "...a situation where everyone is able to participate fully in society . . . In terms of things which are objectively measurable, an inclusive society would seem incompatible with high levels of income poverty and inequality and with high levels of unemployment" (Askonas and Stewart 2000:154).

As Stewart (2000) argues, democratic inclusion prioritizes process, and participation and representative accountability are the key values in communities of inclusion. Additionally, the notion of citizenship is of central relevance, and a common thread running through the literature is the maximization of opportunities for meaningful participation as a necessary condition. Furthermore, as part of the ongoing project of defining social inclusion, all inequalities of power which impede agency whether with respect to class, gender, race, religion, or sexual orientation, should be addressed (Askonas and Stewart 2000). The practical result of this is that groups and individuals gain access to mainstream services and facilities loosely based on the notion that people have a right to the resources of a city. Wilton Manors demonstrates a high degree of inclusion in the way it solicits opinions from its citizens and conduct needs assessments. For example, in 2009 "... the Leisure Services Department conducted a citywide survey to acquire a better understanding of what our residents believed were essential components for an improved quality of life" (www.wiltonmanors.com). Using the data the city had gathered by including the survey in residents' utility bills, the Leisure Services Department responded by developing a plan to address citizen concerns and implement new programs to address these needs. Anyone who had a utility bill in the city had the chance to participate in the survey.

Social inclusion was added to this study because it plays an important role in the social structure of Wilton Manors and because it poses the larger question of what kind of society the inhabitants of a city want to live in. For what purpose is this “metaphor” used is one of the questions raised by Ruth Levitas (2003) in her discussion of social inclusion:

There is a general agreement that inclusion is a good thing, and that exclusion is a bad thing, both because it is unfair, and because it damages social cohesion. This reminds us that the proper question about the idea of social inclusion is not what does it mean, but what do we mean by it – or rather what is meant by it, by whom? Like all the concepts through which we try to represent the world to ourselves – including concepts such as 'society', 'community', 'structure', 'network', 'system' – it is a metaphor. How is this metaphor used, by whom and for what purpose? And how might it be used, perhaps for other purposes? What are the political consequences or possibilities of this particular metaphor? What kind of society is actually, or can be, implied by the term social inclusion? (Pp. 1-2)

These questions function as useful analytical tools for studying issues of social inclusion and more importantly, they highlight the centrality of people. Social inclusion can only be carried out by people, with their individual agency and with some purpose in mind. By bringing out the implied social cohesion aspect clarifies, at least in my mind, one of the important reasons for practicing the behavior that is described here and which is labeled “social inclusiveness” for the community (if not for consistency in individual values of fairness and justice among others).

Social and economic class is another variable that may be used as criteria for inclusion (and exclusion alternatively); particularly in environments where there is a market-based exclusion on the basis of the high price of property, those of lower incomes may be excluded by default. It can also be an unintended consequence of beautification and restructuration projects that tend to enhance the city and drive-up its exchange value,

thereby limiting inclusion to those who can afford to buy into the city. Often this is the case when people talk about code enforcement.

There are other non-conscious ways of including new people; there are instances such as Bourdieu (1984) describes where class reproduction is understood as the product of prior cultural dispositions that are manifested in practical everyday activities, and which reject interpretations that give primacy to the highly conscious intention of exclusion. Inclusion based on cultural capital – a term he coined - involves competencies instilled via education as well as the socialized symbolic power that certain classes have that legitimize their domination of the social order and their power to include or exclude others based on previously established social and economic criteria. In this way social inclusion can function to structure a society or a city based on a common set of attitudes or worldview predicated on a shared economic class or shared cultural values and beliefs (in some cases these two phenomena intersect). This type of inclusion can be based on completely taken for granted cultural assumptions that are usually unconscious. The study's focus on the inclusion of those considered socially different by mainstream society changes the analytic axis from inclusion based on class to that based on other characteristics such as being gay, retired, or some other characteristic usually associated with marginalized populations. More nuanced analyses need to point out that the marginalized persons included may themselves join in practical exclusion of others like "lower class" people as they join in beautification and restructuration projects.

The Pan-Canadian Community Development Learning Network is a two and a half year project of the Canadian Community Economic Development Network (CCEDNet) that sought to promote learning about how community-based initiatives contribute to

social inclusion. The project facilitated peer learning and developed evidence-based research. In the second major publication of the project, published in 2005, they reported the results of a survey of 78 community-based initiatives. Their analysis revealed the following dimensions of social inclusion: cultural valuing, adequate income, functional ability to participate, participatory empowerment, physical access, affirmation of human rights, relational belonging, and structural entitlements. Some of these dimensions were operationalized in the interview used for this study. The evolution of Wilton Manors into a diverse city is a function of the residents integrating social inclusion both as a component of their worldview and as the meaning that the city has for them.

Exclusive Communities

The literature on exclusive communities is reviewed so that I may compare Wilton Manors with their characteristics. First, the term community, as used by sociologists, refers to any set of social relationships operating within certain boundaries (Jary and Jary 1991). The ongoing debate about the meaning of community is that sometimes it refers to social relationships that take place within geographically defined areas or neighborhoods and sometimes it refers to more ideological and abstract relationships (Jary and Jary 1991). All communities have in common that they exist and operate within boundaries or territories. These boundaries serve to demarcate social membership from non-membership. They may be seen to be inclusive of some people and groups but exclusive of others. In some community boundaries are rigidly maintained, as in religious communities, and in others the boundaries are more fluid (Jary and Jary 1991).

When one traces the etymology of the word, having 'something in common' defines the basis of 'community' (Butcher 1993). Butcher explains that this 'something in

common' can refer to a neighborhood, village, town, and etcetera but can also refer to some other social determinant for example, ethnicity, religion, or sexual orientation. Thus two dimensions of community - geographical communities and communities of interest - are identified (Butcher 1993). Sometimes a geographical community becomes a community of interest, as in the case of Wilton Manors.

Past research on distinctive communities has focused on neighborhoods within cities that have certain outstanding characteristics. Wirth (1927) described a communal social life that characterized Chicago's Jewish ghetto in the 1920s. The North End of Boston had a clearly Italian influence at the time of Whyte's (1943) Street Corner Society study. During the 1950's urban community studies showed that cities contained neighborhoods where people felt a strong sense of place and where they were involved with neighbors especially family members who lived close by. Most of these studies focused on areas that were exclusively working-class.

Urban research scholars selected specific cities to illuminate those characteristics that defined cities as being distinctive (Abu-Lughod 1975; Molotch 1976; Rossi 1960), and have identified neighborhoods and communities that are defined by their social characteristics (Abu-Lughod 1995; Cavan 1972; Gans 1962; Park, Burgess, and McKenzie 1925). Each place they argue has its own individual mix of use values that have emerged through historic developments of their physical structures, ethnic and class relations, and connection to outside institutions (Logan and Molotch 1987).

Simmel ([1905] 1950) also wrote about spatial themes where he articulated some preconditions of human association which he called "social geometry". One of the characteristics of the spatial reality of social life which he addressed had to do with

exclusion or the uniqueness of space which he related to the distinctive social characteristics of some communities. His writing on space centered on how social interaction produced various spatial effects shaping cities according to the configuration of the groups occupying them and defining space in ways that are physical as well as social.

One of the earliest conceptions of social exclusion in the city is that of Burgess (1925) who described the city in terms of physical expansion and differentiation. In his concentric theory of cities he described the zone composed of the residential area as consisting of high-class apartments or of exclusive “restricted” districts of single family dwellings (Weber 1958). The exclusive status was determined by class differences one of the bases upon which exclusion is defined.

In general, the exclusive community debate is understood as exclusion from the economy, from full citizenship, from personal autonomy and from access to resources, including housing (Cameron 2006). Some scholars define social exclusion as the inability of certain population groups from effectively making claims on neighborhood space (Gerometta, Häussermann, and Longo 2005). One of the ways in which this social exclusion manifests itself is in the persistent relative lack of an individual’s or a group’s access to resources compared with other members of a community (Fraser 2004; Gerometta, Häussermann, and Longo 2005). The concept is used in order to describe situations where least privileged groups have been undermined in their ability to fully participate and access the social infrastructures (Paraskevopoulos, Korfiatis, and Pantis 2003). Housing inequality is often based on the “othering” of ethnic groups based on stereotyping and racialization (Kährik 2006; Ratcliffe 1999). And lack of access to the

infrastructure also includes being deprived of access to information and services (Turner, Holmes, and Hodgson 2000). These concepts are applied to better understand the dynamics of Wilton Manors' structure and where it lies on the exclusive-inclusive continuum.

Various other studies have focused on specific types of community exclusion such as the existence of isolated and racially segregated communities (Lieberson 1980; Seitles 1996; Zunz 1982). Seitles (1996) in particular discusses exclusionary zoning legislation that has the effect of creating homogenous white suburban communities and low-income minority inner-city neighborhoods, resulting in white suburban enclaves and urban ghettos. Segregationist zoning ordinances, which divide city streets by race, perpetuate racial segregation. Pervasive discriminatory housing practices coupled with the tremendous rise in housing costs, have resulted in whites, blacks, Hispanics, and other minorities increasingly living in exclusive communities isolated from each other. African Americans live in neighborhoods which are black, 40% of Hispanics live in communities that are 60% or more Hispanic. While 86% of suburban whites, on the other hand, live in communities that are less than 1% black (Seitles 1996). Many neighborhoods and communities persist in remaining racially separate and unequal (Seitles 1996). I discuss these types of exclusive communities here as a way of defining the concept by example.

Discriminatory practices are often designed to keep some people out of neighborhoods based on economic interests. The findings that racial discrimination in housing practice in Cleveland is usually higher in areas adjacent to all-white tracts and tracts undergoing rapid racial conversions (Galster 1987) is evidence of a patterned interaction between

rational economic motives of the sort emphasized by ecologists and cultural factors in the form of racist sentiment (Flanagan 1995).

Inclusive Communities

Suttles (1968) argues that it is the locality that forms the basis for social cohesion and neighborhood identification in the city. He studied an area in Chicago that contained a number of different ethnic groups (Blacks, Italian, Mexicans, and Puerto Ricans), and found that they formed a common sense turf that was not necessarily related. In this context the existence of community was based on certain shared values, which are identified as the principles of solidarity, participation and coherence (Suttles 1968). The inclusivity of the community was defined by the solidarity that sustained community members at an emotional level, inspiring affection and loyalty towards the group through mutuality and co-operation in relationships. Participation benefits individuals through the recognition of their contribution to collective life and to the aspirations of the group. Social coherence connects the individual to the community and leads to an appreciation and comprehension of self and situation that gives meaning to and awareness of themselves and their social world (Butcher 1993). In Paris, painters, illustrators, poets, writers, and musicians for example, articulated a distinctive community-based identity in the 1920s centered on mutual aid, sociability, and limiting urban development (Jackson 2006).

In *The Right to Difference (Le manifeste différentialiste)*, Lefebvre ([1970] 2005) writes that participants in these types of communities lay claim to a different world no longer defined by capitalist interests but defined by use value relationships as a fundamental principle. If the Right to Difference is embedded in the culture of the

locality it may serve as a force that holds back the urban growth machine as defined by Logan and Molotch (1987) and its ability to control what happens in the area.

Additionally, Lefebvre's notion of the Right to Difference is inextricably tied to the Right to the City as concepts that contributed to a renewed and expanded conception of the city.

The *Right to the City* promotes self-regulation and rejects discriminatory practices in the city:

The right to difference is thus simply the flipside of asserting the right to the city (centrality/power). Affirming the right to the city/difference does not mean celebrating actually existing manifestation of diversity per se, however. The liberal-pluralist diversity refers to reified forms of minimal difference (individualism, group pluralism). For Lefebvre, the Commune of 1871 and May 1968 were calls for the right to the city because they combined revolutionary assertions to power and spatial centrality with a plurality of particular aspirations of segregated groups (workers, students, immigrants). This implies a process by which claims of particular, peripheralized social groups "against discriminatory and segregative organization" are transformed into maximal claims to the "city" as "the centres of decision-making, wealth, power" and spatial centrality ("meeting places, gatherings," etc.). (Goonewardena, Kipfer, Milgrom, and Schmid 2008:204)

At the time of Lefebvre's writing these notions expressed a radically different way of living and sought to establish self management and non-discrimination in the urban city at an unprecedented level (Goonewardena et al. 2008). The rights that he was promoting were supposedly earned through social relationships, struggle, and political action, and not by having been bestowed by hegemonic powers from above who were the same ones forcing people into categories they created and then marginalized. Lefebvre conceived these rights as enacted through resistance to central authority and against marginalization (Goonewardena et al. 2008).

Finally, urban scholars are recognizing that common cultural and personal factors can delimit a certain space and construct a community's identity based on their shared

abstract characteristics as in what Abu-Lughod referred to as “Geography as State-of-Mind” (1994:156) and what Florida (2002) describes in his book *The Rise of the Creative Class*. These concepts serve to broaden our understanding of Wilton Manors by providing examples and a vocabulary with which to articulate characteristics that it shares with these types of communities.

The Creative Class Community

According to Florida (2002) people from the Creative Class move to cities and communities where the community’s values and lifestyle options, cultural diversity, and tolerant attitude are in alignment with their own. These communities attract people who share a common ethos that values creativity, individuality, difference, and merit. In turn these communities are being shaped by the social characteristics of those who move there and because of this migration of the creative class, there is a new social and economic geography emerging in America (Florida 2007). The distinctiveness of these cities does not correspond to old categories like East Coast versus West Coast or Sunbelt versus Frostbelt. Different classes of people have long sorted themselves into neighborhoods within a city or region, but now, according to Florida we are witnessing a large-scale re-sorting of people among cities and regions nationwide, with some regions becoming centers of the creative class while others are composed of larger shares of working-class or service-class people. One of the characteristics of Creative Class communities is that they value diversity in all its manifestations. Florida states that diversity is spoken of so often, that he takes it as a fundamental marker of creative class values. They not only value diversity but the members of the creative class themselves are diverse across the dimensions of age, ethnicity and race, marital status, and sexual preference.

There have been those who have critiqued Florida's theory pointing out that attracting people of the creative class has not resulted necessarily in a creative city without the necessary 'culture-based production system' of cultural production and consumption that are part of a comprehensive urban strategy supported by city policies (Sasaki 2010). As scholars have suggested, it is clear that one cannot draw a single model of creative cities as discussed by Florida (2002, 2004) but rather that there are various criteria and types of 'creative cities.' Pratt (2010) presented four types of creative cities categorized by the primary objectives of the policies promoting creative projects. As Pratt writes, "The development of a credible creative city strategy is a field that will rely upon a sound evidential base of understanding about the operation and environment of the cultural and creative industries, and a clear and concise evaluation of policies" (2010:18).

Additionally, definitions of creative are problematic, not the least of which is that creativity is context specific and ". . . that what may be creative in one place or time may not be creative in another context" (Pratt 2010:19). Nevertheless, cultural diversity seems a necessary factor required for the type of social transformation that creative cities theory discusses. The analysis of Kanazawa City as a Japanese case suggests that social exclusion is an issue that must be taken into account as a definition of the required social infrastructure for a real 'place of creativity' that fosters active participation of the citizens as part of its urban policy is constructed (Sasaki 2010).

Markusen (2006) and others (Catungal, Leslie and Hii 2009) call for a careful definition of the creative class, arguing that individual segments may hold very different values. Yet, it is useful to compare and contrast these creative cities' development to more accurately describe place, making strategies and provide continued evidence that

helps us close some gaps in our knowledge. While in the case of Liberty Village for example (Catungal et al. 2009), artists and photographers were the first tenants to occupy abandoned spaces, in Wilton Manors gay entrepreneurs were seen as the vanguard of the economic success that was reflected in the refurbishing and occupancy of empty retail spaces, a rise in rents, and an increase in home property values in the late 1990s-early 2000s. A Miami Herald article described the situation in this way:

The influx of gay residents and businesses happened gradually, over the past several years. Many gay people in South Florida knew about Wilton Manors from having visited Chardees, an elegant supper club that, at 9 years old, is perhaps the oldest gay-oriented business in the city. Others heard about the town because of Poverello Center, a not-for-profit organization that provides food and clothing to people with HIV and AIDS. About nine years ago, it relocated there from Pompano Beach to Wilton Manors. Suddenly, the gay community in Wilton Manors -- however small its numbers, and no one can provide an authoritative figure -- was becoming more visible. . . . Wilton Manors needed a boost from somewhere. The 51-year-old 'Island City,' which is surrounded by canals and forks of the New River, was facing a host of problems: Aging houses. Empty storefronts. Untended landscapes. Just as it did in Key West, South Beach and Fort Lauderdale's Victoria Park and Rio Vista neighborhoods, the gay community has made a visible difference in Wilton Manors. Just take a walk around. Newly painted houses with colorful flower beds dot neighborhoods. . . . Gay people who are childless don't have the expense of paying for kids, says homeowner Neil Gomoluh, 29 'A lot of times, we have double incomes. So we have disposable income that we put into our homes.' 'They often have the resources, the energy and -- at the risk of stereotyping -- an aesthetic interest in turning neighborhoods around,' says Marie York, assistant director of the FAU/FIU Joint Center for Environmental and Urban Problems, in Fort Lauderdale. (Doup 1998)

Gay-friendly Communities

So closely related in their characteristics are communities that attract the Creative Class and those with a large proportion of gays and gay entrepreneurs, that Florida (2007) combined his measure of bohemian (a characteristic of the Creative Class) and gay populations into the Bohemian-Gay Index. As Florida reports, his findings indicate that the Bohemian-Gay Index has a substantial effect on housing values across all region

sizes. The Index remains statistically positive and significant in relation to variables for regional income, wages, technology and human capital. The Bohemian-Gay Index also has a substantial direct effect on other key variables, particularly income, and because of that has an additional indirect effect on housing values which shapes the communities where Creative Class members move. The literature reveals a wide body of studies that have shown that artist and gay populations act as urban pioneers and that their location choices can have substantial upward effects on housing prices (Castells 1983; Ley 1994; Smith 1996; Zukin 1995); to some degree this Wilton Manors' restructuring fits in with this model.

In a study of French male homosexuals, Cavailles, Duty, and Back-Ignasse (1984) discuss the paradoxes inherent in gay communities, simultaneous inclusion and exclusion; while providing spaces for clandestine or semi clandestine venues, it also provides for personal networks of friends and acquaintances. They can be places that protect but at the cost of isolating gays from the outside world. These closed communities allow gay men and women to end their sense of isolation and provides the collective strength that allows them to be themselves in public. Gay dominated enclaves, or gay ghettos, however, can also serve to set gay people apart and place them in a situation where they are isolated from the rest of society " . . . 'so that they run the risk of making their status as a scorned minority a permanent one'" (Cavailhes et al. 1984:43-44 in Higgs 1999).

Because gays and particularly gay males tend to be middle class or above (Barrett and Pollack 2005), they are more likely involved in their communities which can assuage their marginalization. Their economic resources allow them access to the social,

psychological, and economic resources that facilitate the expression of one's sexual orientation (Barrett and Pollack 2005) and exercise of political power.

City-marketing is also particularly relevant for gay-friendly communities. In the past the modern city was run by urban managers - the post modern city is increasingly run by urban entrepreneurship: "City marketing is part of this new mission: cities are sold as places for tourism or business. So there is also a trend to install the facilities necessary for such functions – conference centers, hotels, cultural, facilities - a package of devices to encourage spending of the discretionary dollar . . . in this rather than that city" (Cooke 1990:340). This very closely describes some of the projects that interviewees talked about when they were asked questions about Wilton Manors' future. But, as some of them were also aware, and what has happened in other gay cities (Hughes 2008), is that while gay tourism as a market is particularly apt for Wilton Manors to target as part of its redevelopment strategy, there are also some potentially undesirable implications for the everyday life of the residents who live there and which prompted some community activists to take up as a cause (these will be further discussed in the findings section).

As Lees (2008) and others have argued, sometimes and despite the middle classes' claims of their tolerance for diversity and difference, they tend to self segregate. She cautions that new policies aimed at "social mixing" should be carefully monitored as to whether or not they really produce the inclusive urban renaissances they imagine or if they actually produce detrimental gentrifying effects on the community, or as might happen in the case of Wilton Manors, actually segregate the community along the lines of sexual orientation.

However, this does not have to happen, as other studies of gay communities report that many of the gay men who live in these communities have created a gay way of life that is gay, non-urban, and home centered, and where the gay men are integrated into the larger community. Interviewees of the Connecticut River Valley area of Massachusetts, for example, “. . . described their lives in the region as being positively affected by a level of tolerance, if not complete acceptance, more often associated with larger urban centers” (Kirkey and Forsyth 2001:421). Adler and Brenner (1992) report that gay neighborhoods have become familiar parts of the urban landscape, and in *The City and The Grassroots* (1983) Manuel Castells argued that “. . . gay men and lesbians . . . behave first and foremost as men and women” (Adler and Brenner 1992:24).

Ruting (2008) reports that over the past half century many gay districts have emerged in inner cities in the United States as “. . . sites of gay and lesbian residence, commerce, entertainment, culture and politics” (p. 259). These visible districts are not static enclaves but constantly changing, reflecting improved social attitudes towards homosexuals. In particular the gay urban village, a model similar to that of Wilton Manors, “. . . plays a unique role in the city providing spaces of experimentation and invention – a stage for new systems of cultural (ex)change to emerge” (Borbridge 1993:1).

In gay friendly communities, gay populations have been shown to have much in common with their non-gay neighbors. In agreement with arguments from preservationists and neighborhood activists for example, San Francisco voters passed a stringent growth control ordinance in 1986 (Godfrey 1997). The resulting slower pace of downtown growth marked the emergence of “the urban antiregime” (Godfrey 1997). This slow growth movement reflected long standing concerns that the city’s revitalization

was “. . . creating a sterile city of affluent professionals, tourist attractions, and chain-store franchises” (Godfrey 1997). These relatively new grassroots movements, going back to the “Great Freeway Revolt” in the late 1950s, have led to the emerging of shared historic preservation interests. There have been however, unintended consequences of this movement which Godfrey (1997) describes as the gentrification of gay-friendly communities:

Since the 1960s, neighborhoods once noted for their idiosyncratic local charms, ethnic cultures, and nontraditional identities have been revitalized as bland imitations of their former vibrant selves. . . the widespread appeal of nontraditional social identities – particularly of the Beat, countercultural, and gay communities – unintentionally encouraged gentrification. (P. 310)

Nevertheless, after more than a decade of slow growth politics San Francisco faced renewed pressures from the urban growth machine in the late 1990s (Godfrey 1997), again revealing the complex interactions of forces underlying city development but showing how gay and non-gay populations can be allies and united by common interests. Wilton Manors’ growth in the last 10-15 years has some parallels to the South of Market District in San Francisco that also was transformed from an industrial and working class area to one that promoted arts and entertainment, along with mixed-use development: “As the area became a trendy center for the arts, design studios, restaurants, bars, and nightclubs in the 1980s, it came to be known simply as SoMa, an echo of New York’s now fashionable SOHO (South of Houston) District. . .” (Godfrey 1997). The developer of some 500 local live-work lofts has been “heralded and criticized” for converting the former industrial areas into fashionable and expensive housing, out of the reach of low and moderate income residents for whom the 1987 ordinance was enacted to benefit. As in other types of communities, other disputes have emerged in these gay-friendly

communities from the competing residential, commercial, and sports land use interests (Godfrey 1997). Some of the concerns that neighborhood groups have raised are the impact of the land use development plans on traffic, parking, noise, trash, and glare – almost identical to the concerns raised by the Wilton Manors interviewees.

Additional parallels between the SoMa district and Wilton Manors include the “effervescent” atmosphere used to describe SoMa and that parallels descriptions of “new energy” in Wilton Manors, and the mainstreaming of alternative lifestyles:

The subsequent pressures of urban redevelopment, the advent of AIDS, and the influx of heterosexually oriented establishments combined to mainstream the area’s alternative sexual geography. . . the SoMa is fashionably conventional . . . dance clubs, cafes, and other trendy businesses attract hoards of customers on weekends. Such SoMa hot spots, as Hamburger Mary’s, the Paradise Lounge, the Holy Cow, DNA Lounge, The Eagle, and the Stud attract the young and adventuresome of varied lifestyles and sexual orientations. (Godfrey 1997:327)

In these cities, the interlacing of market value and use value is easy to identify but their respective impacts are difficult to unravel and, even more so, to prioritize. A 1998 Miami Herald article on Wilton Manors gave a clear example of this:

Eduardo Gonzalez, an advertising man from Miami, is in search of a new home, a new community. He's had enough of South Beach, though it's just a 10-minute jaunt from his house. “Too young, too fast, too unfriendly,” he says. So Gonzalez, who is 49 and gay, is checking out real estate in Wilton Manors. It's a town where a gay person can feel comfortable, he says. Long viewed as a traditional married-with-kids kind of town, this tree-lined community of 11,800 north of Fort Lauderdale increasingly is also becoming known as a gay-friendly place. One of the town's main shopping centers is dominated by gay-owned or gay-friendly businesses. A gay man is vice-mayor. And a two-term mayor who was seen as anti-gay was soundly bounced from office in March. Despite an undercurrent from some merchants and a few residents who fear that the gay community's presence is becoming too visible, lesbians and gay men have embraced the city. They've been enticed by Wilton Manors' cheap retail space (no fewer than 15 gay-owned new businesses have opened within the past 18 months, according to local merchants) and affordable home prices -- two-bedroom bungalows sold for about \$50,000 not that long ago, before home prices began to soar. (Doup 1998)

Gentrification

The soaring of home prices in Wilton Manors followed a pattern that has been common in the United States where gentrification has affected cities of every size and in every region, sometimes, with a dramatic impact. Phenomena like these have revived interest in the early urban ecologists' idea described by McKenzie (1926) as invasion and succession. The modern version however, is not like that previously described by ecologists, where the residential turnover from more to less affluent populations occurred as neighborhoods physically aged. The contemporary manifestation happens when a segment of the affluent classes chooses to move into formerly declining neighborhoods usually in inner cities – in other words invasion and succession in reverse (Flanagan 1993). One of the aspects of this gentrification is that since the new residents and entrepreneurs are usually more affluent than the established residents, they demand that government officials pay attention to questions of housing and neighborhood enhancement to which officials are more likely to respond (Flanagan 1993). In this way they emerge as local elites with the political power to make policy changes consistent with their values and interests. I suspect this pattern occurred in Wilton Manors in July 2002 when former Mayor Jim Stork formed Main Street as a volunteer-backed organization designed to bring growth and development to Wilton Drive and other commercial districts and dedicated to beautification and development (Aird 2004). An interesting aspect to the invasion and succession that took place in Wilton Manors is that while the new, more affluent residents moved in, less affluent residents who were living there were not displaced.

Gentrification is relevant to this study because there is recognition that the location is what attracted gay investors. As has been cited in the literature on gay entrepreneurs, as a group they are often referred to as urban pioneers. They often are the first to go out and search for the rundown areas and invest in the cities around them (Gates 2004):

Same-sex couples are indeed more likely than their married heterosexual counterparts to try out edgy areas. For example, crime rates in the typical neighbourhood of a same-sex male couple are 20 per cent higher than in the typical neighbourhood of a straight married couple. (P. 2)

In the 1980s Wilton Manors appeared more as an inner-city neighborhood than an “island city.” When George Kessinger, a gay entrepreneur invested in the area and opened up a local sports bar/restaurant, the others who followed him pushed the city past a threshold that sparked the revitalization of Wilton Manors. In the United States this pattern of investment and restructuring became evident by the end of the 1970s and is still relevant today. Nevertheless, a place must have other factors that are attractive to potential residents and investors in addition to estimated economic returns. As I have argued, in terms of everyday experience, economic profit is not always the main reason for revitalizing an area. People may move to a place because of perceptions of freedom and safety and the potential for living in a creative environment among others.

It has been touted as conventional wisdom that artistic, bohemian, and gay populations increase housing values in the neighborhoods and communities where they move (Florida and Mellander 2007). Florida and Mellander (2007) have linked the rise in housing prices in certain communities to the moving in of gays and bohemians across all region sizes. Often cities riddled with crime and deterioration become revitalized when gays and artists move into the area: “In Oakland, California, councilman Danny Wan was

recently quoted as saying that a gay district could ‘turn a tumble-down neighbourhood into an economic and social hot spot . . . boasting a panoply of coffee shops, bookstores, bars and movies houses—service-oriented businesses that foster social interaction’” (Gates 2004). Unfortunately, sometimes the rise in rents displaces residents who can no longer afford to live there. In Wilton Manors I have not observed this on a large scale, since many of the residents living there are homeowners who have stayed throughout the restructuration phase and its concomitant changes. Besides the impact on residential home values, Wilton Manors’ revitalization has also had an effect on entrepreneurs and business owners whose offices and storefronts have had their rents raised to the point where some have had to move to other buildings in Wilton Manors where the rent is lower. Many of them have chosen to stay in Wilton Manors and some continue their revitalization strategy of making the city a “destination”:

The postal codes with the highest proportion of gay and lesbian couples include many urban neighbourhoods once seen as derelict but known now for their vibrant gay communities. The top ten include the Castro and Haight Asbury neighbourhoods in San Francisco, Chelsea in New York and Roxbury in Boston. ‘Pioneering’ gay men and lesbians played a key role in remaking these once run-down areas into prime destinations for all city residents, a scenario apparently now being repeated across the country’. (Gates 2004:www.urban.org/url.cfm?ID= 900734)

Some previous research on creative cities suggest that promoting economic development by appealing to the creative class may be hostile to some forms of diversity by excluding segments of the population (Sullivan and Shaw 2011); in Wilton Manors this is manifested by the proliferation of gay oriented businesses and cultural activities which alienate some parts of the straight population who perceive that there is increasingly fewer activities and businesses available for them.

Despite the critics (Peck 2005; Krätke 2010) Wilton Manors does exhibit some of Florida's "3-Ts" –Technology, Talent, and Tolerance – requirements for urban regeneration. It is doubtful that in the beginning this was a conscious "Creative City" strategy based on Florida's new creative city paradigm; it appears to be more of a serendipitous event sparked by an enterprising business investor who was familiar with the conditions of Broward County and the local Wilton Manors area. Nevertheless, the influx of gays, the re-focus of citywide activities on arts, culture, and entertainment, and the development of mixed-use construction did spark a turn-of-the-century restructuring that may have slowed down because of the general economic trends of the times but that is still poised to continue. Although the 2.5 square mile city is certainly not a technology hub, it does exhibit characteristics of larger, more cosmopolitan and creative environments, for example, providing internet access in "hot spots" along Wilton Drive by 2003. Critics of Florida's thesis further argue that his thesis simply serves to legitimize an increasingly business-oriented model of creative urban growth that serves the "Disneyfication" and crass instrumentalization of culture –much of it about city marketing rather than substantive development of an authentic creative city culture (Peck 2011). Even its detractors admit that Florida's theory fosters openness, tolerance, and other socio-cultural factors of cities and regions (Krätke 2010). At least in the case of Wilton Manors, social inclusion was a reality before Florida's promotion of social inclusion initiatives became public. It is interesting to note that Wilton Manors' public image reflects some of Florida's (2002) characteristics of a creative city - a large proportion of its population is made up of gays and "bohemians" who value creativity, aesthetics, and cultural eclecticism.

The city activists recognize that gentrification has more than one down side and even city officials have proposed a type of “controlled” gentrification. In 2006 an article about one of the candidates that was running for re-election for Mayor of Wilton Manors began with:

Wilton Manors is known as a hip enclave, a city of 12,000 once dubbed ‘a gay boomtown’ by The New York Times. Look at the rows of Florida-style homes, Mini Coopers in the driveways, the manicured downtown filled with chic shops and eateries. Over the past 15 years, Wilton Manors has been transformed from a crime-infested town into a developer's dream. Candidates in the March 14 election say they want to continue Wilton Manors' gentrification, but not at the expense of its small-town vibe. ‘We don't have big high-rises and we don't want them,’ said Scott Newton, 48, who is running for reelection as mayor. ‘We want smart growth, but not growth for the sake of it.’ (Fantz 2006)

Network Migration

Network migration or chain migration helps to explain the reshaping of city identity by the influx of people who learn of opportunities through social relationships with previous migrants (MacDonald and MacDonald 1964). These relationships create social capital among those to whom the migrant is related and in ways that make it easier for them to also migrate (Massey, Durand, and Malone 2002). Therefore, by initiating small social networks of migration, chain migration becomes a larger mass movement in and of itself. Many groups and nationalities throughout history have immigrated to the United State through chain migration utilizing social networks in order to migrate (Massey et al. 2002). These social networks lead to transplanted communities from one nation or city to another. Ethnic enclaves have been built and sustained by this type of networking where they claim physical space in city neighborhoods to maintain the communities that have been created.

Additionally, advertising by companies and even states to potential immigrants in home countries who sent magazines and pamphlets with information for potential émigrés, made immigration more feasible. Similarly, this type of network migration can help to understand how Wilton Manors became known as the third gayest city in the United States.

It may be argued that the changes that occurred in the population characteristics of Wilton Manors occurred as a result of network migration in the mid to late 1990s. Businesses, particularly real estate companies began to market their projects to a targeted gay clientele. Real estate links on the web open to ads on sites that promote staying “in-the-network”: “Whether you are already living in the Greater Ft. Lauderdale area or you are considering a relocation, it is our goal to ensure that your next Real Estate transaction is tailored to meet your unique needs without the frustrations that are sometimes encountered when dealing ‘out-of-network’” (QueerEyehomes.com 2007).

More recently in Wilton Manors, the term may be employed to refer to the influx of gay entrepreneurs and gay residents following the example of gay investors who settled in the city. In 2004 an estimated 40 percent of adult men in Wilton Manors were gay (Gates 2004). Like the types of ethnic communities that result from the network patterns of ethnic association, gays moved in where they had friends and associates, where they had some knowledge and information about the area, and where they felt psychologically safe, a use value for “users” of urban environments. Like ethnic enclaves, when people with shared social characteristics move into an area, that space begins to reflect their cultural identity. Recent immigrations have expanded the Chinatown districts of New York and San Francisco, Korea town in New York for example, and sparked the

development of a number of Vietnamese and other Southeast Asian communities in various cities. Hispanic *barrios* and commercial districts have flourished in a number of U.S. cities, with Little Havana in Miami providing an illustrative example. These shared characteristics can contribute to the formation of a distinctive community of like-minded people (Fischer 1975, 1984).

As Florida and Mellander (2007) discuss, networks of artistic and creative individuals can restructure a city by their economic impact. Network analysis can provide an important methodological strategy and theoretical model for urban research. In Florida's theory artists and bohemians, like gays, also act as pioneers in the upgrading of inner-urban areas because "[l]ike the diverse workplace, a diverse community is a sign of a place open to outsiders. . . . a visible gay presence convey[s] the same kind of signal. . . . visible diversity serves as a signal that a community embraces the open meritocratic values of the Creative Age" (Florida 2002:227). Also, there is a link between the creative class and the gay community because ". . . openness to the gay community is a good indicator of the low entry barriers to human capital that are so important to spurring creativity and generating high-tech growth" (Florida 2002:256). And furthermore, the creative class seeks places that are diverse and "[t]o some extent, homosexuality represents the last frontier of diversity in our society, and thus a place that welcomes the gay community welcomes all kinds of people. As Gates has commented, gays can be said to be the 'canaries of the Creative Age'" (Florida 2002:256). According to Florida's (2002) analysis, ". . . ten of the top twenty Gay Index regions numbered among the top twenty centers for the Creative Class. The Gay Index was positively associated with the Creative Class [it] . . . simply represents a leading indicator of a place that is open

and tolerant. These qualities are important to . . . Creative Class people in general . . . (p. 258)” And as more people with similar interests and values are attracted to a location, the structures that emerge there reflect those characteristics within certain limits. Finding evidence that there are Bohemians in Wilton Manors may prove a little more difficult than finding evidence to support the presence of creative people. The Island City Artwalk that was started by Mary Ellen Charapko, the founder and organizer, would seem to provide enough evidence of that. More than thirty businesses participate and various hosts take turns hosting local artists and photographers. The sponsoring businesses provide space either indoors or on the sidewalk where artists can display their works. People come out for fun and one person interviewed by a newspaper said of the Artwalk:

‘I think the stores are very generous. Not only are there good artists, but everybody is very friendly with food and wine, and everybody is very social and open. It's very special, very unique,’ said Hallandale Beach resident Joyce Bluestein, who strolled Wilton Drive with her partner, Chris Budnick. (Marcus 2010)

The rest of the time, when the Artwalk is not showcasing artists, various art galleries, photographers, and the Women’s Theatre Project, along with various other community and civic organizations keep the creative in Wilton Manors busy. A famous Florida novelist and journalist, Carl Hiaasen, a descendant of an original founding family, lived in Wilton Manors, and a founding bass player for the 1970s rock ‘n roll band Styx, Chuck Panozzo also lived there. Wilton Manors even boasts Don Eisele an astronaut aboard Apollo 7, as a past resident.

If Florida’s Bohemian category includes “offbeat” as one of its characteristics then you might say that Wilton Manors is Bohemian. A Miami Herald article proclaimed

“[o]ne of Broward's smaller cities (13,000 people living within 2.5 square miles), Wilton Manors has always been an offbeat place” (Herald Staff 1997).

Structuration

The mid-1980s revealed a growing emphasis in urban sociology on localism and empiricism - a new perspective that replaced the old “laws of structure” by focusing on the potential for human action to create and reproduce its own environment (Beauregard 1987). This emergent framework envisioned space as socially created and general processes modified by space-specific characteristics where the economy is not the ultimate determining factor. It was a theory that emerged as a reaction against both the structural Marxists and the neoclassical theorists and their quantitative counterparts (Flanagan 1993). Following this line of thought, this study centers on the relative degree to which structure or agency prevails in the changes that have taken place in Wilton Manors. Structuration in this context is defined in Giddens’s terms as the “...structuring property...as rules and resources, recursively implicated in the reproduction of social systems...it implies recognizing the existence of: (a) knowledge-as memory traces- of ‘how things are to be done’ (said, written), on the part of social actors; (b) social practices organized through the recursive mobilization of that knowledge . . .” (1979:64). The theory of structuration allows one to study social life in terms of individuals’ social interactions which produce and reproduce institutions and structures in communities and are in turn also structured by them (Giddens 1993).

During the 1990s one of the major theoretical questions in social science had to do with the extent to which the future is a fixed product of the structural arrangements of the past and present, and the extent to which the structural arrangements are mediated by

human choice (Flanagan 1993). This debate may be summarized by saying that opinion is divided between structural determinism and idealism, structure and agency, and principles of structured society and postmodern destructuralizing philosophies (Flanagan 1993). Flanagan, states that “. . . the direction of theoretical movement in urban sociology . . . has been overwhelmingly away from structural determinist interpretations and in the direction of agency” (1993:139). In this sense contemporary urban sociology theorizes the city in ways that diverge from the Marxist and Neo-Marxist frameworks as exemplified by the political economic theory of Logan and Molotch (1987) and Lefebvre ([1974] 1991). Out of these debates has emerged Giddens’ Structuration Theory.

Giddens’ view (1993), elaborated by structuration theory, proposes that neither the individual nor society is primary but that they are both emergent properties that are formed and reformed through the action of each on the other. Based on this conception this study examines the extent to which the actions of individuals, stemming from their worldview as an interpretative framework, contributed to the changes that transformed Wilton Manors from a socially exclusive community to one characterized by social inclusion and how those changes recursively impacted residents and business owners in ways that changed the landscape and created new forms of use value.

Structure and agency. To analyze the changes in Wilton Manors it seemed useful to examine how a city’s social system is structured. Applying Giddens’s notions to the everyday, a “system” is made up of “visible patterns” (of behavior) which are socially reproduced in time and space: “To study the structuration of a social system is to study the ways in which that system, via the application of generative rules and resources, and in the context of unintended outcomes, is produced and reproduced in interaction”

(Giddens 1979:64, 66). He goes on to say that "... the duality of structure, which relates to the fundamentally recursive character of social life, and expresses the mutual dependence of structure and agency . . . mean(s) that the structural properties of social systems are both the medium and the outcomes of the practices that constitute those systems" (Giddens 1979:69). Structuration Theory applied in the case of Wilton Manors may be interpreted to mean that the daily face to face interactions of the diverse ethnic, Anglo, and gay population, driven by shared values of inclusion, shapes and reshapes the city's identity which becomes a socializing structure for the people living there and a social structure characterized by inclusivity supports a diverse population. In theorizing how city structures emerge, a focus on human actors as deliberate agents of transformation illuminates the intersection of agency, power, and the social construction of cities.

According to Giddens (1979) the rules and resources that are accessed by actors in everyday social interaction produce structures that constitute social systems (Giddens 1979:71); "...practices are situated within intersecting sets of rules and resources that ultimately express features of the totality" (1979:82). The recursive feedback that Giddens proposes between patterned behavior and structure provides a way to analyze processes of social change within the context of cities in general and Wilton Manors in particular.

Agency and power. Unlike the neighborhood activists that Logan and Molotch (1987) describe who were unsuccessful in accessing official agendas, citizens of Wilton Manors have access to city officials including city commission members. Gay entrepreneurs had advocates among the long time residents of Wilton Manors who brought up their interests

with city officials on their behalf. These relationships are analyzed using concepts of action and power:

The relation between the concepts of action and power, on the level of strategic conduct, can be set out as follows. Action involves intervention in events in the world, thus producing definite outcomes, with intended action being one category of an agent's doings or his refraining. Power as transformative capacity can then be taken to refer to agents' capabilities of reaching such outcomes . . . the study of power reflects the same dualism of action and structure . . . (Giddens 1979: 88)

Action and power are relevant to the study of the changes that occurred in Wilton Manors because they help to illuminate how Wilton Manors' use value was transformed and sustained through specific actions taken by people living there:

The basis of the [social] system ' . . . is not sustained simply by a series of individually chosen acts, but also, most importantly, by the socially structured and culturally patterned behavior of groups, and practices of institutions . . . ' Power in social theory . . . is centrally involved with human agency . . . (1979:90-91)

The type of involvement that puts human agency in the forefront organizes the analysis of the changes that were sparked by gay entrepreneurs and their supporters in Wilton Manors. An analysis of individual action and involvement facilitates identifying whether or not the local elites that Logan and Molotch describe and who represent real estate interests as the primary factors in the city's growth, had the power to be catalysts for the changes that occurred over those concerned citizens for whom the city held use value.

Structure. It is clear that the residents who lived in Wilton Manors accommodated the arrival of different types of people into their neighborhood. When the new International Baccalaureate Magnet program was introduced in Wilton Manors Elementary, the students who went to school there represented thirty six different countries with nearly 20% being Hispanic and 20% Haitian, and the 2000 Census of the city reporting between 11% and 17% unmarried, same-sex couples, - representing the highest concentration of

same-sex couples in Florida (Jacobs 2003). There were already gay bars and restaurants dating back to the 1980s; a Miami Herald article wrote:

The city never sunk a chunk of public money into the downtown to give it the requisite streetscape face lift. No patterned pavement, no quaint gooseneck street lamps, no lush landscaping. And the city couldn't offer tax breaks or even low-interest loans to developers. What the city had and embraced were several core gay businesses in the downtown, including Chardees, a supper club, and The Other Side, a longtime lesbian bar that had served its clientele under several names. (Arthur 1998)

To this day Wilton Manors Elementary implements programs like Passport to Peace that includes a close cultural relationship with an elementary school in Cuba, Mexico and a cultural education component that encourages students to follow 12 character traits: “. . . confidence, independence, commitment, cooperation, creativity, empathy, respect, tolerance, enthusiasm, curiosity, integrity and appreciation” (Marcus 2010). The article quotes Principal Mark Narkier as saying, "The Passport to Peace program has really become infused in our school culture, and what's happening is the 12 attitudes that the students use are constantly talked about. Students really respect people from different places and different cultures here."

These structural elements that support diversity have contributed to the city being known as diverse. In 1998 Vice-Mayor John Fiore was quoted as saying: “[w]e’re a community with a diverse population, and that's what makes a good city . . . The gay community has contributed, but a lot of straight people have discovered Wilton Manors, too. And we have people who were raised here who never left and have reinvested in the city” (Doup 1998). Residents creating structures that value and promote diversity has changed the neighborhood. This interpretation is supported by Anthony Giddens and his basic premise of structuration theory that *social structure is modified continuously by*

action [italics added] (Giddens 1979). According to his argument, the qualities of society and the individuals that comprise it continuously interpenetrate and shape one another; the recursive character of social structure makes it so that it is internalized by the individual as values, ideas, and so forth as well as externalized by patterned behavior. His impact on urban sociology has been to substitute structural analyses with an interactionist approach which was useful for the analysis of how use value is created and sustained against unrelenting exchange value forces which is the focus of this study.

Through the lens of structuration theory the social changes related to what occurred in Wilton Manors at the end of the 1990s may be analyzed. Worldview, as an internalized structure, informed the behavior of the citizens of Wilton Manors when gays starting moving into the neighborhood as investors and residents in large numbers. The ways in which the citizens reacted simultaneously reflected and influenced structures resulting in the redefinition of Wilton Manors from its roots as an exclusive white enclave to a diverse, gay-friendly city. Giddens' notion that social structure is modified continuously by human action helps to explain how Wilton Manors was transformed.

Furthermore Giddens argues, attention should be turned from global theories of the world system toward the local level - the context where the powerful and less powerful confront each other at the level of the everyday lived experience. As he sees it, the elite and ordinary citizens of a place are the agents that through individual and collective choices reconstitute society (Flanagan 1993).

Since for Giddens space is produced by means of the "duality of structure" whereby space is both a medium of social relations and a material product that can affect social relations, the concept sensitizes us to the interpretation of social change as the production

of changed space and changed social relations. This type of dialectics is a major principle of the "new urban sociology" (Gottdiener and Hutchison 2006). The transformation of social relations Lefebvre writes about means a transformation of sociospatial relations, and the production of a new, liberatory space, a notion that echoes the Middle American individualism that Gans (1988) speaks of and defines as a:

. . . mixture of cultural and moral values for dealing with everyday life...the pursuit of personal freedom and of personal control over the social and natural environment. It is also an ideology – a set of beliefs values, and goals – and probably the most widely shared ideology in the U.S....implicit, almost taken-for-granted ideology of the ordinary person. (Pp. x, 1)

Also, it is different from capitalist interests, “. . . how little it has in common with the individualism of corporate and entrepreneurial capitalists” (p. ix). It also includes notions of diversity and equality: “Fairness appears to have become a more significant ideal over the last half century, probably because it is particularly relevant to and necessary for a diverse society. Fairness has many meanings, but in some respects it has turned into a simile for equality; most of the time, equality means equality of opportunity or treatment . . .” (p. 37). The concepts outlined above are treated as dimensions of structure and are included and applied in the analysis of the interviews with Wilton Manors residents in the search for answers to the questions regarding the construction and sustainability of use value in cities particularly social inclusion. The Stonewall Parade and Street Festival can serve as another example of how structure has redefined space and spatial relations; this annual event that from some accounts has grown from ‘a rag tag procession lasting about 10 minutes to the full fledged parade with scores of local gay, lesbian, and transgendered organizations and businesses represented that is described in a Sun-Sentinel article by an interviewee like this:

When I think of images of pride I normally see the gay or lesbian couples proudly walking down the street holding hands, the men in leather, the fabulous drag queens decked out in the finest gowns and high heeled shoes, men and women of all sizes, shapes. The local politicians, gay and straight alike, proclaiming their support for our community. I see the faith-based communities helping to carve out a niche for those that have been outcast from their own religious communities. I see all the non-profit organizations working hard to provide for the less fortunate, for the sick, for the wounded, for those struggling with their inner demons whether it be alcohol, food, drugs, or other addictions. I see organizations like the Gay and Lesbian Community Center and the Stonewall Library and Archives working hard to create a place for us in the present while keeping us aware and educated about our past. I see people having fun enjoying life and celebrating hope, if not for the future than just for this one moment in time. (Eagle 2007)

Structure and interaction interweaving as described in the article functions to create and sustain change – and raises use value for the users of the city.

Agency. Sometimes integration into market structures or state structure is seen as a sufficient condition of social inclusion regardless of inequalities which may continue to be part of those structures (Askonas and Stewart 2000). There are those who emphasize the importance of self-determination in contexts of interaction however, which have implications for existing structures of power. These scholars stress the importance of agency for projects of social inclusion and point out that “...inclusion is a matter not only of an adequate share in resources but equally of participation in the determination of both individual and collective life chances” (Askonas and Stewart 2000:9). These findings support the notion that human agency must act to choose to include new members into a community. Notions like these are fueling a growing movement toward a more humanistic theory of social change where the ideas of individuals, their collective sentiments and deliberate action play a greater role denying credibility to those that negate the efficacy of human reflection and deliberate action.

According to the human agency paradigm, the lessons of local histories, that people make a difference, should be acknowledged and that ideas and meanings are not entirely subject to dominant economic and political forces. People are free to reflect, to react, and to affect conditions (Flanagan 1993). Including the possibility of people taking back and renaming space, giving it new definitions and meaning (Flanagan 1993). In social analysis, research is refocused so that everyday life becomes the base that supercedes the political and the economic dimensions (Lefebvre 1971). The human agency paradigm helps to explain the transformation of Wilton Manors by replacing the laws of development and structure with the potential of human action to create and reproduce its own environment. On the basis of the writing of some scholars (Beauregard 1987; Giddens 1979; Harvey 1973; and Lefebvre 1961) I argue that place is socially created and general processes are modified by space-specific characteristics that are legitimate sources of explanations of social change. This study stands with the idea that analysis must take into account the everyday, and is committed to a historical standpoint where everyday lived experience is the starting point of social and critical analysis (Lefebvre 1974]1991).

Until recently, social theorists denied the capacity of individuals to resist the power of the urban environment and its associated processes (Simmel [1905] 1950; Wirth 1938). Now contemporary opinion is divided between the importance of structure versus that of agency (Flanagan 1993; Hawley 1986; Warf 1990). There are those who urge for interpretations to pay more attention to local cultural variations and to the *deliberate behaviors of groups and individual actors* (italics added) in influencing the direction of

change (Giddens 1989; Gottdiener and Feagin 1988; Logan and Molotch 1987). According to Giddens, institutions result from human agency and are the outcome of action and recursively the medium of production through which the “‘collective’...” and its interests, “is bound to ...action” (1979:95). Businesses that emerged in Wilton Manors from one entrepreneur’s investment in a rundown city contributed to the expansion of other institutions that were either previously non-existent or expanded those that were shrinking by promoting further development and investment by other gay entrepreneurs and residents. Furthermore, the acceptance of gays contributed to an environment where gays felt psychologically safe and accepted into the neighborhood, an example of social inclusion as a new characteristic of use value. Without these actions from established residents, the resulting economic restructuring may not have occurred. Minutes from the Wilton Manors City Commission meeting dated February 10, 2011 give an example of how deliberate human agency creates structures that recursively act on human consciousness and behavior:

Resolution No. 3521:

A RESOLUTION OF THE CITY COMMISSION OF THE CITY OF WILTON MANORS, FLORIDA, SUPPORTING AND URGING ALL MEMBERS OF CONGRESS TO SUPPORT H.R. 4530: STUDENT NONDISCRIMINATION ACT OF 2010, TO PROHIBIT DISCRIMINATION IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS BASED ON ACTUAL OR PERCEIVED SEXUAL ORIENTATION OR GENDER IDENTITY; DIRECTING CITY ADMINISTRATION TO TRANSMIT A CERTIFIED COPY OF THIS RESOLUTION TO THE BROWARD LEAGUE OF CITIES, THE FLORIDA LEAGUE OF CITIES, THE BROWARD COUNTY LEGISLATIVE DELEGATION, REPRESENTATIVES ILEANA ROSLEHTINEN [R-FL], JARED POLIS [D-CO], KATHY CASTOR [D-FL], ALCEE HASTINGS [D-FL], DEBBIE WASSERMAN-SCHULTZ [D-FL], RON KLEIN [D-FL], THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE NANCY PELOSI, SENATE MAJORITY LEADER HARRY REID, AND ANY OTHER INTERESTED PARTIES; PROVIDING FOR CONFLICTS; PROVIDING FOR SEVERABILITY; AND PROVIDING AN EFFECTIVE DATE.

(www.wiltonmanors.com)

CHAPTER III

METHODS, SAMPLE, AND ANALYSES

The research design for this study is not only theoretically tied to the Chicago School of the 1920's but even more so linked to their methodological approach. Robert Park, who became one of the best known Chicago ecologists, applied methods emphasizing observation of social phenomena in their natural setting. He included informal interviews, surveys, and the collection of personal documents for example, life histories as parts of his methodology. According to Hannerz (1980) W.I. Thomas, also one of the Chicago sociologists, insisted on systematic empirical investigation emphasizing the need to understand the participants' view, the 'definition of the situation' and "... as a methodological counterpart to this theoretical innovation, he pioneered in the use of 'personal documents'-diaries, letters, and autobiographies as well as accounts of life experience collected by psychiatrists, social workers, or social scientists" as legitimate tools in the scientist's repertoire" (p. 21).

With the citizen's spirit of volunteerism and social inclusion, Wilton Manors has evolved in less than 54 years from the 95 residents who made up the original group who petitioned for incorporation into a village, to the 11,632 estimated by the 2010 Census. In this study I used qualitative methods to understand the social transformation and relative strength of exchange value and citizens' use value in the construction of that transformation following a grounded theory framework for the analyses.

Ethnographic Feasibility Study

During my ethnographic study for a qualitative methods class in summer 2007, I concluded that doing a study of Wilton Manors was feasible. My rationale for selecting Wilton Manors was based on my perception that this city was important to study for several reasons; first, the level of social inclusivity that I observed there convinced me that it would be a good setting to analyze the acceptance of diversity and social inclusion. Not only was this a theoretically important topic but also seemed timely in a practical sense. Furthermore, the unique status of the city as an island-city, as well as its relatively small geographic territory gave it a clear demarcation that made it accessible for study.

Originally, my methodology included hanging out at the Popcorn Café off of Wilton Drive - eating popcorn (see Figure 4, 5). The owner, George Marmol, had strategically placed a 1950s-style, red plastic booth in front of the glass door and large front window from where I could sit and watch the stream of Wilton Manor-ites pass by. His homemade recipe of caramel and cheese popcorn was my favorite; sadly, the Popcorn Café closed a year and a half later. But during that summer I felt like I had become part of the community. From George's second floor balcony (the store was in the space at the bottom of the townhouse where he lived with his partner in a mixed-use, newly built development – Belle Isle), I took pictures of the Stonewall parade in June for my class, and when I saw the gays, lesbians, and straights; Black, Latino, and Anglos; Democrats and Republicans marching in the parade with the gay and straight commissioners and mayor sharing a ride and “The Bears” marching with their flag while mothers with their

babies in strollers watched from the sidewalk where the atmosphere was decidedly “live and let live” (Figures 6-13).

That fall I began to search for social science methods and theories that might explain what I was experiencing and observing. After having been a participant observer in the city for about nine months, I concluded that doing my dissertation on Wilton Manors was going to be feasible and that I would use a grounded theory framework for the analyses.



Figure 8. The Popcorn Café and owner George Marmol. Photo by Emma Ergon 2007



Figure 9. The front window of Popcorn Café. Photo by Emma Ergon 2007



Figure 10. Mothers and children watch in front of Popcorn Café. Photo by Emma Ergon 2007



Figure 11. Stonewall Parade. Photo by Emma Ergon 2007



Figure 12. The Military represented at Stonewall Parade. Photo by Emma Ergon 2007



Figure 13. Women on motorcycles in the parade. Photo by Emma Ergon 2007



Figure 14. The Vice Mayor on his motorcycle. Photo by Emma Ergon 2007



Figure 15. Straight and Gay Commissioners participate in the parade.
Photo by Emma Ergon 2007



Figure 16. The Gay Pride Flag colors. Photo by Emma Ergon 2007



Figure 17. A “live and let live” attitude. Photo by Emma Ergon 2007



Figure 18. Marching Band. Photo by Emma Ergon 2007



Figure 19. "Bears" marching in the Stonewall Parade. Photo by Emma Ergon 2007



Figure 20. Representing the "honky tonk" Manhattan South. Photo by Emma Ergon 2007



Figure 21. Politicians come to the Stonewall Parade. Photo by Emma Ergon 2007



Figure 22. The Gay/Lesbian/Bisexual/Transgender Democratic Caucus. Photo by Emma Ergon 2007.



Figure 23. Watching from the sidelines at the Stonewall Parade.
Photo by Emma Ergon 2007

The Design

Qualitative methods were used to gather evidence for reaching conclusions about the relationship between the worldview of residents and business owners, use value and exchange value, and the structural transformation of Wilton Manors at the end of the 1990s to better understand the dynamics of social change in cities and to answer these questions: 1) is exchange value or use value the primary force in the social, political, and economic restructuring that occurred in Wilton Manors in the mid to late 1990s; 2) how is use value created and sustained in a city; 3) does worldview help to explain decisions that people make about the city where they choose to live; and 4) is structuration (i.e., individual actions and social structure) the mechanism via which use value is translated into social change. One of the strengths of qualitative methods is that:

. . . they focus on naturally occurring, ordinary events in natural settings, so that we have a strong handle on what 'real life' is like. That confidence is buttressed by local groundedness, the fact that the data were collected in close proximity to a specific situation. . . The influences of the local context are not stripped away, but are taken into account . . . the fact that such data are typically collected over a sustained period makes them powerful for studying any process (including history); we can go far beyond "snapshots" of "what?" or "how many?" to just how and why things happen as they do. . . Qualitative data, with their emphasis on people's "lived experience," are fundamentally well suited for locating the *meanings* people place on the events, processes, and structures of their lives. . . and for connecting these meanings to the *social world* around them. (Miles and Huberman 1994:10)

On the basis of this description and the close fit with my intent and purpose qualitative methods seemed like the best choice. The methods used for the analysis closely resemble those described by Miles and Huberman (1994):

The analytic sequence depicted here is probably closest to ethnographic methods, as extended by work in grounded theory. It moves from one inductive inference to another by selectively collecting data, comparing and contrasting this material in the quest for patterns or regularities, seeking out more data to support or qualify these emerging clusters, and then gradually drawing inferences from the links between other new data segments and the cumulative set of conceptualizations. (P. 14)

For the analyses I used grounded theory, a careful reading of the transcripts that lets the coherent concepts emerge. The overall strategy was to use it as a general approach without the elaborate data/variable framework some of its adherents propose. Jary and Jary define grounded theory as "Any form of sociological theory that is built up gradually from the careful naturalistic observation of a selected social phenomenon" (1991:200). The original developers of the grounded theory approach, Glaser and Strauss (1967) ". . . proposed a '*general method of comparative analysis*' which would allow for the 'emergence' of categories from the data as an alternative to the hypothetico-deductive approach in social research" (Kelle 2005:3). The description of the process by Miles and Huberman closely resembles the procedures that I followed:

[A] more inductive researcher may not want to precode any datum until he or she has collected it, seen how it functions or nests in its context, and determined how many varieties of it there are. This is essentially the 'grounded' approach originally advocated by Glaser and Strauss (1967) . . . Data get well molded to the codes that represent them, and we get more of a code- in-use flavor than the generic-code-for-many-uses generated by a prefabricated start list. The analyst is more open-minded and more context-sensitive, although here, too, the ultimate objective is to match the observations to a theory or set of constructs. (1994:58)

Although Glaser and Straus eventually split over their differences on the purpose and intention of the method, and although academics continue to debate the methodological issues, most agree that “[b]oth [Glaser’s ‘coding paradigm’ and Strauss’ ‘theoretical codes’] strategies have their pros and cons . . .” (Kelle 2005:20). Regardless of the final version one uses, in Grounded Theory the main question the researcher asks is ‘[w]hat’s going on?’ (Kelle 2005:8), and that fit the initial intention of this study.

A consequence of the grounded theory, qualitative approach for the way I have written this dissertation is that I have illustrated my points with lengthy quotations from my participants. I believe that only by reading what people say in its spoken context is it possible to fully appreciate the consistency of points of view that emerge. In looking at the text of the interviews the question asked was “what is this about?” The participants’ interviews were then labeled using more general categories that their answers were instances of. As I began comparing the interviews with each other there emerged a consistency of points of view and experiences that they were expressing. I then tried to compare these data with theories that I thought would explain the consistency across groups that was emerging. I did not assume that the concepts embedded in the selected quotes would reveal themselves to a reader reading it; I supplemented the quotes with interpretations that I hope will clarify the themes that I see as well as their relationships to one another.

For the purposes of this study, key variables were defined and operationalized. Worldview is measured by several variables: beliefs about people of different ethnicities, races, religions, and alternative sexual orientations, and attitudes towards these, as well as beliefs and attitudes about social inclusion. Questions about whether or not the person knows people and has people in the family of different ethnicities, religions, and sexual orientations and whether or not they patronize businesses of each of these categories of people were asked.

To further understand the structure-agency component of the study, Wilton Manors' past was accessed through the archival taped interviews with city pioneers. The types of people who founded the city in terms of values, attitudes, and life experiences were analyzed. The taped oral histories of founding families were used to search for characteristics that revealed their worldview as defined and outlined above and their degree of participation in the community during their time. Also, historical records archived at the Wilton Manors Historical Society and at the Wilton Manors Public Library were accessed and reviewed for pertinent historical information.

As part of the structure-agency dialectic, agency is primarily composed of one dimension which is human activism (Flanagan 1993). In gay enclaves it has been recognized that gays help to bolster the economic base of a community encouraging other businesses to move in and thereby augmenting the tax base which provides influence with city officials (Varnel 2001). From previous reports (Castells 1983; Florida and Mellander 2007; Gates 2004; Ley 1994; Smith 1996; Zukin 1995) gay residents and business owners improve the social environment of the gay enclave by pressing for street safety, demanding adequate police protection, promoting neighborhood cleanup and

demanding improved public services; questions that would elicit relevant information on this topics were asked. Furthermore, citizens' agency was operationalized by asking residents and business owners questions about participation in local activities - council meetings, parades, fundraisers, and economic investment in the community – were specifically mentioned.

As a city defining itself as a friendly urban village (President Wilton Manors Historical Society, personal communication on 11.01.06), Wilton Manors provides a social environment attractive to gay entrepreneurs who see that other gays have lived and sustained businesses in the area and this provides them with psychological comfort (Varnel 2001). These socio-cultural factors are used to explain how Wilton Manors became the latest in a handful of gay-friendly cities alongside better known ones - San Francisco, New York, and Los Angeles - by the turn of the 21st century. These notions were operationalized by asking questions about the image that participants have of Wilton Manors and whether or not they feel safe there. The questions included how they would describe the city to strangers and what characteristics do they identify as pertaining to the city. Also, questions about nostalgia were asked to measure citizen's preference for the more socially exclusive environment of the past and to assess the degree of attachment to place. Use value was operationalized by asking how they like the way things are now or do they prefer the way Wilton Manors used to be; this was followed up by a question on how they think it used to be.

The concepts chosen were applied because I felt that they helped to answer the question about whether exchange value or use value had been primary in the social transformation that had occurred in Wilton Manors. Use value has several dimensions:

how people feel about living in their community, where and for what purposes they carry out their daily activities, their informal networks of people they interact with on a regular basis, a sense of physical and psychic security, how big a part of their identity is where they live, a source of shared experience of a multitude of benefits, shared ethnicity (Logan and Molotch 1988), and for the purposes of this study neighborhood use value was expanded to incorporate social inclusion.

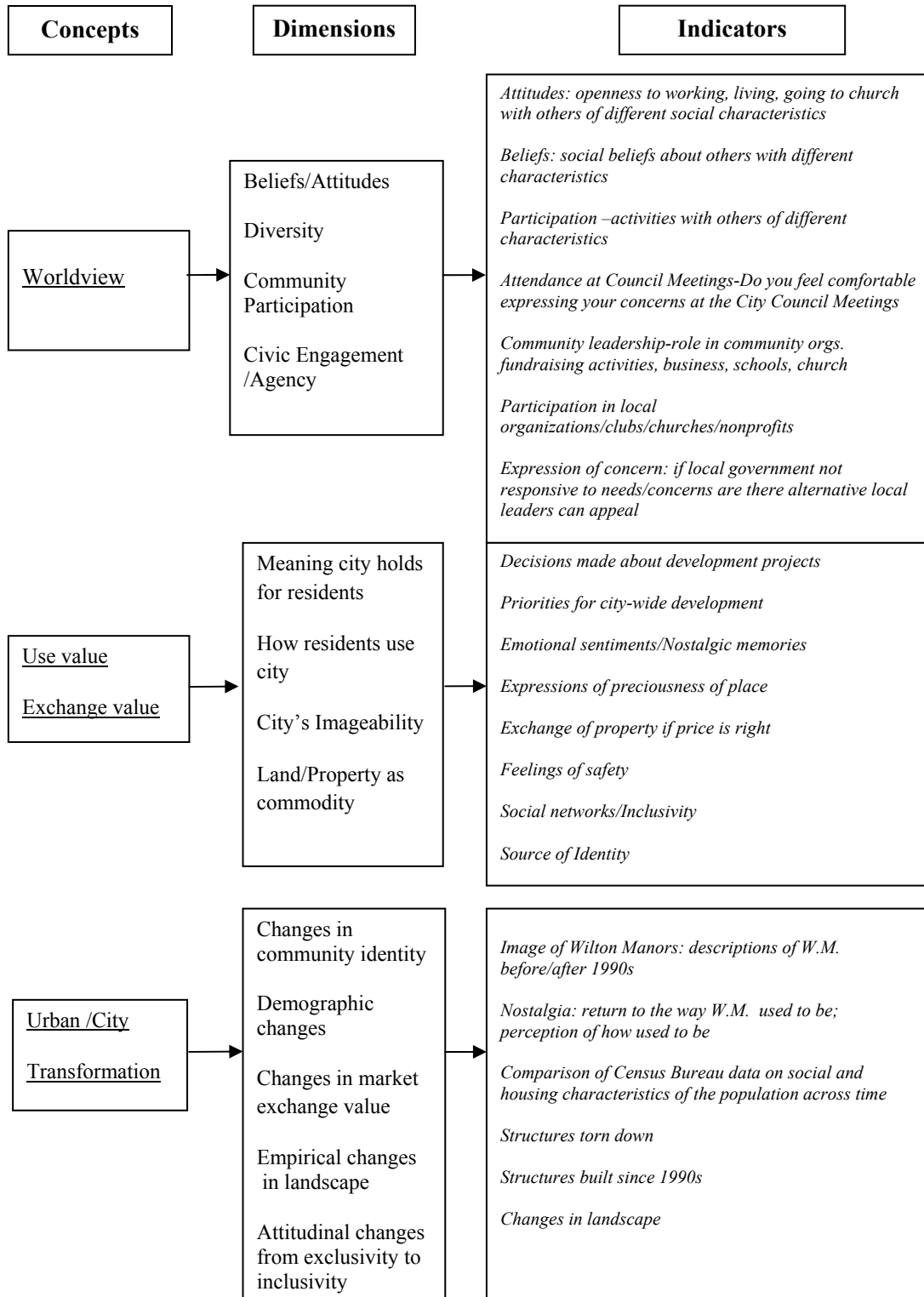
Following studies previously cited and discussed in the previous section, I have mapped these concepts, dimensions and their indicators in Diagram 1. Information gathered on the concepts' indicators through the three data collection methods described below were used to examine how Wilton Manors went from a development in the mid-1920's which marketed itself in its sales brochure as "an all-white development" (Thuma 2005) to describing itself in 2008 on the official city website as "...a diverse urban village...including openly gay elected officials" as examples of the creation of use value in a city.

Additionally, the study followed the case study method as I was focusing only on one city in my research. There are pros and cons to the case study method, as with all other methods. Although one of the limitations of case study research is its inadequacy for making generalizations about a population, a single case study can contribute to theory development (Gilgun 2011). Data gathered from a case study can provide enough evidence to suggest that a theory needs revision. In case study research the researcher may begin with a working hypothesis or they may develop a working hypothesis after they have begun their research. Finally, some case study researchers begin with a conceptual framework, which is the approach that I took in this study. After I had my

working hypothesis then I related it to existing research and theory. These procedures were then linked to grounded theory once I had developed my hypothesis in the course of doing the research (Gilgun 2011).

The research problem informing this study requires attention to gays as urban pioneers moving into decaying neighborhoods and helping spark their revival as has been reported by several scholars, in particular Gates (2004) and Florida and Mellander (2007), and focuses on the characteristics of the cities that expand social boundaries to include them. Through in-depth interviews (see Appendix 3 – interview instrument), analysis of taped oral histories of founding families and/or their descendants, and content analysis of documents including web-based texts and minutes and agendas from City Commission meetings that I downloaded from the city website (wiltonmanors.com) I identified citizen and official attitudes towards different classes, ethnicities, races, and people with same-sex sexual orientations. City-wide structures that facilitated or thwarted diversity and social inclusion were sought in commissioners' and officials' attitudes and policy making decisions found searching city commission online agendas and minutes using “affordable housing,” “low-income,” “diversity,” “equality,” and “gay” as keywords and to assess the relative weight given to use value over exchange value and inclusivity over exclusivity in decisions made regarding the city. Statistical and demographic data was used to supplement the qualitative information (U.S. Census Bureau Surveys Data, 1950-2010).

Diagram 1. Measurement of Wilton Manors' Citizens' Worldview, Use Value, and City Transformation



Sampling

As noted above, in summer 2007 I conducted a feasibility study for doing research in Wilton Manors I gained entry into the community via a contact who was opening an art gallery there. The gallery owner gave me the name of a woman who was key to the study; she had been the first Vice Mayor in the city's history and was the current President of the Wilton Manors Historical Society. With her assistance, I identified potential participants from the population and contacted them with the intention of including different types of groups: those with diverse ethnic backgrounds, different sexes and ages as well as sexual orientations. Not all who were contacted agreed to participate, some citing personal reasons and others for reasons not revealed to me.

The U.S. Census Bureau 2010 demographic profile reported the total population of Wilton Manors was 11,632. For this study twenty one participants from this population were identified by targeted and snowball sampling procedures (see Table 5 –demographic characteristics of the sample). The participants were selected with the purpose of representing different types of groups: business, cultural, community, church, residents, and governmental. The choices were made strategically based on previous field information or literature in order to get people who would have specialized knowledge or experience in the areas of the study; for example, real estate brokers/sellers who have a primarily economic interest in the area, gay small business owners who might provided insights into why they chose to invest in Wilton Manors, residents who may have other than economic reasons for living in Wilton Manors, members of cultural organizations like the Wilton Manors Historical Society who might provide information and insight

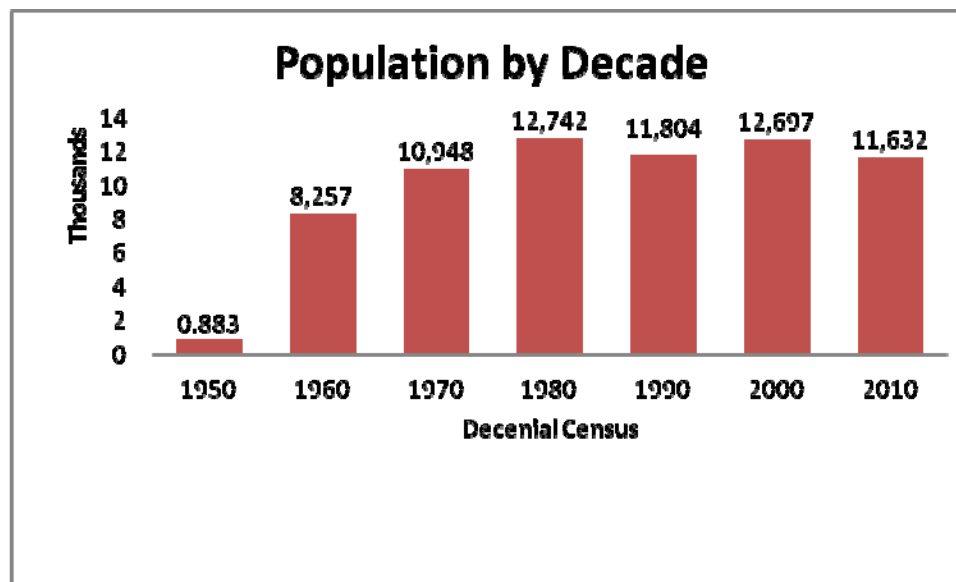
into the history of the community, church members to gauge the underlying religious philosophical orientation that might constitute worldview, ethnically and racially diverse participants, and local government officials who might shed light on motivations behind urban renewal and other policies that affect residents and businesses in the community.

Target Population

The target population for this study, or the population that the results will generalize about, is the community (citizens) of Wilton Manors. The 2010 census reports Wilton Manors' population at 11,632 people. Of those, Whites (non-Latino) constitute 71.21% of the population and 12.03% are Black or African American (non-Latino).

Approximately 13% of the population is Hispanic or Latino (of any race) (see Table 1).

Figure 24. Chart of Population Growth 1950-2010⁴



⁴ Source: U.S. Census Bureau^b

Because understanding the image people have of their city and what the city means to them are critical components of this research I take into account the perceptions of diversity and social inclusion of the individuals interviewed and not consider the actual demographic statistics on racial and ethnic composition except as descriptive statistics. For the purposes of this study, the individual is the unit of analysis. Studies have shown that individual citizens and coalitions of citizens are an important factor in understanding how cities emerge and how they are shaped (Abu-Lughod 1994; Logan and Molotch 1987; Molotch 1976).

The Participants

Participating participants were selected through a combination of purposive and snowball processes that originated at four different points: the key participant who is a long-time resident, another resident who gave me the name of a founding-family descendant, a professor at FIU who knew three people who lived there, and one of my cousins who lives in a gay enclave in New York City and who knew two Wilton Manors “transplants.” The 21 participants were chosen because they represented what I thought were important characteristics of the general Wilton Manors population. Their demographic characteristics ranged in dimensions from straight to gay, male to female, Wilton Manors residents for generations or newly arrived, and Anglo-American or ethnic. Their ages ranged from 26 years to 90. And for the most part, they did not know each other. Recruitment of the participants ended when answers to the interview questions started to sound the same.

Table 5. Demographic Characteristics of Participants*

	Number	%
Gender		
Male	13	61.9
Female	8	38.1
Age		
20-30	1	4.8
31-59	11	52.4
60-90	9	42.9
Education		
High School graduate	5	23.8
Some College	4	19.1
College Graduate	6	28.6
Post College (Masters, Law Degree, Doctorate)	6	28.6
Marital/Partner Status		
Single, Divorced, Widowed	5	23.8
Married, Partner	16	76.2
Religion		
Catholic	5	36.3
Protestant	1	4.8
Other Christian (Lutheran, Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Baptist, Christian)	11	52.4
Jewish	1	4.8
Spiritual (non-denominational)	1	4.8
Atheist	1	4.8
Not Applicable	1	4.8
Ethnicity/Race		
Anglo/White	19	90.5
African American	1	4.8
Hispanic/White	1	4.8
Sexual Orientation		
Same Sex	8	38.1
Opposite Sex	11	52.4
Both Sexes	1	4.8
No Response	1	4.8

*Percentages may not equal 100 due to rounding.

The majority of the participants lived in Wilton Manors either because their parents or grandparents had lived there and they had never left or left for some period of time and returned; in this study I refer to these respondents as the “old-guard.” The “old-guard” is made up of those people who were either second or third generation Wilton Manors residents; the term was appropriated from one of the interviewees who referred to the old-guard during the interview. The term “middle-guard” refers to those participants who have lived in Wilton Manors at least 20 years or more or have a business there; I coined it because I thought it followed logically from “old-guard” and I had no other term to describe this group. They are the people who moved from other states either because they came with spouses who were relocated by their jobs or because of a spouse’s health; one didn’t live in Wilton Manors but had a business there and had been very involved with the community since the 1980s. Some had moved to South Florida and chose Wilton Manors because of convenience and accessibility to amenities they wanted (close to the beach, close to the airport, close to the mall, etcetera), or also because they were gay or lesbian (whether single or with partners) and felt safe and comfortable there.

There were almost as many “newbies” (a term also appropriated from an interviewee and which I chose to represent those who have been in Wilton Manors for 20 years or less) among the people I interviewed as there were “old-guard”, eight versus nine, respectively. With only two exceptions the newbies were extremely involved in civic participation; two had held elected public offices, and four had participated in one type of volunteer activity or another including being involved in neighborhood associations, volunteering at the local public elementary school, volunteering at the Wilton Manors library, serving on the city council, as well as holding other positions in local

organizations like the Wilton Manors Historical Society. Two traveled extensively with their jobs and, therefore, felt they could not consistently participate in any type of volunteer activities. With one unidentified and one bisexual, the rest were self-identified gays – some single and some with partners. Identifying straight newbies was challenging; by the end of summer 2010 I had identified two straight couples and two single women who were newbies. Of the two couples, neither wanted to do the interview; one said they were too busy with their family business and could not afford the time. The other had a conflict with my intermediary – I was not able to connect with them. The two women initially told a friend of mine that they would be willing to do the interview, but when I one contacted one of them (a business owner), she seemed nervous and decided she did not want to do it. The other single person never gave my friend her contact number so I was not able to reach her by my deadline.

Data Collection

Semi-structured interviews were chosen as the most appropriate data gathering technique since they allow people to answer more on their own terms than the standardized interview permits. Also, because the research questions require information concerning interviewee's personal beliefs and attitudes, structured interviews were considered too constraining since rigid questioning prevents opportunities to pursue an interesting angle or ask for elaboration (May 1997). Furthermore, by being able to talk with the interviewee misinterpretations can be corrected on site and the researcher can do internal validity checks during the interview by asking questions like "so what you're saying is...Is this a correct interpretation?" In this way the quality of the data will be

maintained by insuring that the researcher's own interpretation matches that of the interviewee (Connell, Lynch and Waring 2001).

I developed the interview schedule around a number of key concepts, informed by the literature (Abu-Lughod 1994; Gieryn 2000; Logan and Molotch 1987; Molotch 1993; Portes and Stepick 1993) and field experience (feasibility study done in 2007). Briefly, these concepts centered on agency, cultural factors in city location and formation, and the explanatory power of worldview in social transformation (Evans 1997). The interviews were recorded. The interview data collected were first listened to and then, as key themes emerged the keywords were inserted in cells in a matrix. As each case's data was entered it was read and re-read in order to make sense out of it and then compared with one another for emergent themes and plausible interpretations of what the data meant in relation to worldview, social inclusion, and city change. These various interpretations are linked to the relevant theoretical literature. These processes occurred almost simultaneously as the relevant literature changed according to the themes that emerged. The matrix method of sifting through the data facilitated comparison across cases since keywords that each participant used in response to the questions labeled across the top of the matrix were inserted in a column one case's response under the other. In this way I could scan down a column and read all the keywords that each participant had used to answer that particular question. The data recording methods allowed for rapid identification of emerging concepts.

The documentary sources, family historical documents, newspaper articles, and other web-based texts serve as critical primary and secondary sources that served to reinforce, augment, or contradict data obtained through the semi-structured interviews.

Interviews with Participants

People who agreed to do interviews were taped with their permission on a digital voice recorder. The interviews were then transferred to a computer where the Digital Voice Editor was used to listen to the interviews and code them.

The interviews were hand coded using matrix analysis to identify themes and patterns in the data that were subsequently utilized to interpret, analyze, and illuminate patterns of social change in Wilton Manors and their possible sources. This analytical technique is a variation on partially ordered meta-matrix described by Miles and Huberman (1994); each case was inserted down the vertical axis and the variables being measured were inserted across the horizontal axis following the sequence of the questions in the semi-structured questionnaire, almost serving the function of headings for the analyses. The analysis was case-oriented, meaning that analysis took place by reading across a row looking at the measures taken for each particular case. Responses by each participant to each of the questions were then summarized and inserted in each corresponding cell with the corresponding number on the interview tape so that the entire quotation on the subject could be retrieved if needed at a later date.

Wilton Manors' Pioneers' Oral Histories

Access was granted to 21 CDs of interviews taped between 1975 and 1976 by Jett Monroe Schmelz of the Wilton Manors Historical Society and Friends of the Library and, occasionally joined by Dianne Thompson, President of the Wilton Manors Historical Society at the time and/or Pat Miller, and Kathleen Kreitner.

The interviews were done to honor the United States bicentennial in 1976 and to honor Wilton Manors' pioneers; these are part of the Wilton Manors Historical Society's

archives. The interviews which were originally on cassette tapes and converted to Compact Discs (CDs) were used to identify themes and patterns regarding values, attitudes, and behaviors regarding the community participation and agency of the pioneers for triangulation purposes.

The WMHS President, Diane Cline, approved my access to taped interviews of Wilton Manors' pioneers who were still living there in the 1970s (see Appendix 4). Of the 21 CDs I received 13 were oral histories of Alvar Hagen, Dorothea Mickel, Arlene and Charles Saxer, Vernon Burnell, Alice Sargent, Merle C. Slagle, and Grace Newton; the 14th was a repeat of the last track of Mrs. Newton's interview and 20 and 21 were duplicates of both part 1 and part 2 of her interview. Number 15 was Mayor Gerald Thompson speaking at a bicentennial celebration; 16 was a TV interview of Congresswoman Martha Griffith on the Today Show (there is no explanation); and 17 and 18 are tapes of a bicentennial celebration that includes segments of Commissioner Bob Hoebner speaking about city government and encouraging participation; number 19 is another recording of a bicentennial celebration, "Star Spangled Broward", sponsored by the Friends of the Wilton Manors Library and taped at the elementary school. While listening to the interviews the focus was on themes that emerged relevant to the analysis of the contemporary interviews. The following concepts were used for comparative purposes: worldview, the right to the city, socially inclusive attitudes, attitudes toward democratic participation, and the use of the city's center as a privileged place.

Most of the oral history interviews were done with people who were political figures of Wilton Manors (background information courtesy of Paul Kuta of the Wilton Manors Historical Society):

1. Perry Mickel was the second mayor of Wilton Manors (1952-1955). He also was a farmer and land developer/builder. For example, he owned 48 acres of land west of Andres Avenue in 1930s-1950s. 2. Alvar (Al) Hagen was on the Wilton Manors City Council from 1947-1952 and its first President. He was a major land owner & developer. For example, he bought 40 acres of land on [sic] east side of Wilton Drive in 1943. 3. Charles Saxer was on Wilton Manors City Council from 1953-1955 & was very active in the Volunteer Fire Department. 4. Vernon Burnell was on the Wilton Manors City Council from 1956-1960 & was an electrician. 5. Grace Newton was active in Wilton Manors Woman's Club & with 1st troop of Girl Scouts. 6. Alice Sargent was President of the Friends of the Wilton Manors Library . . . 7. Gerald Thompson was Mayor of Wilton Manors from 1968-1974 and then became a long-term Broward County Commissioner. Dianne Thompson is his wife.

Content Analysis

Documentary and textual data - newspaper articles, books, brochures, web-based articles and advertisements and statistics in the public domain - were used for triangulation purposes. These texts were analyzed for themes relevant to social transformation, images of Wilton Manors, and themes of social inclusion and relevant statistical information that either lend support or oppose findings from the interviews and oral histories. Using open coding categories were established to serve as a framework for analysis. Patterns that emerged were linked to the relevant literature.

Data Analysis

Data analysis was guided by four main themes: worldview, social inclusion, agency, and social change. The first analysis examines worldview and its associated social practices. Expressions of feelings about and of what living and/or working in Wilton Manors means to participants were identified. The second theme analyzed was social inclusion as expressed by those interviewed, including the taped oral histories. Positive statements about diverse people and diversity were counted as indicators of inclusivity. Expressions of interaction with people from different backgrounds and what that meant to

participants were identified. These thematically grouped data were analyzed for patterns reflecting orientations towards social inclusion, including reactions to gay entrepreneurship. Agency is defined as community participation including political activism, and past experiences with groups of diverse backgrounds. And statements about the restructuration were used as indicators of change.

There were three set of data to analyze: data from in-depth interviews, transcripts of the oral histories of founding families, and statistical and documentary data. It was anticipated, from literature reviews and personal experience in the field, that participant attitudes towards gay entrepreneurs and social diversity were related to their values and attitudes. These values and attitudes, as dimensions of participants' worldview were expected to have been shaped by previous experiences. Analysis of tape transcripts looked for relationships between worldview, community participation, attachment to place and individuals' images of Wilton Manors.

In doing matrix analysis relevant sections of the taped interviews were transcribed and inserted in the corresponding cell where the participant Identification number (ID) (on the horizontal axis) and the question asked (on the vertical axis) intersected, and then grouped into themes and related categories. This "by hand" method of tracking ideas was useful in identifying emergent themes. It was also useful to do the "sorting" in this way because the answers to each question were located in the same column; to separate cases I just needed to find where the next ID number was on the first column. Doing the analysis this way facilitated the comparison of answers across cases.

The analysis begins by presenting the contemporary interview data in order to "tell the story"; this section contains what respondents said about Wilton Manors' past, present,

and future in order to identify emerging themes, images, sentiments, and concepts that the residents hold of Wilton Manors. Part two of the analyses will illustrate where the pioneers' oral histories and the contemporary interviews converge on the emergent concepts. The third part revisits the data to present connections with the theoretical framework.

Confidentiality and Informed Consent

Informed consent and release forms were designed and signed by the interviewees; no harm was anticipated by this study. Institutional Review Board (IRB) authorization was obtained.

Every contemporary participant was assigned an identification number which was put on the matrix and a list of the id's and corresponding names in a password protected file is kept on a CD. The original interviews are stored in a password protected external drive. The oral histories have already been made available for public use through the Wilton Manors Historical Society, and permission to use them and quote from the interviews has been obtained from the authorized Wilton Manors Historical Society officers (see Appendix 4 - letter from WMHS).

Limitations

A compromise of the research strategy is concerned with the number and selection of cases for study. The small number of cases selected facilitates an in-depth and more nuanced analysis of the pertinent issues but also limits claims of the 'representativeness' of the findings. One of the limitations anticipated was that the oral histories would not be comparable with the data gathered from the contemporary groups. Some scholars have said qualitative data is less reliable than quantitative (Bowen 2005) but others say that

each paradigm should be judged by its own paradigm's terms (Lincoln and Guba 1985). Triangulation of the data sources were carried out in order to supplement the data and decrease the weak reliability. Data was gathered by in-depth interviews, taped oral histories, and text analysis of historical documents and other texts available publicly like minutes and agendas from City Commission meetings available online and newspaper articles found through a Florida International University library search. Lincoln and Guba (1985) and Patton (1980) argue that in qualitative research a demonstration of validity is sufficient to establish reliability; in other words, reliability is a consequence of validity. As some researchers agree, a compromise of some sort is common to all research strategies (Connell, Lynch and Waring 2001).

CHAPTER IV

PERCEPTIONS AND MEMORIES OF WILTON MANORS' HISTORY

The analyses begin with the old-guard's recollections, perceptions, and experiences of their lives in Wilton Manors. These are the people who were either born or grew up in Wilton Manors and still live there. Some have memories and experiences dating back to the 1930s and 1940s; the majority grew up in Wilton Manors in the 1950s and 1960s. Analyses then proceed to the recollections of the middle-guard that have memories of the past going back to the 1970s and 1980s. The newbies' experiences were primarily limited to the 1990s and the first decade of the 21st century, and what they knew of Wilton Manor's history was very limited but they had their own stories about their perceptions and experiences of life in the city.

Following this section, the participants' perceptions of the present and their projections for the future are analyzed; the questions asked were designed to gain access to their worldview, sentiments, images, memories, and meanings that they have used in the construction of Wilton Manors as a place that has both use and exchange value for them. The analyses revolved around the four main questions: 1. is exchange or use value primary in the decisions made by participants; 2. how was use value, including social inclusion, created and maintained; 3. does participants' worldview, including attitudes and values about social inclusion and civic participation, help to explain their decisions about Wilton Manors; and 4. was individual agency, via civic participation, both a component of their worldview and a mechanism that was linked to the city's restructuration.

In an attempt to limit imposing my own ideas and prejudices on their stories, I have used extensive quotes in the following narrative.

Imagining the Past: Reconstructions and Meaning

One of the old guard participants was 90 years old, and her parents had lived in Wilton Manors since 1936. She talked about those whose families had settled there before incorporation and how they had come during hard economic times “to make your fortune in Florida.” People had moved to Florida in the 1920s during the Florida Land Boom, or simply called the Boom (McIver 1997) which brought thousands of middle aged, middle class people with their families and investors who raced to buy and sell appreciating land in Miami and Palm Beach:

In the twenties, Florida would see its most remarkable growth explosion yet, most of it in the form of runaway land sales on the lower east coast, particularly in the new cities of subtropical Dade County. Blessed with balmy climate that attracted denizens of frost and snow, increasingly accessible by car and train, and situated in a state that after 1924 imposed no income or inheritance tax, Miami and Miami Beach nearly burst from the influx of 1925, when 2.5 million people poured into Florida. (Gannon 1993:77)

Thousands of subdivisions were platted around the state (Derr 1998) and land developers including architects and engineers built entire cities creating a way of life that became known as “the Florida lifestyle” where the most renowned cities were in Southeast Florida where Henry Flagler’s railroad connected Florida to New York (Curl 1986; Florida History Internet Center nd; Gannon 1993; Vanderblue 1927) and the completion of a network of roads known as the Dixie Highway connected Florida to cities in the northeast and Midwest (Curl 1986; FHIC nd; Gannon 1993; Vanderblue 1927). Then around 1925 bankers started losing money over their investments in Florida when buyers paying high land prices began to disappear as the rapid national social and

economic changes began to have their impact (FHIC nd); the 1926 hurricane further depressed the land market and people began to sell off their Florida land (Derr 1998; FHIC N.d.).

At a time when money was scarce, land in Wilton Manors was cheap as the original subdivision started by Ned Willingham had been all but abandoned; only five lots had been sold when the hurricane of 1926 struck (“The Gates of Wilton Manors” courtesy Fort Lauderdale Historical Society). By some accounts, Willingham had lost three million dollars and returned to his home in Georgia (“The Gates of Wilton Manors” courtesy Fort Lauderdale Historical Society). E.J. Willingham, Jr., became the administrator of the estate in 1928 after his father’s death in March of that year at the age of 66; his mother had died two months earlier (McIver 1997). The city remained farmland or woods with only three houses built in the town as of 1936 (McIver 1997). Then people looking for economic opportunity and who were in trades like carpentry, agriculture, and golf -course development, work much more amenable to round- the- year warm climates than inhospitable winters, came to Wilton Manors in the late 1930s and early 1940s before it was incorporated into a village in 1947. The development and expansion of Wilton Manors did not progress much further until after the end of World War II, but in 1943 Dave Turner, the son of Broward County’s first sheriff, bought out the Willingham estate properties and turned Wilton Manors from a subdivision into a city (McIver 1997). Before Dave Turner took over, it is clear that exchange value was the primary reason for the development of Wilton Manors. The historical accounts support her description of why people first came to Florida in general, and Wilton Manors in particular: to make a fortune.



Figure 25. Schermerhorn Plat, 1926-1927. Plat map with owners' names. Fort Lauderdale Historical Society. 10-171. Photo by Emma Ergon 2011

For those who were prepared, the opportunity to purchase property opened up when Dave Turner, considered by many the Founding Father of Wilton Manors, bought 283 building lots from the Willingham estate and offered very affordable terms of purchase: “I’d give them a deed free and clear to the lots and let them pay me back when they could” (Turner family papers). Soon thereafter, he organized 95 other Wilton Manors residents to present themselves before the circuit court in 1947 and be granted village status. Turner was elected the first mayor of Wilton Manors and municipal judge, neither position which was paid (McIver 1997). When he received a city charter for Wilton Manors in 1953 from the state legislature, he got to see the fruits of his community activism: “I’ve always been very civic minded,” said Turner, when he became the first president of the Wilton Manors National Bank. Had he been able to foresee the future, he

might have seen he was setting the precedent for what was to become a town of civic-minded citizens who believed in individual agency.

At this time also, use value seems to have emerged as people began to think of the property they had purchased as their “home”. Concomitantly other use values probably emerged as part of that definition in people’s minds and lives which began to influence decisions about the developing community.

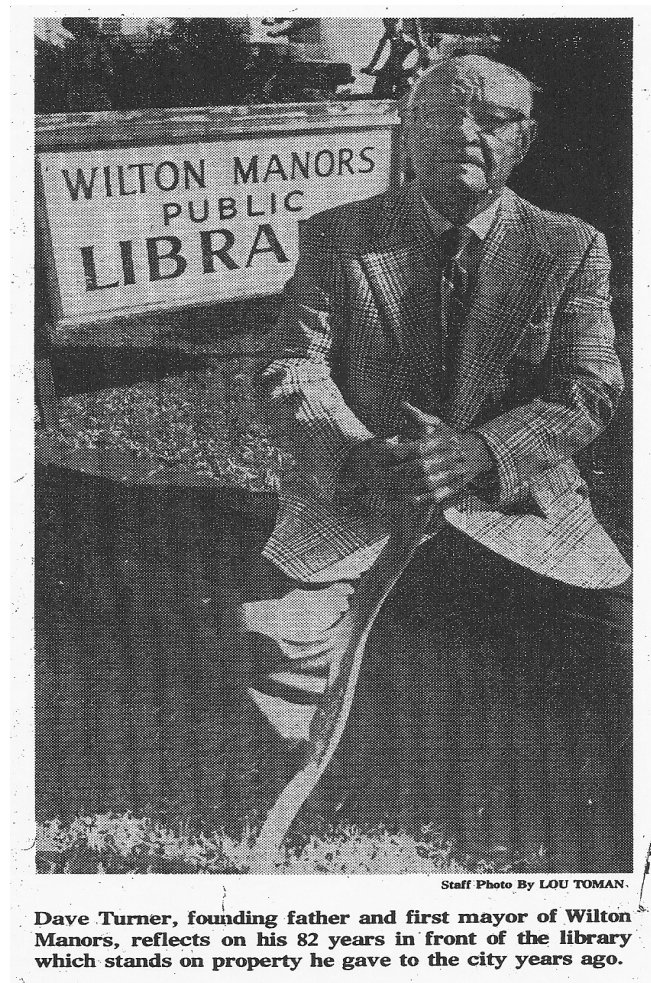


Figure 26. Dave Turner on 82nd Birthday. Fort Lauderdale News. Courtesy: Turner Family Papers

Timeline of Wilton Manors

- 1924 Edward John “Ned” Willingham land developer from Georgia founded Wilton Manors as a northern “high class” residential subdivision of the City of Fort Lauderdale
- 1925 The Abreu gateway towers are built by the E.J. Willingham Development Company - The Towers were located on the west side of Dixie Highway at Wilton Drive
- 1926 Florida hurricane season; national economic depression is being felt; Willingham abandons development of Wilton Manors
- 1928 Ned Willingham dies in North Carolina from cerebral hemorrhage at age of 66 - two months after his wife Eula passed away
- 1941 Al Hagen wins Wilton Manors property for the original purchase price in a golf game
- 1943 Hagen buys approximately 40 acres on the east side of Wilton Drive (first President of the Village Council when Wilton Manors incorporated in 1947 - donated land where Hagen Park and the Wilton Manors Woman’s Club now stand)
- 1945 Dave Turner buys 283 building lots from Willingham estate (the Manors originally consisted of 345 acres of pine-clad land set within the northern limits of Fort Lauderdale between the east and west Dixie Highways⁵)
- 1946 Manor Market opens on Wilton Drive
- 1947 Dave Turner and 95 others present themselves before the circuit court to be granted village status and become independent from Fort Lauderdale and Oakland Park; incorporated as a village
- 1947- Al Hagen becomes first President of the Village Council
1952
- c.1948 First Girl Scout troop organized
- 1948 Town Hall built on land donated by Dave Turner; WM Woman’s Club

⁵ “From the scrapbook of Francis L. Abreu” no date; article courtesy of Fort Lauderdale Historical Society.

organized in the back room of the Tropical Club

- 1949 Covenant Presbyterian Church organized; village's first chapel
- 1950 18 business establishments were operating in Wilton Manors; among them Manor Market, Williams Drug Store, Barton & Miller Dry Cleaners, the Manor Lanes bowling alley and Kalis Funeral Home; Dave Turner donates land to build first school
- 1950- Many W.W. II veterans settle in Wilton Manors to raise families
1960s
- 1951 Ground broken for Wilton Manors Elementary School on land formerly used as a chicken farm on N.E. Third Ave. – the school opened with 183 students; Tropical Club becomes a restaurant; Wilton Manors Bulletin began publication
- 1952 First volunteer fire department organized and headquartered on N.E. 22nd Street; Dave Turner stepped down as Mayor and Perry Mickel took over; Food Fair buys property on east side of Wilton Drive and announces plans to build a supermarket
- 1953 Jim Dean city council president carries articles of incorporation to Tallahassee; June 4 Wilton Manors receives city charter from state legislature and becomes a city; Wilton Manors Baptist Chapel organized and housed in one of the gatehouse's towers
- 1954 Wilton Sunrise News founded; ground broken for the construction of a new Wilton Manors Baptist Chapel across Wilton Manors Elementary School
- 1955 Wilton Manors National Bank, first bank founded on N.E. 26th Street and N.E. 15th Avenue; First Christian Church of Wilton Manors established; concrete poured for Hagen Park
- 1956 Food Fair Inc. on 21st Court off of Wilton Drive donated land for the new City hall and police department
- 1957 First City Hall built; first library opened; city establishes first recreation department; part of the south Tower demolished for A&W drive-in restaurant
- 1958 Cornerstone of Kiwanis Club was laid
- 1960 J. Frank Starling stepped down as Mayor and became the City's first full time salaried "Administrator"

- c.1962 Influx of exiled Cuban children in Wilton Manors' public schools
- 1964 Shari O'Hara - "The Bird Lady" - evacuated from the Tower; north entryway towers demolished to make room for gas/service station
- 1965 First Baptist Church founded at the Newton home; Newtons open their home to four mentally challenged children – "Turning Point, the Newton Home for Special Children"
- 1967 Manor Pines Nursing home built
- 1970- 1980s Wilton Manors deteriorates due to aging population on fixed incomes and many move with adult children or into nursing homes
- 1970 Wilton Manors Friends of the Library organized
- 1972 First Arts and Crafts show organized in the Kiwanis hall
- 1974 Mayor Perry Nichol dedicated First Baptist Church on the church property
- 1975 Wilton Manors Historical Society founded and held first meeting; Colohatchee Natural Park opened on the south fork of Middle River
- 1980s Gay and Lesbian presence; Chardee's and JJ's Otherside are supper/nightclubs attracting a gay clientele
- 1980s Political turmoil over charges of "cronyism" in City Council
- 1982 Election shifted power from "old guard" to "new guard" with the election of Bill Turner and Diane Cline; City Council hires first professional city manager, J. Scott Miller
- 1987 Poverello Center was established to support and provide assistance to HIV+ individuals living in Broward County
- 1991 Sandra Jedlicka Steen named first woman Mayor
- 1997 George Kessinger opens *Georgi's Alibi* sparks restructuration
- 2000s Boom in real estate; business expands
- 2004 Groundbreaking for Wilton Station, a mixed-use development; work began on Belle Isle a mixed-use development on the former Trailer Haven site

- 2010 Ribbon cut for the new City Hall and Public Safety Complex
- 2008- Slowed growth in real estate market
Present



Figure 27. The administration building and the Abreu entryway circa 1926. Photo courtesy of the Wilton Manors Historical Society.

Creating Use Value

The most senior participant had many stories to tell about the evolution of Wilton Manors. She talked about being “the volunteer” of Wilton Manors and how her husband would tease her about volunteering for things before she knew what she was volunteering for:

I entered everything, I always volunteered, my husband said, and we’ve have a meeting, you know, and he said, ‘is there anybody here that will’ and he says, ‘and your hand would go up and then you’d find out what they wanted you to do’ . . . I used to automatically, my arm would go up.

In this quote notions of agency and volunteerism emerge, concepts that dominate much of both the contemporary and pioneer interviews. Her story illustrates the central themes of this study: the meaning and imagery the participants have of the city reflect its use value, and the ideational framework, or worldview that was and still is the basis for their agency and activism.

This long-time resident recalled a time when she lived in Highland Estates, before Wilton Manors was incorporated. Her parents had moved to what was to become Wilton Manors in 1936 when her brother married and came to Florida for his honeymoon; he wrote home to New York about how great it was down here so the family “sold everything” and “. . . came down here . . . it was really bad in the 30s . . . there was no work . . . the work wasn’t very good down here either.” She lamented that Wilton Manors was getting “too big” and reminisced about her life and how she began volunteering:

. . . when we moved here everybody knew everybody . . . it was the first March of Dimes when they first started out collecting for that so I volunteered, I’m the volunteer of Wilton Manors, so I volunteered for the mother’s march for our little section around there in Highland Estates, you know, you turn the light on . . . So I said, I’m coming in tonight, turn your porch lights on, I’m collecting for

the March of Dimes, so then I took the money down to the headquarters so that's how that started...the mothers went out in their neighborhood, all of Wilton Manors, all the girls there then we did Wilton Drive, of course it was not that busy you know, and asked them to put the jars on there you know, so that's how the mothers started with the March of Dimes, I was one of the first volunteers.

Early in the interview the association of her identity with "place" emerges and is expanded later on in the interview. Her stories about Wilton Manors revolve around her identity as "the volunteer of Wilton Manors" echoing what Basso (1996) says about the stories that people tell functioning as markers of our identity.

She continued to describe how Wilton Manors looked back then evoking sentimental feelings of *preciousness* about Five Points (where the railroad tracks cross Wilton Drive on Dixie Highway), and about the Towers (the original Abreu entryway):

Our little streets where we weren't paved, it was just sandy you know . . . and then it slowly grew. Do you have the picture or anything where the castle then at Five Points that was there . . . it was right there at the point, of course now there's nothing there, it's gone. On this side there was a drive-in you know, an eating place, hamburgers and stuff then there was a tower there . . . and I had a friend who lived in The Tower for a little while and then she moved into the house over there and then they had a, they called her The Bird Lady, and she moved in there and had all the birds and everything right there, right in the point you know . . . it was living quarters . . . they did live in the Tower for a little bit then they moved over there, not by the drugstore, over by the funeral home but right in there . . . The Bird Lady she was a character, I don't dare say too much about her, but the kids would go to see the Bird Lady, you know . . . all that whole section is gone. Where CVS is was a plant nursery . . . where the bank is, it's grown like mad. I don't go on Wilton Drive anymore the traffic is so bad . . . the biggest change is on the drive . . . it's all residences in there on the back of there. That was all empty you know, that was just nothing and that trailer park there and that was real, real old, because we moved down here it was all crude like, you know out in the open like that and they sort of fixed it up . . . there was a big house of some kind on the other side up there, down on the drive a little bit, I forgot who had that there, some, probably the Mayor but I don't remember who was the Mayor.

Her reminiscences about the Bird Lady, whose name was Shari O'Hara (Jones nd, Fort Lauderdale Historical Society) and who was evicted from the tower in 1957 (personal communication with Ron Ulm) and the repeated references to the Tower reveal the role

that the architecture and landscape played in her image and memories of Wilton Manors. Clearly the Towers and Five Points have become mnemonic devices that elicit and tether individual and community memories of experiences. Basso (1996) says that “. . . senses of place also partake of cultures, of shared bodies of ‘local knowledge’ (the phrase is Clifford Geertz’s) [*sic parentheses in original*] with which persons and whole communities render their places meaningful and endow them with social importance” (p. xiv). The experiences and meanings that people create in a place seem to play a significant role in creating the use value that is associated with it.

This interviewee, who looked and acted much younger than her 90 years, talked about the castle and the Tower - these are synonymous names, both refer to the Abreu entryway that Ned Willingham built so that prospective buyers could climb to the top and look out into the landscape and choose the location of the lots that they wanted to purchase. Her memories are tethered to the entryway and to the “sandy” roads, “plant nursery”, “bank”, “drive-in”, “five points”, “drugstore”, “funeral home”, and house on Wilton Drive among other physical structures. As Tuan (1977) says “[p]lace is an organized world of meaning” (p. 179), and where “[t]he landscape plays a social role as well” (Lynch 1960:126). Lynch further says that “[t]he named environment, familiar to all, furnishes material for common memories and symbols which bind the group together and allow them to communicate with one another. The landscape serves as a vast mnemonic system for the retention of group history and ideals” (p. 126).

Not only can constructions like those reflected in the quote above serve the social role of “place making” but can also serve as a way of constructing personal and community history:

. . . place-making is a way of constructing history itself, of inventing it, of fashioning novel versions of ‘what happened here.’ For every developed place-world manifests itself as a possible state of affairs, and whenever these constructions are accepted by other people as credible and convincing-or plausible and provocative, or arresting and intriguing-they enrich the common stock on which everyone can draw to muse on past events, interpret their significance, and imagine them anew. Building and sharing place-worlds, in other words, is not only a means of reviving former times but also of *revising* them, a means of exploring not merely how things might have been but also how, just possibly, they might have been different from what others have supposed. (Basso 1996:6)

A member of the old guard, this participant continued with how the churches began in Wilton Manors and strongly identified with that part of the city’s history; she states “we were part of that building”:

We didn’t have a church, then, we were over there the little section where we were had a community building and the Presbyterian Church down in Fort Lauderdale sent a preacher out, you know, different preachers for Sundays and that’s where we had our church service there and that was the start of Covenant Presbyterian Church and we gradually got, that property there was donated to the church and then they started building the church right there, Covenant Presbyterian, we were part of that building .

Descriptions like this one above evoke Tuan’s (1977) ideas on how space is transformed into place. Place acquires definition and meaning as people continue to have nurturing experiences; he references Saint Augustine who thought that places had little meaning outside of the human bonds and friendships that occurred within it. She continued to talk about the kinds of everyday things she did back then, in ways that revealed how she had created nurturing experiences for herself:

Of course I didn’t have a car, you know only one car it was supposed to be shared, and so it wasn’t too much neighborly things you know, just on 6th Lane there was mostly where my friends were you know, and we’d meet every once in a while, we’d get together and have coffee klatches you know, and things like that . . . they were from every place, like we were, come down to make you a fortune in Florida.

Her reference to “they were from everyplace” is a reminder that people who settled in Wilton Manors were part of the wave of “settlers” who had come to Florida during the boom years or who still were under the influence of what they had heard during those years; one of the things that many of them had in common was that they decided to move to Florida, “to make you a fortune”. The initial economic impetus for moving to Florida became transformed into use value once she had settled here and transformed a foreign piece of land into a place to raise her family. What may have started out with the pursuit of market values somewhere along the way became entwined and transformed into use values. The length of years she lived in Wilton Manors was not the only factor that shaped her identity and its close association with the city. The people of Wilton Manors had constructed structures that had, what Lynch calls “high imageability”. Forms that clearly stand out in the landscape and to which people can make strong attachments based on their history and their own experiences. The castle, Five Points, the FEC railroad, and the A & W drive-in are scenes that are instantly recognizable “and brings to mind a flood of associations . . . The visual environment becomes an integral piece of its inhabitants’ lives” (Lynch 1960:92-93). The four “forms” will be brought up and talked about over and over again by almost all of the other participants.

When I asked her about what she liked least about Wilton Manors, she responds in ways that reveal what use value the city has for her:

I don't like the way it's going on Wilton Drive, a little too busy for me . . . the rowdiness, I guess, or whatever you like to call it, it's taken a tiny little sleepy town and made it you know, real noisy. When they have their parties and everything like that, that's all you hear all night long. I think they're supposed to turn the music off at 2 o'clock. And then you know when it's 2 o'clock cause then there's no more music . . . no sleepy town anymore . . .

She laments that Wilton Manors is no longer “a tiny sleepy town” and all that that means to her: the voices of children, the rural atmosphere, the knowing everyone in the community because the town is small. The things she is describing have nothing to do with the market or exchange value of the city or her property; they are characteristics that would be considered aspects of the quality of life in a city or neighborhood. The quote also provides evidence of what Logan and Molotch (1987:42) refer to as “internal cleavages”, strains or divisions between various groups that exist within cities that public choice theorists like Tiebout do not recognize. These internal cleavages occur over and over again in Wilton Manors ranging from critical and highly important to less important issues. One of those cleavages occurred in 2003 when “[s]houting matches, insults and broken friendships have splintered a group of elderly women . . .” when members of the Wilton Manors Woman’s club spent more than a year fighting over whether to sell their club building or keep the property they had owned for 50 years (Sun-Sentinel, Fort Lauderdale Historical Society).

When I asked this participant “do you remember a time when Wilton Manors was not integrated?” I was hoping that she would talk about her sentiments and attitudes regarding social inclusion. I thought that her answer would reveal aspects of neighborhood use value that she might consider important and continue talking about the meaning that the city has for her; she said:

Yea. Just small families you know, that maybe had moved in there or maybe had been in some of those old houses there . . . nobody seemed to make an issue of that. I don’t think we ever had any really, problems with racism or anything like that . . . I don’t really think there was any issue, I don’t, I think it was a minority most of the time [*sic*], they stayed over in their own section, you know, west of town . . . as far as marching against or nothing like that I don’t remember anything like that.

Instead however, I had the feeling that she became somewhat uneasy as she kept changing topics and I did not insist. Given her age, it seems understandable why this topic of discussion might make her uncomfortable. Although she did not answer the question directly she repeatedly assured me that nobody had any problems with the advent of integration in Wilton Manors. And although she mentioned that “they stayed over in their own section” we have to remember the context of the time to which she is referring: pre-civil rights and pre-equality in housing laws – a time when racial and ethnic segregation was the norm in America. Her life in Wilton Manors has stretched from pre-civil rights where there was a normative and legal separation of blacks and whites to post civil rights when it is illegal to segregate in housing, services, education, or any other way; I did not ask her to specify to what period in time she was referring. Her eagerness to convince me that “nobody seemed to make an issue of that”, that minorities lived within the Wilton Manors city limits, revealed to me her attitude towards inclusivity and open-mindedness. Additionally, she never expressed to me any negativity or concerns about living in a racially integrated city. Her concerns had to do with “loudness” and safety because of increased traffic, again primarily use values that people look for in a neighborhood; nevertheless, these statements support Tuan’s contention that “. . . relatively few works attempt to understand how people feel about space and place . . . and to interpret space and place as images of complex-often ambivalent-feelings” (1977:6).

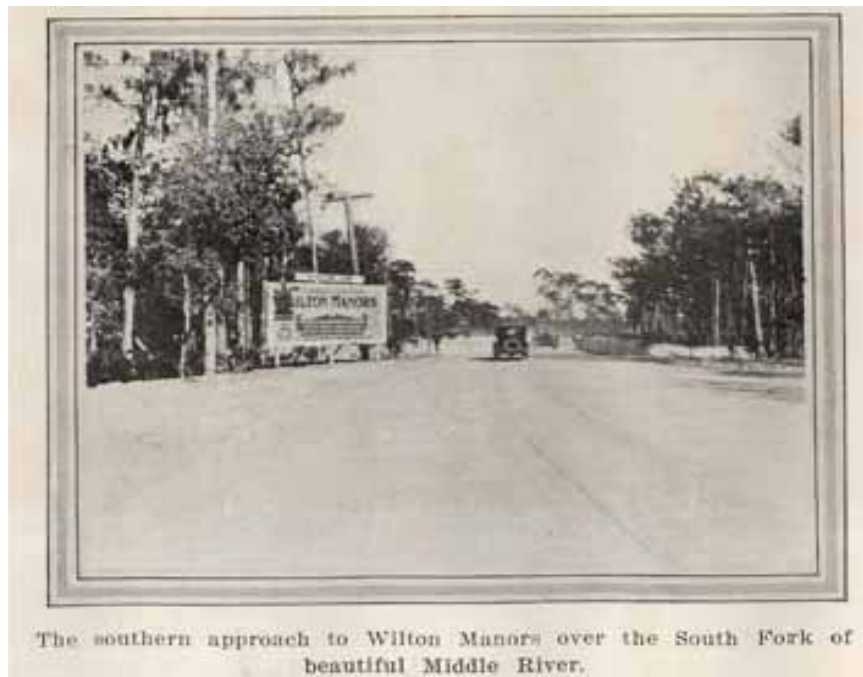
She continued to recall the changes that she had witnessed during her life in the city giving a glimpse of city-life at the time with the use value the city holds for her. She also continued to assure me that, although the school had become integrated, nobody protested:

The first grocery store, gradually got a little bit busier and busier, but that was a focal point, that was a nice place to walk down to and, right down on Wilton Drive there, I'm trying to think, well now you , what's there that great big building right on the corner... that great big blue building at Five Points . . . now there's no little shops, my friend and I used to walk, take our kids there, and we'd walk over there and get a soda at the drugstore over there on the north side of Wilton Drive, and then on the other side was a dime store you could spend ten cents, you know, . . . you could pick out, there was a dime store there that was very nice and had a little clothing store right there just a little, and there was the lock and key shop there and that of course that's moved and gradually it just they just got moved out . . . I don't even remember any uprisings or anybody marching you know, around the school or something like that, I don't remember anything like that.

Interestingly, this quote reveals a reconstructed memory that correlates with Lynch's (1960) description of American cultural symbols of intimacy and Tuan's descriptions of use value: "Americans, for example, respond to such emblems of the good life as the New England church, the Middle eastern town square, the corner drugstore, Main Street, and village pond" (1977:147). Her memories are tethered to buildings and again, we see her ambivalence in the unsolicited return to integration issues that we had already finished discussing. These are attempts to impose a spatial order on space by establishing a pattern of significant places which turns strange space into a neighborhood (Lynch 1960) and which confirms Tuan's (1977) conclusion that experiences construct places by the associated ties to a particular cluster of buildings.

Additionally, eliciting residents' experiences in the city seemed necessary to understand the nature and use value of the community since Lynch (1960) claims that to understand the nature of the urban community one must take into account the perception and experience of the people themselves. The image people have of a city is not only the product of external factors but it is also the product of the observer (Lynch 1960).

As I interviewed the other participants their responses were also drenched in recollections of personal experiences tied to structures that existed when they were growing up there or were there when they moved to Wilton Manors. Five out of the 21 people interviewed mentioned the Towers and/or the Bird Lady who lived in the Towers, five mentioned Five Points, and four talked about the dime store/pharmacy, Williams' City. Other themes that came up were the river that surrounds the "island city" mentioned by twelve people, and the most often mentioned aspects of life in Wilton Manors, volunteerism and community participation, were mentioned by 12 people out of 21 who either talked about volunteering, community activism, or civic mindedness.



The southern approach to Wilton Manors over the South Fork of beautiful Middle River.

Figure 28. Willingham Sales Brochure, circa 1925. Courtesy Wilton Manors Historical Society



Figure 29. The winter home of E.J. Willingham, Sr. as it appeared in the Wilton Manors sales brochure. Source: Wilton Manors Historical Society



Figure 30. The Administration Building on Wilton Blvd. near the entrance gates. as it appeared in the Wilton Manors sales brochure. Source: Wilton Manors Historical Society

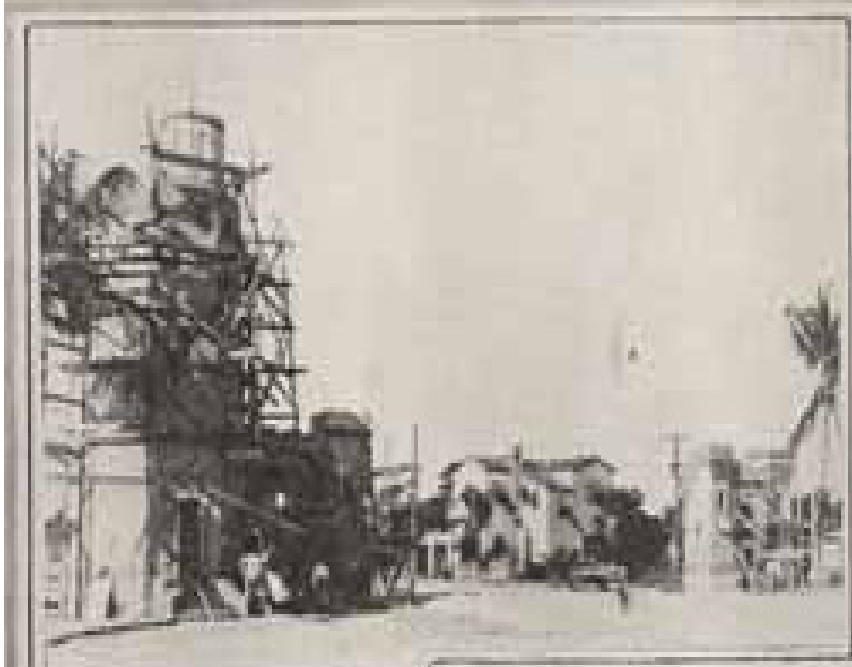


Figure 31. "The Towers" of the entrance to the subdivision under construction. (Note the Administration Building in the background), Wilton Manors Sales Brochure. Source: Wilton Manors Historical Society



Figure 32. Scene along the Middle River from the original Willingham sales brochure, circa 1924. Wilton Manors Sales Brochure. Source: Wilton Manors Historical Society



Figure 33. An example of the homes being constructed in the new development and the first house sold home to Carl Hiaasen, a Wilton Manors founder and grandfather of Carl Hiaasen a journalist and one of Florida's major novelists. Wilton Manors Sales Brochure. Source: Wilton Manors Historical Society

A Legacy of Civic Mindedness

An old guard's descriptions of what she did for entertainment and for socializing, which almost entirely involved one type of community activity or another, supports Castells (1983) observation that citizen activism at the grass roots is not based on class but it is based on a variety of citizen action groups and neighborhood organizations among others. In the following quote the 90 year old interviewee, describes what some of those activities were:

My husband belonged to the Elks and that was downtown so we'd go down there. And he became, when they started the Optimist Club in Wilton Manors, and when one of the members when I was collecting for the Heart Fund he said 'does your husband join anything', and I said no he belongs to Elks sometimes, and he said 'I'd like to have him come to the Optimist Club' . . . they're not going anymore . . . so I said why don't you go down there and meet some of the guys you know and have something of your own? Cause I had all my little businesses that I wanted to do. So he said okay, so then the man that his [*unintelligible*] would stop and pick him up for the first meeting or two. So he

went on there and gradually he became President of the Optimist Club. At first he was Boys Work Chairman and then he did start baseball, Little League baseball, he was responsible for starting that, and that's debatable, so then he went on to become President. So he was President of the Optimist Club, but then they were all older men and they gradually passed away until there wasn't any, the younger ones wanted to be something a little bit livelier than the Optimist Club, Optimist Club was sports, they promoted a lot of the sports . . . something like Elks . . . they worked for the children for the youth, that was their theme.

In this quote clearly the city has use value that is part of the quality of life that her family enjoys in the city; her statements are also representative of statements that were made by some of the other participants. While community participation shaped the lives of the individuals, their participation also shaped the structure of the city. By this time, living in Wilton Manors was not only about searching for your fortune but it became about living a life in the city that reflected your values. The themes of the various activities that she and her family participated in reflect an interest in the welfare of the other citizens of the community, supporting Molotch's (1984) idea that grass roots organizations are not necessarily organizations created to oppose the urban growth machine or created to deal with local conflicts over land use but are created for other purposes as well, and sometimes "[m]ovements found in the city may change their nature over time, in terms of . . . their specific urban roles . . ." (Logan and Moloth 1987:38). Interestingly, some of the city's pioneers like Alvar Hagen who built and sold houses and business properties, John Pederson, Paul and Lillie May Dye among others (McIver 1997), bought land for profit but also ended up living there so that the community also took on use value for them. Dave Turner who bought the Willingham estate properties in Wilton Manors eventually became the biggest private landowner in Florida and he lived in Wilton Manors (McIver 1997). Certainly Wilton Manors started out as land with potentially high exchange value but in time, and as more people moved in the nature of the man-land

relationship developed into one where use value emerged and surpassed exchange value in importance.

The next generation of the old guard shared many of the same experiences as those reflected in the testimony recounted above. They talked about belonging to organizations like the church and the Wilton Manors Business Association, and about participating in fundraising activities that were a source of support for local institutions like the Wilton Manors Historical Society, the local library, schools, as well as for recreational purposes at Hagen Park or Richardson Park (see Figure 47, 37). All of the old-guard men interviewed belonged to the Kiwanis Club of Wilton Manors; and one of the women talked about how “in the olden days” women ran the Little League and even had a woman, Mayor, Sandy Jedlicka Steen who was elected in 1976 and served four years as the city’s first woman Mayor; clearly the inclusion of women in the community’s affairs was one of the use values the city held for this participant. Out of the nine old-guards interviewed, all but one either still volunteered in one organization or another or participated in local fundraising activities on a regular basis. One gay, middle-aged man said:

Throughout the years I’ve done from churches to libraries to sports to every benefit that I could think of and still doing a lot of them. Uhm, yeah, I was involved; no was not in my vocabulary. If I could do anything, or return anything because you know I’m just trying to return what so graciously was handed to me. I had an obligation to give back.

A strong sense of responsibility to participate and give back to the community was a constant theme in the interviews with the old-guard as well as the middle-guard and the newbies. The concept of agency emerges as the prime concept in their constructions of their experience of living in Wilton Manors. This example illuminates the dialectic

between individual agency and structure that gives shape to the city. He acted as a response to his experience with the city – a feedback system where each responds to the other reminiscent of Giddens' (1984) structuration theory.

The more I interviewed people, the more I was struck by the similarity of their values and interests, particularly in regards to community participation, regardless of whether they were from the old-guard or the new, or whether they were gay or straight. One newbie I interviewed talked about the sense of participation that his parents had instilled in him and that he had brought to Wilton Manors, and underlying values that were often repeated by other participants:

My father was engaged in politics for a good portion of his career and my parents both of them were involved in various fraternal, social, charitable organizations so I always had that example of doing something for my community. So the first month I was here I volunteered for city boards and when I was told to call the City Clerk's office and get a form to fill out like for a resume and, uh, there are a great many appointments to city boards committees in the May-June time period and so I said I want anything, especially something to do with money, and something more serious you know, like planning and zoning or budget . . . and I think the reaction that I got from submitting my resume says a great deal about living in Wilton Manors. I got a call from, after submitting that resume, from the City Manager, from the Mayor, and from a Councilwoman welcoming me to the city and strongly urging me to apply for a position on boards and committees, okay, I had also then wrote a letter . . . and so I wrote a rather lengthy letter to the Mayor, City Commission, and City Manager, giving my initial impressions of Wilton Manors, which at that time were not totally favorable in terms of the physical appearance of the city and frankly offering constructive comments about what should be done. And I was very pleased with the response. And offered constructive comments about what should be done. And I was very pleased with the response. And I did that for two reasons, too, in applying for a board or committee I wanted to get to know something about my city, I wanted to do my share in making improvements, and I wanted to get to know other people. I went, started going to the, I will use the terms interchangeably, at then the elected body of Wilton Manors was known as the City Council, it was changed in, I believe, 2004 to the City Commission, at that time I began attending, was determined to attend City Council meetings, to get to know something about the city, who the elected officials were, and I remember being greeted at the first meeting, on the steps of city hall by a woman named Diane Cline who welcomed me to the city and was not shy asking a lot of questions . . . there were other people outside of city hall . . . who made me feel very welcome including some neighbors of mine, and I found that an individual citizen first could have a voice

in city affairs and I early learned about what a tremendous record of volunteerism that Wilton Manors has.

The story told above give further clues about the construction of “place” and how these constructions reach into other cultural spheres as Basso (1996) claims. Use value and place making appear as synonymous processes which “involve [s] multiple acts of remembering and imagining which inform each other in complex ways . . . remembering often provides a basis for imagining. What is remembered about a particular place- including, prominently, verbal and visual accounts of what has transpired there- guides and constrains how it will be imagined” (Basso 1996:5). What is clear about this account is that people imagine Wilton Manors as a place that is known for its volunteerism and community activism and even potentially alienating spaces of governance, like the City Hall, evoke feelings of acceptance and inclusion. These images continue to provide residents ways that they may construct and draw meaning from their past and continue to create a place that is an organized world of meaning (Tuan 1977) and that provides concrete reminders of what being a resident of Wilton Manors means and what is expected. Like the Apache mnemonic devices that are used to transmit values and norms and the meaning of a “good Apache” to future generations across time (Basso 1996), likewise do particular spaces in Wilton Manors, and its City Hall specifically, evoke those same kinds of feelings and associations and reinforce the norms of the city’s culture which I witnessed on several occasions when I went to the weekly City Commission meetings.

This type of community activism has a long history in Wilton Manors. Downey (2006:4) states “Agency is sometimes referred to as the ability, possibly unique among

humans, to act purposefully and intentionally in the world.” And from the participants’ interviews it seems clear that the newbies as well as the old guard and the middle guard have collaborated and participated in purposeful community action in ways that have contributed to many structural changes:

The biggest change has been now, so the improvement and the overall financial and economic change. Everything from the income of the residents to the revenues for the city, to the businesses that have been created, to the improvements in the city itself in its public parks and facilities. It was financial, it was physical, and it was an improvement in the intellectual energy, if you will. Uh, the, the elected officials were more educated and sophisticated, and they had to be, because you had to deal with a variety of legal problems even in a small town. Uh, everything from cell phone towers to computers to all kinds of laws on hiring and firing of personnel, uh, you know, obtaining grants, and they in turn looked for and encouraged new people to apply for boards and committees who also influenced policy and they were very supportive of the creation of neighborhood organizations so that today our city is covered by three neighborhood organizations: east, west, and central, and they have officers and boards and meetings and briefings and that has helped people to get to know their neighbors. Our, the west side association of Wilton Manors, uh, has like block captains and like precinct captains, sort of at a, a political level a lower level . . . Just since I have moved here we have a new elementary school, a new city hall and police department, a new library, and existing parks that have been greatly upgraded, and new parks, additional land has been acquired for the establishment of new parks. There also has been a considerable push for our urban river trails where we make more use of the water that surrounds Wilton Manors, so, and we have a very active recreation program in this city.

I think that this collaboration has contributed to what the city means to the inhabitants and as Tuan (1977) concludes is one of the ways that space is transformed into place.

Through civic participation the people of Wilton Manors have created civic and legal structures that serve and continue to reinforce their values and worldview. Residents’ participation ranges from donations like that of \$560 made by *Georgie’s Alibi* and *Bill’s Filing Station* in 2011 for the purchase of new flags for the Veteran’s Park for example, to Resolution 3523 approving and authorizing and agreement with Broward County for housing rehabilitation in the city. And then there was the protest that was organized

against the building of the “G Resort”, a luxury, gay oriented resort that G Worldwide developers wanted to build in Wilton Manors. Residents of east Wilton Manors had organized angry protests and besieged commissioners for months until they got their victory and the company yanked their application. The openly gay former Mayor Fiore said in an interview: “This truly was an outstanding example of home-grown citizen activism,” (Huriash 2010).



Figure 34. Diane Cline, former first Vice Mayor and City Council President, rallying support against the development of the “G Resort”



Figure 35. *March of Dimes 1954*. Fort Lauderdale Historical Society.
Gene Hyde Collection, H2686.1



Figure 36. *Wilton Manors City Hall – Opening Drive*. Perry Mickel accepting a check for the city hall building fund. Fort Lauderdale Historical Society.
Gene Hyde Collection, H1033.1



Figure 37. Wilton Manors Bank. Fort Lauderdale Historical Society. *Gene Hyde Collection*, H7138.1



Figure 38. Wilton Manors Fire Trucks. Fort Lauderdale Historical Society. *Gene Hyde Collection*, H13483.1

Everybody Knows Your Name: A Postmodern Mayberry

From the accounts given by the people who grew up there, Wilton Manors sounded like an idyllic place to grow up, some even joking that it was like “Mayberry.” Everybody knew you and who your parents were, and even the children knew the names of some police officers, business owners, mayors, and city council members. In the 1950s and 60s there were many children, a result of the end of World War II and the returning veterans who had been stationed in Florida during the war, and having enjoyed its climate and geography returned to settle down and start their families here – that’s what the old-guard, descendants of founding families, remember. They recount everyday events like going to baseball games and basketball games and the families “congealing” around one another, as one person put it, at Hagen Park. That was a time when, one participant recalls, Wilton Manors experienced its fastest growth in population (see Figure 16). Those who grew up in Wilton Manors told of the days when they would walk through “the jungle” of Palmetto bushes and go to the ten-cent store, Williams City. Saturday morning “you’d see all the bicycles from the kids waiting to get a haircut outside the barber shop.” Now, you hardly see any kids, he lamented. The story reveals an image of Wilton Manors laden with associated meanings and use value as opposed to market value. Associated meanings and use value that Wilton Manors has for this resident is clearly illustrated in the following quote:

I can remember when we moved into the neighborhood . . . you could look through the trees you could see 26th St., the old Wilton Manors Williams City which was the drugstore. Used to go down there when I was a kid with all the neighborhood kids you’d sit up at the counter and get cherry cokes, hamburgers and whatever else. And all of it’s built up, and you know the whole city is built up, where Maul Industries was, is now a big apartment complex. The drive, Wilton Drive, is probably the most dramatic change in the city but the city is built out now, we’ve got houses on every, every square inch of property I

believe. As far as the demographics of the people, as I mentioned when the city used to be infested back in the 50s and 60s with kids, there were kids all over the place, playing ball and it was just different groups and the ages were, were from 4 and 5 all the way up into the teens. And it was just kids all over the place, you'd go, I'd go to the barber shop, . . . dad had a deal set up with the barber and you'd show up Saturday down here and you'd just see bicycles; Saturday morning, piles on outside of the barber and all your buddies were lined up inside on the chairs just waiting to get up there and get their hair cut on Saturday. There's no kids and I think that's, that's a product of younger families, maybe possibly during the boom years with the bubble in real estate not being able to afford houses. They were basically forced out of the city. Uh, maybe it was jobs they found opportunities elsewhere to go and move their family, things are expensive here. Taxes are expensive, windstorm insurance is expensive, there's a lot of encumbrances on a mortgage that a lot of people don't realize. And that I believe has hurt a family, a young family trying to establish itself here... To a certain degree, growing up here you knew everybody, you knew the policemen, you knew who the Mayor was, you knew the local businessmen. It had its own downtown, and the families, because of all of the kids, and because of the baseball programs and basketball and Hagen Park, the families had a tendency to congeal around each other so you got to know everybody. We have a river going around, all of us went, to my knowledge, most of us went to the same elementary school, the same Junior High School, the same High School. All together from this community and that's what sort of held it together so you, you knew everybody, and I liked that, everybody liked that.

In this quote we see the use value that the city holds for this straight, married, middle-aged participant; images of a neighborhood with children playing, and the barber who is set up by a parent to cut their hair. Strong images are summoned as he recounts sitting up at the counter and getting cokes and hamburgers, images of an idealized place where the main downtown drive holds memories full of emotional impact tethered to the natural and built landscape. Also, embedded in this narrative there are responses to the research questions posed regarding how use value is created and sustained - much in this account speaks to that question. The sense one gets in reading this account is that the children of the city belonged to the community not just their individual families; that sharing experiences was one way to build cohesiveness – a dimension of use value; and the lament that higher taxes and encumbrances due to the high market value of property has

in some ways negatively impacted on use values, are all pointing to the primacy of use value over exchange value in their own experiences. The same old guard participant brought up memories of how Wilton Manors was filled with children and how it was small enough for almost the entire town to celebrate events together:

I remember back when, when we first opened the business, everything was two lanes and small roads and some of the roads that are here now weren't even there at the time, you had to take a dirt road to get to Mickel Field, which was, that was a big area of gathering for either baseball or football or soccer, everybody would come and watch the various different games of course, now its surrounded by homes and large, large roads and it's easy to get to. I remember when the July 4 celebration we used to have out on, on Mickel Field that was a wonderful, wonderful thing. We'd have several thousand people, there sitting on the field and they'd shoot off the fireworks over the city. It got to be where we're a town more built up now so we can't do that anymore for the safety aspect, but that was a really wonderful 4th of July celebration. All the different clubs and they'd have all sorts of, different clubs would served different types of food and we, you know, as money raisers, and we just had a heck of a time those days, I remember that. I remember using the water around Wilton Manors as both recreation and of course we got a lot of dinners out of those waters too, catching fish and that sort of thing that was always a lot of fun. But, Wilton Manors it always brings a smile to my mind, if not otherwise it's really a great place to be from and be home.

In this quote the thread of use value and agency continues; the participant reminisces about “the entire town” celebrating events together and of the use of the river for recreation. Again, the images of the river and fishing bring up sentimental feelings. The clear demarcation that the river provides and the vivid physical characteristics play a social role (see Figure 3, 39):

A vivid and integrated physical setting, capable of producing a sharp image, plays a social role as well. It can furnish the raw material for the symbols and collective memories of group communication. ...A good environmental image gives its possessor an important sense of emotional security. . . . it means that the sweet sense of home is strongest when home is not only familiar but distinctive as well. (Lynch 1960: 4-5)

Another male old-guard participant (straight, married, and middle-aged) talked about friendliness, another type of use value, and about growing up surrounded by water:

Where we went to elementary school, Junior High, and High school you just knew the folks that were around you, its people you grew up with - had that small town wonderful feel. And there's always been great services and great recreation programs in Wilton Manors, and I know my parents took advantage of that for us as youngsters in the family to take part of that and I think my parents really enjoyed the Kiwanis Club of Wilton Manors and the various different people of Wilton Manors as friends and neighbors. The biggest change has probably been the built out of the city. When we moved we moved on the west side of Wilton Manors and actually Oakland Park Boulevard stopped at Powerline and pass that was all sawgrass and we lived right on the very western edge of Wilton Manors a place called Jenada Isles it was an island out there with four houses on it, I think now there's well over a hundred. We had alligators in the backyard, I mean the water behind our house, we lived on a canal and mom was always afraid of the dog getting eaten up. We skied in that water, we caught fish in that water, you know, water was a part of our life because you had it there all the time one of the big things for us as kids was being able to ski around the island, the whole island of Wilton Manors, which that put a little feather in your cap when you were able to do that.

Besides the small town “wonderful feel” of the town, this participant talks about participating in and enjoying community life; he refers to the great services and programs that the city had, which his parents took advantage of. Over and over again the participants reveal the kinds of use value that the city holds for them. Their narratives reveal the value they place on human agency and community activism.

Continuing with descriptions of his experience with the city, the following reveals both his feelings and some of the city's history:

Yeah, I do remember certain things about that I really did like, I can tell you a little story...there used to be across the street the feed store and out west where we had our first home was a big farming area and you could always get fresh vegetables and that sort of thing from the farming area right outside our city limits down, let's see, that's 6th Avenue where the K-Mart is that used to be a huge chicken farm and you used to be able to go over there and get fresh chickens, I do remember that. I remember when my dad and mom first opened the *[business purposefully omitted to maintain confidentiality]* you know, there was a lot of work done on Sundays and Saturdays and my sister and I used to go over there, we had an A & W across the street and we'd walk over to the A & W while mom and dad were doing things around the plant. We'd get our A & W root beer and hot dog and then across the street, again, at Five Points there, the Towers were still there, and we had, there was a lady that lived in the Towers, I don't even know her name, we called her The Bird Lady, and for some reason she took to my sister and I and let us come over there and see her. And she had

this area near the Towers, she lived there, and it was a netting over the whole thing and she must have had a hundred of the green parrots and she used to let us come in and some of them would talk and she'd show us all that and let us play with the parrots and when she passed I remember they turned loose the parrots. I guess that's where the green, the flocks of green parrots came from around here. And they took down the netting and then eventually tore down those towers, those towers were built back in the 20's so people could climb up and see the land of Wilton Manors and what it, what it looked like and they could decide on which area of Wilton Manors they wanted to buy into at that time. You miss those towers, you miss those good times. We also, across the railroad tracks from our business was a place, Maul Industries, which was at the time the largest concrete making place in Florida or the United States, maybe even the world, I'm not sure because there was so much building going on there, here at that time. That originally was an orange grove, a lemon grove, a mango grove and we used to go over there and pick, you know, at certain times of the year, pick oranges or tangerines or lemons and limes off the trees that were still there from the grove. Obviously I can remember fishing in the various canals, catching dinner for that night, I used to do that quite a bit. It was just a very safe wonderful place to live in at that time and very, very enjoyable.

Again, various historical and physical elements reappear: the Towers and their associated meaning, Five Points and The Bird Lady resurface time and time again in the interviews.

High imageability, "...physical qualities which relate to the attributes of identity and structure in the mental image" (Lynch 1960:9) which provides residents a frame of reference "...within which the individual can act, or to which he can attach his knowledge" (Lynch 1960:126) serves many functions among them the maintenance of continuity across time and through upheavals. The development of a coherent mental image among significant numbers of people in a city is of interest to city planners "... who aspire to model an environment that will be used by many people" (Lynch 1960:7).

Additionally, these accounts of life in Wilton Manors remind us that places still serve as "durable symbols of distant events" and that before humans could read until now serve "as indispensable aids for remembering and imagining them" (Basso 1996).

Interestingly, participants' memories of the past and of their experiences reflected what Basso (1996) describes as "... history with spatial anchors" (p. 33). He explains that this

exemplified when “. . . American Indian tribes embrace ‘spatial conceptions of history’ in which places and their names – and all that these may symbolize-are accorded central importance” (p. 34). Furthermore, Basso tells us to be aware of the answers people give when they are asked “what happened here?”, because:

[t]he answers they supply...should not be taken lightly, for what people make of their places is closely connected to what they make of themselves as members of society and inhabitants of the earth, and while the two activities may be separable in principle, they are deeply joined in practice. If place-making is a way of constructing the past, a venerable means of doing human history, it is also a way of constructing social traditions and, in the process, personal and social identities. We are, in a sense, the place-worlds we imagine. (P.7)

The portrait that emerged of Wilton Manor’s past from the accounts given by the participants quoted above and others interviewed whose narratives repeated these common images, was one where farms and churches dominated the landscape of Wilton Manors well into the 1950s. That quality of *Americana* reflected in Norman Rockwell paintings is part of Wilton Manors’ culture. Seventeen out of the 21 people interviewed talked about it being an urban village or feeling like a small town, where their sense and meaning appeared consistent with Gans’ (1962) definition of an urban village as an area where residents try to adapt their nonurban institutions and cultures to the urban environment. By the accounts given by the participants this view of Wilton Manors consistently came up. Where the pattern seems to break down is in their attitudes towards others who are in some way marginal or different than the majority of the population. In this case they are not parochial, rather exhibiting attitudes that are more characteristic of cosmopolitan, metropolitan cities. This seems to be true in the stories told about the past, some which will be told in the taped oral histories of founding pioneers, and other examples are more contemporary as in the moving in of gays in the

1980s and on a larger scale in the 1990s. When Chuck Panozzo, member of the group Styx and a Wilton Manors resident was interviewed in 2007 about the book he wrote he said of the city: “We love it here. There's not so much hustle and bustle as in Miami. It's almost like Mayberry. You can wave at the police, at your neighbors, and there's a sense of community” (Mabe 2007).

“They’re Just People Like Everyone Else”: Gays (and Lesbians) Move Into Town

The railroad that runs through the city on Dixie Highway and Five Points connected people from the Northeast and Midwest to Wilton Manors, which made the city very accessible by train. Interstate migration from the Northeast and Midwest cities, some of the participants felt, brought well-educated and cosmopolitan people into the area. At some point in time between the 1950s and 1980s, the population became mostly blue collar a demographic which changed around the 1990s with the large influx of the gay population. Some admit that initially uneasiness existed between the old straight community members and the new gay vanguard, but by working together and living side by side, the apprehensions, and misconceptions lessened as people began to recognize that they shared a common interest in improving the quality of life in Wilton Manors and were willing to work towards that end.

By most accounts, when the 1990s rolled around younger families appeared to move out. Maybe they could no longer afford the high price of real estate resulting from Wilton Manors’ boom years, one participant speculated. Taxes and other encumbrances on mortgages in Broward County perhaps make it difficult for young families to establish themselves there wondered one of the interviewees. Or maybe younger people were used to homes with family rooms and vaulted ceilings, considerably larger than the two or

three bedroom bungalows built in the 1950s – for the same or slightly more money they could move out to the newer developments west of I-95 wondered one. Or maybe younger families were forced out of the city because they found more opportunities elsewhere. For one reason or another, younger people began to move out. But for those who stayed or subsequently moved in, Wilton Manors, all agreed, still had that friendly, local, everybody- knows-your-name kind of feeling; characteristics that those who stayed through the transition were not yet willing to trade-in regardless of how much they could have sold their properties for. One participant confided to me that he and his wife had recently looked around for property outside the city, but they could not find the amenities and the “feeling” that Wilton Manors has.

As other old-guard members recall the past, they lament that eventually things deteriorated:

I think it was a situation where it did degrade for a period of time and now it is really on the upward improvement stage and it's been nothing but good to be honest with you. About in the 80s, somewhere in that neighborhood, maybe in the early 90s, about that time is when people got old enough when they had to sell and move into with either their children or move into homes or whatever it may be or passed on. Those homes became for sale and that's when we had a great, it's funny it seemed like it happened kinda all at once, and then we had the upgrading of all those, a lot of the areas of Wilton Manors - it's been really good.

Nevertheless, he adds optimistically that what has happened since has been good for Wilton Manors; a subtle and unspoken hint that he leans towards social inclusion since it is commonly known that many of the old homes that went up for sale were bought by gay newbies. Additionally, it confirms what other scholars have said about gays being urban pioneers (Castells 1983; Florida and Mellander 2007; Gates 2004; Ley 1994; Smith 1996; Zukin 1995). Many of this generation shared similar stories about how the gay

population moved into the city in the late 1990's early 2000s, and they talked about it in ways that hinted at an orientation towards social inclusivity:

Wilton Manors got a little bit old, a lot of people had grown older and maybe let their houses get in slight disrepair and when that happened a lot of the gay population came in and were able to get in the houses maybe a little less expensive in a beautiful place to live, and then fixed up those homes and I think everybody saw they're just people just like everybody else and they really fixed up the areas, the communities and got active in the communities to try to better it and, and it really just, it wasn't, I don't know that it was the acceptance as much as the realization hey, we're all in here for the same thing and it really worked out well, it really did.

In this quote we see the convergence of worldviews between the “old” and the “new” when he says that the gays came in and “everybody saw they're just people ...and they really fixed up the areas,...and got active in the communities”; again in this narrative concepts of agency and inclusion emerge and are reflected in the recounting of the old guard's behavior as well as the new. Although elements of this narrative may indicate an exchange value orientation in the concern about the value of the houses and the fixing up of the community, the underlying tone is that residents who were living in Wilton Manors when the shift began to take place were open minded towards the gay population settling in. He expresses a certain level of comfort which must have required some adjustment on the part of the old guard to this shift in the demographics of the population. For people to experience some comfort in the midst of changes occurring in a city requires that the physical structure of the city have some constancy in order to maintain continuity; these shifts are facilitated by the retention of some topological characteristic of the city - a well known component of the natural environment or architecture (Lynch 1960). Wilton Manors has a particularly strong commitment to preserving their historical buildings and natural environment; at this time, Wilton Manors has been declared the 17th city in the

nation declared a Certified Community Habitat by the National Wildlife Federation (NWF). Additionally, the Wilton Manors Leisure Services Department operates 15 parks and open spaces with a wide range of programs and activities: Apache Pass Park, Colohatchee Park, Colohatchee Boat Ramp, Coral Gardens Park, Donn Eisele Park, Hagen Park/Veterans Park, Island City Park Preserve, Jaycee Park, Mickel Field, Rachel Richardson Park, Snook Creek Boat Ramp, M.E. DePalma Park, Andrews Avenue Extension, Wilton Manors Elementary School Community Park, and Surface Waterways (29.72 acres and 13.7 miles of navigable waterways) (www.wiltonmanors.com).

In order to find out more about the residents' images of the city and to get information about how residents' felt when the gay population expanded, I asked the question "what changes have you seen in Wilton Manors?" – one of the old guard said:

The biggest and I remember this vividly, it's when . . . I was in, it didn't happen when I was in elementary school, but my first year going into Junior High School we had this huge influx of Cubans that came here. They were coming in en masse; Castro was chasing them out and I remember going to school and there's all these Cubans here, they couldn't speak any English it was just, they got them in school and it was an immersion for the kids. That's the biggest thing that I can remember because it happened so suddenly, it just, one minute you hear no Spanish within almost weeks, bam, you hear Spanish. That would be Sunrise Junior High School which was the feeder for Wilton Manors elementary school. It had to be '62, something like that, I'm trying to think back to when that happened. I remember the army going down, sending tanks and army trucks, army going south. I remember there was a build up down at the port. My dad used to ride us down there, that was entertainment go down and see what was going on at the port. We went down and that was part of the getting ready for the invasion and they were gonna go down there. You're basically a white kid going to basically a 97% white Junior High School, not that these kids were any other color, but that it was a cultural shock, boom. It, they showed up, they put them where they needed to put them.

Although he did not talk specifically about the gays moving in, he talked about his experience and reaction as a white kid faced with the introduction of minorities into the city and the school - people who were of ethnicities with whom he was not familiar. The

value in this quote is that it points to clues about how residents felt on issues of social inclusion. He continued to reminisce about the city:

Well, the next, the next big, the city basically back in the 80s, we were in a, I'm talking about people now, we were in a situation, we were in a situation where the city was starting basically to fall apart. Uhm, we had some apartment buildings over here north of 26th St. that were hovels, basically legalized hovels. And people seemed to be moving out, going to Coral Springs - they wanted to live anyplace else but Wilton Manors. Kids were growing up, families were taking off, nobody wanted to move into old Wilton Manors. . . . That was, that was a shaky time. I didn't know whether the city was going to continue to into a decline or whether it was going to rejuvenate itself somehow and take off and go where it's going now and I don't know what the end result of this is going to be, I have no idea. . . . I don't know whether real estate, I don't think, I think people look back at it, the Drive, was old, it was beat up, there was nothing there, strip stores where big shopping centers were moving in. Uhm, the city really didn't have a whole bunch to offer and it really didn't look that good, to be perfectly honest with you. We had a lot of high density buildings, lower economic people there, I think we had some crime problems, I know we had ordinance issues. And dilapidated cars parked here, old boats parked in front yards, weeds, trash, crap, and the city went through some code enforcement issues to try to keep it, try to get it cleaned up. And the real estate values in general, I don't think they were going up, they were either stagnant or they were going very, very slowly up. The city started ramping up their code enforcement, and they were going after, we used to have on Wilton Drive, I don't know if anybody told you, there was a trailer park right smack dab, these old dilapidated trailers that had been there probably since the 40s and nothing was going on there. You had a lot of vagrants moving in and out, we have one back here now, this, that is the last one being torn, we had another one north of the city on Dixie Highway, that one's gone. The city just didn't lend itself to a place that you, you wanted to bring up a family, and sort of took it down, my opinion.

In this quote you can see a mix of exchange value type concerns, mixed in with use value as a continuing element in the recollections; rejuvenation and market value is entwined with use value concerns like crime, aesthetics, and construction density. But again the use value becomes primary when he states "The city just didn't lend itself to a place that you, you wanted to bring up a family". The intention behind the statement, I believe, is that the quality of life in a city is not entirely dependent on its property value. Inherent in this statement is the notion that for a city to become a place where one wants to raise a family it should be clean, safe, and orderly among other unexpressed values. The

implication was also that if newcomers are willing to maintain these values there is not an issue surrounding their sexual orientation, ethnicity, religion, or political orientation, although low income and the effect it has on the maintenance of property is a sore point and some might interpret this as prejudice and exclusion on the basis of class. If this quote is interpreted in the context of the other interviews, I would have to conclude that the main point of contention here is the image of the city – that it not look blighted or look deteriorated or feel unsafe – these were the main concerns that other interviews revolved around and not necessarily a conscious focus on class as a basis for social exclusion. This seems to suggest that having a common worldview, with its shared values and attitudes, is more important to the old timer residents than having a similar ethnicity, religion, class, or sexual orientation.

As I interviewed the old guard, I thought how similar these stories sounded; their versions of Wilton Manors had the same small town quality to them: a 1950's place where there is a tight knit community and where growing up life was idyllic. Some of these elements have persisted until today despite some challenging economic times; one scenario which preceded gays moving in was described by a third descendant of a founding family follows:

My grandfather travelled around the country with his job . . . some of the projects he worked on brought him to South Florida . . . they decided they wanted to move here . . . That was in 1932, I believe. Wilton Manors wasn't incorporated as a city at that point, but the boundaries of the river going around were still there and they bought here because it was a big enough piece of property at a reasonable enough price. . . The makeup of the community has changed where, when I was growing up, there were, it was, it was kind of working, working class families with younger kids and there was, with an older element of the community, more a retired element of the community. As time went by there were fewer families it seemed like, my perception was there were fewer families so things like the local baseball league weren't as active as when I was a kid and it got progressively older. Uhm, and it got where it was maybe getting a little

dingy. I don't want to say run down, but they were older folks, retired on a fixed income, and you can't do a lot to improve your property when you're in that position. So things just sort of for a long time, not a lot of change took place, not a lot of improvements took place, there were not a lot of thriving businesses along Wilton Drive or any of the business corridors of Wilton Manors. It was, I would say it was kind of struggling there for a while. I remember at one point that either county, or city, or state, were defining areas in Broward County that they considered blighted for the purposes of getting different grants and things and I remember it, they drew part of the, you know, what they considered blighted into parts of Wilton Manors, and I remember that very distinctly cause, it just seemed kind of sad at the time to, that it was getting that designation. But then it started to change very rapidly...I remember it came down by the High School, it was if I remember correctly, the border was 4th Avenue to 9th Avenue, and Sunrise to 26th Street roughly, so it, it took a chunk out of Wilton Manors there. I think it was the area west of Wilton Drive, east of 9th Avenue to I think, roughly 26th Street . . . I remember the boundaries being published in the newspaper.

This account of Wilton Manors shows the consistent repetition of images that the old guard uses to describe the city's past. It is interesting to note the consistency of the participants' stories and the small differences across groups in the images they reflect when talking about the city. Patterns of consistency also emerged within the old guard as to their recollections about what happened in the city in the 1980s and 1990s:

Uhm, and to my memory it was just about that same time though, that things started to change in Wilton Manors where there was, began to be, the recognition, well, you can get a property on the water in Wilton Manors for a hundred thousand dollars or less, nowhere else in Fort Lauderdale could you find property on the water for that. And that started to attract in some people who were gonna come in and start to fix up the properties. Some of the older folks that retired there in the 50s they were now going into, you know, retirement facilities, or they were passing away so those properties were becoming available and the, at some point, and I don't have any distinct memory at what point or what precipitated the gay community having an interest in Wilton Manors, but that picked up a lot of momentum and they they tend to really fix up their properties. And, not trying to be stereotypical, it was just a fact, they came in, that community brought a lot of new energy to Wilton Manors and, what was interesting about it to me was how, how accepting the community was to that. I don't remember there ever being any conflict, concern, or anyone having any kind of issue or problem with that. You know, from the beginning, as far as I remember, the community coexisted without any problems. I think being a small community, the physical size of Wilton Manors is small, 12,000 people plus or minus crammed into that area and that's stayed pretty consistent for a long, long time and I think kind of forced people to get along, in a way, they were used to

getting along, they were used to getting along and they were used to, you didn't have influences coming in that were being disruptive and wanted to change things dramatically one way or another that would kind of initiate conflict, people tend to be here over the long haul. And even when the outside, when I say outside I just mean they hadn't lived in Wilton Manors for a long period, came in the benefit of the improvements that came, people were welcomed. I don't think it really mattered to them what their orientation was, I don't think they really cared. That was probably the mid 80s to late 80s. I built my house ...in 1995 and that was when property values were just kind of starting to rise a little in Wilton Manors, and so that, thinking back on it seems it was just a few years before that, probably late 80s that the gay community got more involved in Wilton Manors and began to, to kind of establish uh, local residences, local businesses started running for positions on the County [*sic*] Commission and started to become part of the you know, the Wilton Manors community. Kind of continuing with that train of thought, bought houses, began fixing them up, establishing their own businesses that attracted other businesses that weren't necessarily catering to the gay community, but they were more interested in coming to Wilton Manors because there was more activity, so housing improved, I know when I pulled the permit to build my house it was the first permit to build a house in Wilton Manors in like five years. Nobody had built a house from scratch in like five years and when you know, that changed very rapidly, all of a sudden there were new projects going up, they were renovating the commercial space and buildings. That, that just didn't happen for, that was that was good to see, because I think, at a certain point in time Wilton Manors could've gone either way. Could've become, you know, pretty desolate and pretty dreary, but it took a different path and that momentum, you know, continuous even when the way the economy is now Wilton Manors is still, and Wilton Drive businesses are coming and, and doing well. There are very few visible signs that that this economy has been a big setback that you can see. It's obviously impacted everyone but I don't see vacant buildings, you don't see vacant houses. They're kind of buffered from it a little bit.

In the above quotation this old guard resident talks at length about the early days of Wilton Manors. Again the narrative contains the role of the gays as urban pioneers, the vision of Wilton Manors as a place that "could've gone either way" had it not been for the acceptance of the residents of the newcomers, the agency of the newbies, and their mutual collaboration.

When asked if he would want Wilton Manors to go back to the way it used to be he responded in ways that reinforce the notion that the concept of worldview has real-world indicators that are shared across time; this includes ideas and values about progress and

about things which may be considered characteristics of a small town - friendliness and community cohesion - that should be preserved:

I think to the extent I have such fond memories of playing baseball as a kid, growing up in Wilton Manors, and they would have a parade each year, and the kids from the baseball teams and the other athletic teams in Wilton Manors would be riding pick-up trucks and on the fire trucks and you know, that, there's not enough kids of that age to really have that happen, and you know, just from a nostalgic point of view it would be nice if there was, you know, more kids to be able to do those sorts of things in Wilton Manors. But other than that I think Wilton Manors has really, improved, you know, the best parts of Wilton Manors have stayed the same, the character of them have stayed the same, it's just evolved and improved in a good way without compromising those, the best pieces of Wilton Manors.

As reflected in the quote above, participants, whether part of the old guard or, as we will see below, the new, have a vision of what they want Wilton Manors to become. The vision includes a shared framework of small town, Middle American values and attitudes, social inclusion being part of the city's use value, and the value of individual agency in shaping the structures of the city. Since Wilton Manors' residents joined forces in 1947 to become a city and maintain its independence from the political control of Fort Lauderdale or Oakland Park, as well as freedom from Fort Lauderdale's taxes and large debt, citizens have based their actions on values of independence and individualism. Although these actions reflect exchange value interests, ultimately use value appears to prevail.

Those who have been living or have a business in Wilton Manors for 20 years or more, the middle guard, also shared their perceptions and memories of Wilton Manors' history. One of the middle-guard participants' recollections about how she came to know about Wilton Manors in the 1980s reveals much about worldview, use value, social

inclusion, and agency as concepts that emerge over and over again in the participants' narratives and that help to answer the question "what happened here?":

Beth McMahon, she had a bar, lounge, nightclub . . . called JJ's Otherside and there was mostly women, alot of women came here, and then there was the dinner nightclub place called Chardee's. I only went in there a couple of times, I think I might have had dinner in there, they had live shows in there, it was a nice place, but other than that there wasn't anything happening. Where Tropics was, that property changed; I remember when that was a country western bar for a little while but I don't remember the name. It wasn't as big because Tropics took over where New Moon, it was Tropic and New Moon and then New Moon moved down here and then Tropics took over the whole building . . . But when it was Tropics used to be smaller and I remember when it was a country western bar, gay. I think it was like late 80's or very early 90s . . . I know Chardee's was around even before JJ's ever opened, and JJ's brought in a lot of women, a lot of gay women, that would bar hop, from, there was a little bar in Hallandale, Partners, way back when in the 80s, like 84-85, mid 80s, and they would go to that bar and then they would go to JJ's Otherside and then there were a couple others here and there and they would just bar hop all night, okay, you know it's who they run into and seeing friends, and we'll meet you here, well now they do it all in Wilton Manors. Back then Chardee's was always around, it's like it always existed, it's very strange that it's not here now; and I just always remember it, and I thought it was kind of old fashioned and . . . but a lot of people enjoyed it and I guess because they served dinner, it you know, was a supper club, it was pretty big and I think as far as gay people moving into Wilton Manors probably those two bars, probably brought some gay women into Wilton Manors, you know, either buying or renting, and Chardee's probably brought some gay men into Wilton Manors either buying or renting. And, gay people have always wanted to be safe and so it was a small community, a little, lazy, laid back community, probably affordable during that time and the town was not fancy at all, there was a lot of older buildings that were run down, weren't fixed up and I would just assume that you know, a few gay people moved in the next thing you know, you have a couple gay bars. I do know that somebody tried to open a bookstore on Wilton Drive, a gay bookstore . . . it was a woman, a gay woman who tried to do this and failed but she tried and so I'm sure a lot of people were attempting to do things like that and you knew sooner or later you're gonna hit on something that works.

The only one of the interviewees who mentioned that there had been a relatively large gay presence in Wilton Manors up to 15 years or more before George Kessinger and his co-owners opened the Alibi was a woman business owner, who is a lesbian. What this indicates is that the inclusivity for which Wilton Manors is known today has historically been a part of the city's culture for at least 15 to 20 years before it was in the residents'

consciousness; something that I was not expecting. Tolerance towards gays, the opening of the *Alibi*, and the concomitant low property prices at the time combined to make it an even more attractive place for gays:

So one business works, and then another one, and then another one. Gay people are known to move into the worst areas of town, fix it up, decorate it, paint it up, make it look beautiful, and then it's no longer affordable and then the gay people move out because they can no longer afford the high rents and they go to the next crappy town and they fix that one up. And it's kind of a joke among gay people. It, it happens all over the place and it's just, it's just a known thing, and so that's what I think happened in Wilton Manors and there will come a time when a lot of people won't be able to afford to live here and they'll go to the next town that needs to be fixed up, you know . . . I don't know how the transition exactly happened. And then the MCC Church is the fourth, I don't know if it still is, the fourth largest church in the United States; it's the Metropolitan Community Church and they were located off of, originally they were located off of State Road 84 behind Lester's Diner, and now they've moved closer to I-95. . . I've been over there, but there is a very established church for gay people, close to I-95 . . . so that even though it's not in Wilton Manors that also has brought people, maybe that all people of faith, and gay people are also people of faith you know, they can feel comfortable in a setting where they're accepted. . . . The Poverello, that priest, Reid, started Poverello. That's another thing. They had, I don't know much about this, in the 80s when the HIV was you know, they didn't know what was going on, a lot of people were dying, they had like community and different support groups and stuff, you know, and that . . . that probably also brought the community in too, the HIV positive scares in the 80s and then when the GLCC, the Gay and Lesbian Community Center started on Dixie Highway, now, if you go take a right on Wilton Drive onto Dixie Highway and you go a little ways it's a complex, used to be on Andrews, and they sold that, it's a big complex now . . . and also the Stonewall Library is over there, and now they're gonna have a library, an extensive library . . . I don't remember when they started. That would have been another draw . . .

As I listened to this person's account of her experience of Wilton Manors' evolution, I thought it was interesting to hear how far back there had been a significant gay and lesbian presence in Wilton Manors. Most of the people I had interviewed traced the moving in of gays and lesbians to the opening of *Georgie's Alibi* in 1997, but surprisingly this account of *BJ's Otherside* and *Chardee's* and people bar hopping from Hollywood to Wilton Manors on weekends went back to the 1980s. The gay church and bookstore also went back to the 80s, so one can trace an element of acceptance of gays in the community

going back before Alibi's opening. Finding out that gays and lesbians had been present in the city at least dating back to the 1980s seems significant because it supports my hypothesis that social inclusion has been a consistent use value for Wilton Manors' residents since its founding. At the very least this attitude of inclusivity can be traced back further than previously documented and which leads me to conclude that there must have been some common framework that Wilton Manors residents shared which accepted marginalized people.

Most of the respondents claimed that new businesses moved into previously empty store-fronts and that housing values went up shortly following the opening of the Alibi. This is part of the city's lore and legend. When the gay population entered Wilton Manors in large numbers, they had already been there to some discernable degree from interviewee accounts for at least 15 or more years, they immediately became engaged in the city's local government and neighborhood committees. Their activism and financial investment became a force in the city. As Gary Gates stated: "Pioneering gay men and lesbians played a key role in remaking . . . once run-down areas into prime destinations for all city residents . . ." (2004:3). The following quote from a single, newbie male supports Gates' statement:

The biggest change has been economically . . . it had few businesses when I moved here . . . it was not a place you would want to visit, for example when I moved here in 1996 home values were not high . . . it still was not doing well economically, people were moving in who wanted a bargain on their house and that's why you had a influx of gays. Gays tend to be urban homesteaders.

Having retired to Wilton Manors from the Northeast, he reflected on how the gay population impacted on the evolution of the city based on what he knew and his own observations:

You had a group of people who moved in. First because initially, because it was cheap. Uh, and, uh secondly because it was a small town but yet continuous to urban areas not far from the beaches so if you wanted shopping or night life you're not far from that. So there was, for a period of time, a degree of uneasiness between the long live residents and the newcomers of Wilton Manors . . . The new boom began, I would say in the 90s. Wilton Manors in the late 80s to early 90s began to undergo economic problems. They actually lost population, lost businesses and the city was not getting much revenue. It was a tough time. And the city leaders looked at various things to try to rejuvenate the city. And the main street of the city to this day is really Wilton Drive which is a combination of N.E. 4th Avenue, in Fort Lauderdale, and Powerline extension to the north, North Dixie Highway. Uhm, now the second movement that began with the influx of new residents was an influx of gay residents. Now, along with the gay residents couples without children because many of the homes in Wilton Manors were deemed too small by today's standards to have a family of even two kids even in three bedrooms, that's not acceptable today, you need a large family room. But, the key thing is that influx of new people in the 90s was a seed change . . . that change of influx of new residents and especially gay businesses on Wilton Drive, beginning with Georgi's Alibi, began to rejuvenate Wilton Drive, attract more residents and it has continued. So then we went through the boom – began building up in the late 90s the big boom in real estate rates in the mid 2000s say 2003-2008 and now, you know, down again. But, Wilton Manors will, the property values will come back, they did not drop as low as certain cities.

But the critical factor in the evolution seems to be the collaboration between the residents who were already living in the city and the gays who moved in. An article in the South Florida Business Journal quotes Wilton Manors' 2004 Director of Community Services Harold Horne: "Horne jokes that a 'gay-redneck coalition' of open-minded residents that embraced different lifestyles made Wilton Manors' success possible." The newbie participant reiterates this aspect of individual agency and the city's restructuring:

. . . in terms of the life, in terms of the interaction between the public and elected officials and city staff that continues to this day . . . There was a big growth in population in the 80s. And the 90s continuing in the 2000, past 2000, the new century . . . they brought new customs in some cases totally new lifestyles, and in some cases they may not have been as accepting as the way things were. And to be honest a lot of the new ideas were beneficial to the city. Don't forget along with these new people came some new businesses which considerably helped the city financially. So, but as people got to know one another on a one to one basis, say neighbor to neighbor, it didn't matter what they were, you know, what religion they were, I mean you're always going to have certain people with prejudices. But, you know when you talk about a group of people – people of

color, or immigrants or gays or whoever, if, if you aren't used to that it takes a certain process of acculturation. And when you start talking over the fence and helping one another it's a seed change, it really is. So there have been enough, there has been enough time where people have gotten used to the influx, okay? Not always acceptable but to a large degree because a lot of the newcomers are the ones who are running the city and it's organizations, it's businesses, and so you can either join in or be stand offish. As there was an influx of people, and people became accustomed that the sky wasn't falling, their livelihood wasn't being threatened, their kids were fine, their school was being supported, their churches were being attended and volunteers were still helping out with recreation and a bunch of other fund raising activities, they said this isn't so bad . . . They've got the time and they've got the disposable income to do it . . .

In his interview he explains why gays are urban homesteaders; they tend to have less or no children, they have double incomes, and they generally have more time than their married, straight counterparts to become active in community affairs. Additionally, individual agency can change the social structure (Berger and Luckmann 1967); according to Ortner (1994) the system can be structured and restructured through action and interaction, which is what this participant is describing above. A New York Times article reported:

The gay and straight worlds have integrated without much incident here... a 39-year-old anesthesiologist who moved here two years ago with his partner, said he had been impressed by the balance. . . Gayness, Dr. Carson said, is 'a nonissue here, and that's what I like about it.' The city elected its first gay mayor, John Fiore, in 2000. He was succeeded two years later by Jim Stork, also gay. . . In an indication that the city had already evolved beyond any subjugation to identity politics, Scott Newton, a native of Wilton Manors and a married father of three, won the mayoral seat in March with 85 percent of the vote and backing of the gay community against a gay opponent who had virtually no civic experience. Mr. Newton ran on a platform advocating contained development and the growth of parks. (Bellafante 2004)

In the above recounting of this participant's experience in Wilton Manors, real world indicators of worldview, use value, social inclusion, as well as agency are discernable and have emerged across the three different groups of participants: the old guard, the middle guard, and the newbies. The repetition of these concepts in the stories of Wilton

Manors' past and present clearly became a pattern and provided, at least a partial explanation for the acceptance of gays and other marginalized people in the city. One very politically active newbie who has a business in Wilton Manors and had until recently lived there, described his experience of present-day Wilton Manors in a way that highlights the identity of the city while repeating instances of agency, shared worldview, use value, and structural change:

I opened my business in 1997 in Wilton Manors . . . I could tell that the city was on the verge of growing into a really nice community. It was convenient to downtown Fort Lauderdale, it was very close to the beach, I certainly recognized that a lot of the gay community was moving into that community . . . it was a geographically interesting city because it's surrounded by water, you never had to go out of Wilton Manors to, to, you know, you never have to fight rush hour traffic. You can live and work in the city . . . it was a lot more peaceful to live. I could see that Wilton Manors was growing, a lot of the gay community were buying houses and fixing them up and so forth so . . . I decided to open my business in 1997 and take a gamble on buying the building and refurbish the building . . . I bought the building in 1996 so it took me a year to develop it, to renovate the building and open . . . I was, it kinda changed over the years a little bit. At first I really didn't know that many people and as I got to know the community mostly through my civic engagement through my restaurant and through being active in our Chamber of Commerce . . . I've gotten to know the community and I saw the history of the community, and I saw that it was a small town, you know in the middle of a big county, where everybody kinda knew each other and, and seemed to get along with each other although when I first moved there and opened the business there was a , a, not a rift between the gay and the straight community but there wasn't a lot of interaction between the two communities, there was kind, there was a wall between the two and it wasn't necessarily, it was just a wall of you know, the gay people lived over here and the straight people lived their own life over here so they didn't mix in between. But as a community it seemed, it was safe, it was, they were warm, everybody in the city, seemed to be warm and the police, we had our own police department and so forth, so it became, it made you feel like you were in some place very special.

An initial 'standoffishness' that the participant felt and talked about in his early years of living in Wilton Manors was eventually transformed due to the two groups of straights and gays participating and collaborating in community projects. Eventually he says, things began to change and this process is, once again, reminiscent of Giddens' (1984)

and structuration theory where structure impinges on the individual and the individual then acts on structure. In the next quote he talks about how this relationship changed:

I bought my business in 1996 and my condo in 1999 . . . wow, a lot of changes. Probably on the community part there became a, the unity between the gay and the straight community. I think that was something that I saw a big transformation . . . we started to see that the gay and straight community started to work together on projects and interact much more than before and so, that was one of the biggest changes that I saw which was just terrific. And as far as the city itself it started to flourish, you know, economically certainly the real estate prices started to go up. The number of businesses and the transformation of kind of the downtown started to take place in the years 2000, 2002, 2004 all the way to now where there's a new city hall. The, in the beginning, Wilton Station came in at Dixie Highway, the parks, you know started buying park space, and started really putting together a plan to create and design a comfortable city for the community to live in. And part of that just came from more activism from the community as a whole. The Main Street organization which is a separate organization developed downtown to help guide how the downtown would look and develop. There's a historical society that came into place that tried to preserve the history of the city. There are many other committees that the city commission appointed you know, for the citizens to be a part of the growth and the change in their city. And with that activism came more growth and prosperity in the city so it was, there's kind of those are the kind of things that I saw that the city was changing for the better, I think . . . One of the reasons why it was so great, became, it is so great is because everything is kind of located near Wilton Manors so you don't really have to travel too far to do something. The proximity of Wilton Manors even to downtown Fort Lauderdale or to the mall are close enough to where you don't feel like you're fighting traffic to get there.

He was speaking in the past tense in this quote because he has since moved but continues to own his business and condominium in Wilton Manors. In his interview, the concepts of use value, social inclusion, and particularly agency continue to emerge. It was through his "civic engagement" that he got to know the community and gained acceptance and a feeling that he was part of the community. His perceptions of safety and friendliness and warmth allayed some of his fears of being ostracized or discriminated against or worse; as a gay male these were all significant use values that the city and his neighborhood provided. The primacy of the use value of social inclusion that is reflected in this quote is one of many examples that I use to argue that in Wilton Manors, 1) use value is

primary over exchange value; 2) social inclusion and agency are values that are embedded in the worldview of the residents (this addresses Ortner's questions #1 and #2 above); and 3) the concepts that emerged from the interviews with residents and business owners may be used to understand the dynamics of the city.

Additionally, his quote correlates with what Tuan (1977) has to say about the role of celebrations and traditions in the stability of cities:

A city does not become historic merely because it has occupied the same site for a long time. Past events make no impact on the present unless they are memorialized in history books, monuments, pageants, and solemn and jovial festivities that are recognized to be part of an ongoing tradition. An old city has a rich store of facts on which successive generations of citizens can draw to sustain and re-create their image of place. (P. 174)

When I asked this same participant about what he liked best about the city, he talked about much of the history of the interactions between the people; the social inclusion and their historical activism:

I think it's the community, the people, no doubt the people and the activism of the people. They're much more politically engaged. The tolerance, the diversity. I just think we've broken down the barriers between gay and straight, they're you know, so intermingled now that it's not an issue. And you have, we have a gay majority on the city commission which we've had for quite a while. I think it's, was the second city in the history of the United States to have a majority on their city council. So that's a reflection of the diversity and we also elected an openly gay African American elected official, and he was the first openly gay African American elected official in the history of Florida and he was the first African American elected official elected in Wilton Manors also. So it's quite an amazing city with its diversity and in Broward County it's one of the first stops for all politicians coming to, if you're trying to run for statewide office or, or for any office, they come to Wilton Manors because of it's diversity and activism by the population. I mean a lot of the people that live in Wilton Manors contribute to political campaigns, volunteer in political campaigns and so forth. So in the community itself is very independent and at the same time warm. I just have always loved the people.

In this quote, the participant's discussion of the diversity of the community and the city council, the fact that they have an openly gay African American elected official, is a

source of pride and an indicator of the widespread nature of the social inclusion, suggesting the possibility that the straight residents and the newbie gays share at least portions of an underlying worldview.

When he was asked what he likes least about Wilton Manors, he revealed much about the current state of the city, about use values, and about the city's geography in ways that were repeated over and over again by the straight participants:

Wilton Drive is not narrowed down to two lanes more like you know, the other cities that have walking districts in their downtown; Wilton Drive is a State Road and because it's four lanes, and there's not a lot of tree canopy to kinda give it that sense of a downtown, the traffic kind of speeds through downtown Wilton Manors and it's dangerous, not only dangerous but it's just not, it's holding the city back. Holding the city back from being, you know, one of the greatest small downtowns in anywhere in Florida, actually. So it's frustrating that we haven't gotten the Wilton Drive back where the city of Wilton Manors controls, it's a little complicated, but the State of Florida designates state roads and Wilton Drive is designated a state road so the city doesn't have any control over that road. So you have limitations on planting trees, or sidewalks, or doing things on that road until you get that, until you get it back and I understand there's a deal that the state has offered the city to take back Wilton Drive. So, and the other thing . . . there are eleven bridges in order to enter the city of Wilton Manors, which is known as the island city because it is surrounded by rivers and I think the fact that you sound surprised and most people sound surprised that there are eleven bridges and that it's this great city and nobody knows about it, is frustrating because it would be great if we could do something to enhance the designs of our bridges to kind of give it, give it that entryway when they come into the city where they realize that they're coming into Wilton Manors. Those two things have always been frustrating.

Here his reference, intentional or not, to having an "entryway" that signals that you are entering a "special" city is reminiscent of the Abreu Towers which over time took on the same meaning; a demarcation in space imbued with special meaning and symbolism irrelevant of exchange value. Additionally, as Lynch (1960) suggests, these became ". . . physical qualities which relate to the attributes of identity and structure in the mental image" (p. 9). These themes emerged in both the gay and the straight interviews.

A third male newbie's interview reiterated some of the same themes about the current state of Wilton Manors where the concepts of social inclusion and agency emerge and are entwined with economic overtones. He recounts his experience and observations from a gay man's perspective:

I've seen an improvement in property. I've seen business growth, I've seen more accepting beliefs, and I've seen more community interest. I think the people that were already here were very active and involved but I think they're become more accepting and inclusive as the result of a more diverse population . . . They're not so much worried about the baggage and vice versa. I think that people who were not the typical prototype of a Wilton Manors resident thirty years ago, came here and are now mingling and getting to know people they would otherwise not necessarily get to know on a personal basis . . . The demographics were predominantly middle class, white city. And in fact Wilton Manors was built and sold as a city for white people. It was quite a leap to see African American and Haitians and gays and lesbians come in and just there wasn't any adversity, there wasn't any revolt. You know, it was kind of, I'm not going, saying it was cumbaya. But I think initially it was just coexistence, let's see how this is going to work out, what are they going to do. I think the initial improvements to properties and property value appreciation helped everyone so I think there was an indirect reflection, it was an indirect reflection on the people who came, and a favorable one . . .

Here we see the juxtaposition of exchange values and use values simultaneously acting on the development of the city. In this interpretation of the events, market issues may have been initially the common ground for the newbies and the rest of the population, but at some point there was a realization that the new and the old residents wanted not only improvements in the physical appearance of the city but also a peaceful coexistence.

These issues are still being worked out in the present as he states further into the interview:

. . . the city just completed a study of which there were fifty pages of verbatim that were captured and every other statement is a straight person saying that there's, the gay people are getting too much and the gay people are thinking that the straight people are getting too much. And I never remember it being that divisive. Now whether or not, I guess when we first, when this whole transformation started ten or 15 years ago, I'm not so sure that the existing community was embracing but they were willing to at least coexist and see how

this, this was going to play out. And now I believe there's a perception that, for some, the gay community has gone too far. The city may have become too gay . . . if you read the verbatims what they state there are too many gay shops, there are too many gay activities, the city sponsors too many gay events, and the equal proportion isn't accommodated to the straight population . . . Of late it's gotten worse . . . in terms of diversity, understanding, compassion, the sense of community. It was a much, I believe, much more cohesive, much more a sense of us and we and now is much more the singular pronouns and it really concerns me. . . . There's fifty pages of verbatim from residents and there's a sense that the old-guard was here, and there's an existing, the Save Our Homes tax incentive, and it benefits people who were here longer. So, the old-guard has a very low tax base. The new guard, a number of which are gay, on coming in, and they're paying two, three, and four times the tax base of the people who are here. And there's a perception that the newbies are paying the freight for the old-guard, they're doing more improvements to their home, the old-guard they're aren't doing the upgrades, they're not painting, they're not doing whatever, so there's somewhat of a resentment. I don't believe it is empirically justified, I think there's anecdotal evidence that they use and they point to, but I would point to the same evidence for the straight population, for gay people who don't maintain it. But the perception is the new people coming in are paying more, that's fact. And that if we argue that the largest percentage of people moving in are gay, which is probably fact, then the largest percentage of the growing population is paying a bigger portion. So I believe a lot of that is resentment. And a lot of people come here and they hear it's a gay city so they immediately think well we can be West Hollywood, we can be, and the old-guard, and myself included, are not really interested. I just want everyone to feel welcome. You can demonstrate whoever you are but just don't make anyone else feel uncomfortable or unwelcome.

Although there are references made to the exchange value of property, his statements turn to a discussion of social inclusion and agency, and in particular his reference to a study the city made to gauge the residents' feelings and thoughts about the identity and direction of Wilton Manors' future. This is an example of how the citizens of the city act to exercise their democratic rights and be heard. I should also note here that the study was a measure taken by the leadership which institutionalized an avenue for citizens to have an opportunity to articulate their points of view regarding the changes they want to see in the city. In my opinion this is an indicator of Lefebvre's (1996) concept of 'right to the city', one of the strategies for renewing urban democracy (Purcell 2002) and a dimension of use value:

What is still relevant for today's cities is Lefebvre's belief that the decision-making processes in cities should be reframed so that ALL urban dwellers have a right to participate in urban politics and to be included in the decisions which shape their environment. . . The concept aims to protect all urban dwellers . . . It should be noted that though Lefebvre rooted his analysis in the inequalities among the classes, more recent researchers have expanded Lefebvre's terms of "difference" to apply the "Right to the City" to a more contemporary conception of diversity in cities. (UN 2005:3)

Many of the participants felt that one of the main things that they loved about the city and that would be difficult to find in other places is the degree to which they have access to city leaders and the ease which they feel expressing their interests and concerns. The other unexpected find was the degree to which all of the interviews expressed similar values across the groups. If high levels of income and low levels of unemployment are indicators of inclusion, we may conclude that Wilton is an inclusive city: of the 16 years and over population in Wilton Manors, the 2000 census reported that 66.8% were in the labor force with only 2.5% reporting unemployment.

Since the old-guard and middle-guard are made up of people who are primarily straight it would be expected that their perspectives and interests would contrast those of the newbie, gay population. Nevertheless I found it surprising, in general, how similar their perceptions, ideas, and values are. One example is the following quote from an old-guard, married, straight woman who talked about the changes she has seen in Wilton Manors since she returned after having lived in another state for ten years:

I lived in South Carolina for 10 years and then came back. I like it because it's a nice mix of urban and small town . . . There's always the presence of nature, the beach and things I like to do . . . Oh, I have seen so many changes. It was predominantly a blue collar neighborhood when I grew up - heavily dominated by churches . . . It was very child oriented, very family oriented. Uh, very white middle to lower middle class, I'd say. The library was a big deal back then. I mean, it was a, you know, it was just a lower middle class neighborhood. There were a lot of nature things, things were not as developed. . . . So, there wasn't the emphasis on the environment but then it wasn't as developed either. And of course all of that has changed. . . . we live in a gay community. . . . [likes the

most] freedom of choice. You can live just about any way you please here and for the most part people are still very friendly and straightforward. . . . the emphasis is moving away from the core institutions which were schools and libraries . . . Overall it's improved . . . it's a more sophisticated . . . when you say it was a lower, blue class place, there's racism there, all kinds of prejudice, it's a smaller number of people so a few have more influence. Now that we have so many special interests that they all fight it out and it's probably more democratic [laughter]-they all get in there. For me that is better; there are better restaurants, like I said there's a good choice; anyway you want to live you can- whether you are more standoffish or more involved in the community. Yeah, I mean there's something for everybody I think here now and I'm not sure there was back in the day. More problems but more opportunity too.

In her interview, the idea that the gay population, and in general a more diverse population, is more interesting emerges. She associates the changes from “from the conventional family” to a “higher end, more sophisticated and often more interesting, more cultured . . . residents . . .” with what she likes most about Wilton Manors today: a greater freedom of choice. It may be seen as reflecting a particular worldview, where tolerance of differences equals greater freedom for the individual. As a New York Times article stated “Indeed, as a gay mecca, Wilton Manors has returned to its Middle American roots” (Bellafante 2004).

Another old-guard middle-aged, straight, married woman talked about the changes she has seen, what she likes the most about Wilton Manors, and the things she loves the most about her neighborhood, reflecting the use values that the city and her neighborhood have for her:

The city itself has grown tremendously as far as development is concerned; housing, apartments, the lack of families in this community has taken place in the last few years. I mean families like heterosexuals families, mothers, fathers and children there aren't as many anymore . . . there were probably, I don't know, maybe half the amount of homes that are here now. This whole area where I live right here, right now, when I was growing up was all woods, it was all trees and woods and there was nothing here. There were no houses, no houses down there, it was just all a very unpopulated area . . . everything is close by that I have access to being able to walk at nighttime to certain places that we like to go. We go down the street and get gelato, or we can walk down the street to the sushi

restaurant. And I love my neighbors, I love my neighborhood, I've lived in this house for a long time and a lot of my neighbors on this street have lived here as long as I have . . . I've lived in this house for 26 years. I have not seen many people come and go from my neighborhood. At least five of the ten houses around us have been here as long as we have . . . there are not as many families in the community anymore . . . I don't think, I don't know, but I don't feel that people in the community moved out because of gay people but I think that with the housing, there was a lot of availability in homes and a lot of gay people moved in and then began to develop a lot of the restaurants and nightclubs and Wilton Drive is now mostly for the gay population . . . the city needed change, maybe the change that took place maybe is not one that allowed everybody in the community to feel comfortable but, I think the change is good. Would I like to have seen it not change? Maybe some areas of it did need some type of change . . . families are no longer in Wilton Manors as much as they used to be. Like I said before, there's ten houses in my neighborhood five of us that have lived there have been here for twenty years the other five houses are all homes that are lived in by gay people now .

In this quote there emerges a view of someone who values a small town atmosphere where everyone should feel comfortable. It also reflects some use values for example, living in a city that is walkable and neighborly that again is considered primary over higher density, mixed-use projects that are sometimes advocated by outside developers and residents looking to make a profit from their property. Even though she laments that families have diminished she ends by saying "I think the change is good".

The most elderly middle-guard participant, a 77 year old, straight, married, woman talked about her values and her attitudes towards the diversity:

We're still a village, we're a little more urban but we're still a village. Small town. I mean we're twelve thousand five hundred, even with the new developments it hasn't brought it that much more and everybody still knows everybody so . . . The changes are in the diversity; diversity has been long fought and long time in coming but it has all blended in together. I'm sure there's some people that have a problem but I see no problem with it. We all work for the same purpose and to make this a better city.

She emphasized the urban village aspect of Wilton Manors, meaning the small town feel in a larger urban context. Characteristics of this type of town include an environment where "everybody still knows everybody" and social interactions are mostly face-to-face

and personal. Additionally, the concept of social inclusion emerges along with one of its dimensions, the acceptance of diversity. Agency emerges again in this interview as she explains that achieving diversity was a result of struggle and a recognition that all groups were working “to make this a better city”. Her articulation of her attitudes is representative of what of most of the other participants also said; as long as everyone is working “for the same purpose”, “she “see[s] no problem with it”.

When I asked her whether Wilton Manors has improved or deteriorated in her opinion, she said that Wilton Manors has definitely improved:

You’d have to say improved, progress is progress . . . we’ve improved and we continue to improve. There’s no going back . . . the amenities, the services the city gives, people listening to each other, getting along. There were times when it was very abrasive the Commission meetings, it was at each other’s throats, this and that. And now we’ve been, we’ve become more human, we treat each other with respect . . . it’s changed within the last eight to ten years.

In the quote above we can see in this participant’s response that progress is equated with “people listening to each other, getting along”, and that people treating each other with respect is progress. These are signs of an increasing inclusion of participation in the political structure of the city and her reference that this has happened within the last eight to ten years further suggest that the “humanization” of the political process is part of the restructuring of Wilton Manors. Her focus was not on the increase in property prices but on the social dimension of the city. This further suggests that not only does structure impinge on the individual but that individuals, through their agency, can also affect structure.

Many of the participants’ accounts of Wilton Manors’ history contain the notion that George Kessinger’s investment in Wilton Manors contributed to the creation of institutions that were either previously non-existent or expanded those that were

shrinking by promoting further investment by other gay entrepreneurs and residents. At the same time, many of those interviewed recognized the role that the general acceptance of gays moving in had played in contributing to an environment where gays felt relatively safe and accepted by the neighborhood. The existing cohesion of the old-guard, the middle-guard, and the newbies is reflected in these three groups' common aspirations for the future of Wilton Manors. Their reflections on the future reveal their common underlying values and the characteristics of the city that they value the most: a democratic city where everyone's rights will be respected and citizens can feel comfortable expressing their concerns. As a resident expressed in 2008 when vandals scrawled anti-gay slurs on three houses in one of the neighborhoods known to have a large gay population, "There's no reason for this to happen. We didn't do anything to anyone. We're normal people trying to live normal lives" (Beasley 2008).

Participants' Vision for the Future: A Pedestrian Friendly Urban Village

Twenty out of 21 people interviewed said they would not want Wilton Manors to go back to the way it used to be; there is a sense that time moves on and progress means keeping up with the times. As long as Wilton Manors keeps its small-town charm and cohesiveness, values that are components of their worldview, most did not want it to return to the past: "No. Going forward is going forward . . . even standing still is going backwards." So although respondents reflect an overall sensibility to the charm and desirability of a small town atmosphere, they do not associate it with nostalgia for the past; rather they acknowledge that the community can select the things that are good about the past in a small town while maintaining pace with development. Many saw development as a good thing, especially when it came to improving the characteristics

that they perceived were part of a small town: walkability, safety, slow traffic. The business owners especially wanted an improved infrastructure, parking, lighting, and a general “renewal” and “cleaning up” of Wilton Drive and its adjacent areas.

What the participants did not want to see is a trade-in of the qualities and amenities they find precious in Wilton Manors for a higher return on the price of their property. In order to further ascertain interviewee values and worldview, I asked what development projects they would like to see in the near future; a 26-year-old straight woman, the youngest of all participants, responded the following:

The USGBC, the U.S. Green Building Council, just came out with this new program called the lead for neighborhood development. I really think it would be a great thing for Wilton Manors to do especially because they have like this historic property and that’s part of it. They’re trying to put together a green market . . . it’s a bunch of different things, it’s several different categories that you have to meet and then exceed . . . the neighborhood development is interesting . . . it’s like with a building unit you talk about the roof, the consumption of water, electricity, those kinds of things, the structure of the materials . . . but with a neighborhood you talk about the amount of housing, the amount of public transportation, the amenities that are available to the citizens and then, you know, how environmentally friendly those impacts are. So the city has like historic buildings is one of them, so they have like this great park and they’re getting ready to do the green market, and they have that thing the green hopper which you know is great because the city of Fort Lauderdale doesn’t have any of that, well they have you know, historic properties, but they’re not connected like they are in Wilton Manors. So that’s something I would like to see.

In the above quote we can see that green and preservation concerns have been added to the use value that up to this point had emerged. These concerns and issues can be linked to particular values that constitute individuals’ worldview and the community’s zeitgeist.

One of the founding family members revealed his preference for future projects that would promote a “pedestrian friendly” downtown, which would facilitate social interaction while improving business in that area:

Well I think the biggest development thing is to go in the corridor on Wilton Drive and scale that back down to a two lane you know, with additional parking on the side of the road sort of like a Las Olas type of effect and I know that's in the planning stages right now and I think that that would really help all the businesses and everybody down in that downtown corridor, you know. It would make it a more pedestrian friendly area for crossing the streets and all that I think that's probably the biggest priority you know, we should be looking at.

The quote was selected as an example of the values that were repeated most often by the participants; a city that looks out for the safety of the people, an environment that promotes interaction, and projects that provide support for local businesses.

Another participant, a straight, married man from the old-guard was concerned that future projects “meet the needs of people” and for upgrading of older homes to preserve their original style. In this quote one can discern values that have been highlighted in previous quotes of other participants; a concern for people, for the historical preservation of the community, for interaction, for green space:

I guess that the continued improvement of the older homes and upgrading the older homes to where they meet code and meet the needs of people these days. I think we've probably got enough of the large apartment buildings here in town. But I would say it's probably just the upgrading of some of the older homes around which has been done in a wonderful way keeping a lot of the tones of the old time look but just upgrading the homes and some of the outdoor planting and that sort of stuff around some of these houses. They've just, people have just done a great, great job... it's really been a wonderful boom to Wilton Manors in general.

His awareness that the things that have already been done have been a boost to the local economy, are countered with feelings that there are limits. The continued building of high density, mixed use developments have reached a threshold at this point in the city's growth and his implication is that although everything up to now has worked out well, much more building of these types of projects will bring diminished returns in terms of quality of life.

Across the three types of participants the attitudes and values that emerged were consistently similar. Consistent values are repeated in this quote from another old-guard man; the notion that social interaction and safety issues are important aspects of future projects in Wilton Manors re-emerges:

The renovation of Wilton Drive definitely. I was at a, a community meeting two or three weeks ago, and there was a presentation about some ideas that Wilton Manors Main Street, the organization had for improving Wilton Drive, and I think that is a huge priority safety wise, I think from an aesthetic point of view it would make that area along Wilton Drive much more attractive and would really benefit the community. That to me, that's the single most important project. Uhm, it was from about, about the bridge entering into Wilton Manors, Wilton Drive coming from Fort Lauderdale High School, and it went around to, I don't think it went all the way to Five Points the design plan they had, I think it maybe went to 6th Avenue, and it was putting in some medians, changing the parking configuration, narrowing it down to a single lane going each way instead of two lanes going each way, creating some spaces where the restaurants on Wilton Drive could have tables and there'd be enough room out front, outside, and more, a bigger area for pedestrian traffic. And I thought they had some amazing, elevations that someone had drawn up and graphics that showed what it would look like at each phase and I thought it was phenomenal, I thought it was phenomenal.

His point of view emphasizes the importance of the social aspect for the participants, the aesthetics of the environment, the configuration of the parking and businesses so that people have spaces where to come together and interact. Safety, community cohesiveness, aesthetics are concerns that reflect the precedence of use value over exchange value for the participants.

In response to the question about future projects this old-guard man reiterates much of what others have already stated; this is consistent with my hypothesis that the consistency of the participants' answers, the values that are reflected in the concerns that they articulate, and their awareness of and participation in city affairs are all indicators of a common worldview:

The downtown, our little Main Street organization has done a pretty good job with Wilton Drive; I think that's, that's been pretty good. The city is, the city's mentality is to go forward; that's what I'm grasping from who I talk to and from what I know. They don't want to remain . . . in the past . . . forget the past . . . They have an idea and they've put a transportation overlay here . . . there's a gay hotel that's gonna open up over here it's gonna be 6 or 7 stories tall, they wanna put a train station in Wilton Manors they want the city to become more pedestrian friendly which I think it lends itself to, and those are the things that I want the city to continue to . . . I embrace it they can't put it up fast enough because what they're doing is taking down substandard, gravel, hazardous living conditions from the trailer park that was there. That's what redevelopment does and it's all private dollars . . . we've been wrestling with this trailer park over here I bet ya, for 30 years . . . 30 yrs ago when I was in City Council we tried to force these people to bring this thing up to code and we didn't succeed finally private money coming in and is gonna help the city is gonna help the people living there. Sometimes you get used to living in a rut and if you don't know anything different you keep living in that same rut and you're taken advantage of. I'm thrilled that it's going through; it's gonna have a huge impact monetarily and on for the whole city if this thing comes about and the light rail comes through and the hotel. . . what I'm hoping is that if they see the core of the city starting to rejuvenate people say hey sheesh, you know what, I wanna live down there, that looks pretty neat I can get rid of the car I can walk around . . . some of the neighborhoods here are absolutely gorgeous . . . some of the neighborhoods because of the river people don't even know they exist and that's . . . I like that there's a lot to be said about that there's limited ways to get into the city and I like that, in fact as far as I'm concerned they can knock down a couple of the bridges around here and I'd like it even more.

Furthermore, his quote also reveals strands of the American Individualism that runs through many of the interviews and which was referred to in the New York Times article, "Newest Gay Mecca is Less of Key West, More of Mayberry": ". . . Wilton Manors has returned to its Middle American roots . . . the concerns here seem more typically provincial" (Bellafante 2004). That is not to say that there are no internal cleavages as talked about in Logan and Molotch (1987). In 2003 residents of Trailer Haven, a trailer park on Wilton Drive was sold to build upscale town homes and mixed-use development to the chagrin of the residents who found eviction notices tacked on their doors giving them between thirty days to six months to vacate, although most of the eighty five residents living on the three-acre property had left months prior when the former owners

announced they were selling it (Aird 2003). A resident moving to an apartment in Oakland Park reported in the news article that he was going to miss the nice quiet community but that he could no longer afford to live there. In the March 22, 2005 regular city commission meeting minutes, Commissioner Ted Galatis' statements reflected the city's concerns with the needs of lower income residents: "Commissioner Galatis said that he had attended the Affordable Housing Meeting and that it was very enlightening. Commissioner Galatis said that we have to protect our working class and employees and the City has to force developers to contribute a percentage of units for affordable housing" and the minutes also record what commissioner Angelo said: "Commissioner Angelo felt that in regard to affordable housing, the more diverse we become, the better we become. We need to contribute to the greater community."⁶ It seemed that what most of the participants were concerned with was blight in the city; they were used to lower income or working class residents but what seemed to bother them the most was code violations and "blight". A Miami Herald article supports this interpretation; City Commissioner Ted Galatis was quoted as saying:

On development, Galatis would like to divert attention from Wilton Drive and focus it on providing affordable housing in the city's few blighted areas on Powerline Road. While most people in Wilton Manors own their homes, about 20 percent are renters. 'That ratio should remain firm,' he said. 'A teacher and firefighter should be able to live in the city'. (Fantz 2006)

⁶ [http://www.wiltonmanors.com/index.asp?Type=SEARCH&SearchSection={B37BCA7E-DF8E-4654-A6C5-FEED0898E449}&SEC={CAC747D9-546F-46BB-BFDA-74202515D7DF}&keyword=affordable housing&DocPage=1](http://www.wiltonmanors.com/index.asp?Type=SEARCH&SearchSection={B37BCA7E-DF8E-4654-A6C5-FEED0898E449}&SEC={CAC747D9-546F-46BB-BFDA-74202515D7DF}&keyword=affordable%20housing&DocPage=1)

There seems to be no difference between the groups and the sexes as to what values they espouse for future development: aesthetics, green space, people doing things together, and an environment that elicits a “cozy town” kind of feeling. A middle-guard straight woman talked about Wilton Manor’s future by referencing all these things:

We love what they’ve done with the parks. We walk both Richardson and Hagen Park a lot and I just love the energy of people playing tennis and basketball and volleyball, people utilizing the parks like I think that’s a real advantage to have some green space, it makes it feel more like a cozy town with more green space.

Interestingly, she brings up the notion of how the people’s energy is impacted by having more green space and more space for people to play sports. Sports and the lack of people playing them within the city was a constant source of lament for the old timers who reminisced about the good old days when children were involved in sports and parents were there to support them by organizing fundraisers. I believe that this is also an indicator of shared values; community sports bring people together and that is a theme that runs throughout.

The yearning for community and people knowing each other on a first name basis is evident as one of the old-guard men says the following:

The best thing I like about it is there is still the small town atmosphere, having been born and raised here and witnessed it all these years it still has that appeal. It’s nice, I’m on a first name basis with the chief of police, I’m on a first name basis with the mayor, the council people, I know all the members. It’s nice to have that and you can’t do that in a big city.

This quote summarizes the feeling that many of the participants share when they talk about Wilton Manors. They like and value living in a town where people are on a first name basis with their police, council members, and neighbors. These “likes” are the same ones that emerge consistently throughout all the interviews. They do not support development that infringes on what they see the amenities of living in Wilton Manors.

Given that Wilton Manors is built on a small piece of land and that it is completely surrounded by the river, makes it especially important that the residents and business owners work together for the welfare of the entire community, sometimes at the expense of exchange values. Perhaps the small geographical area makes cohesiveness an imperative; as the most elderly middle-guard participant explained in the following quote:

I think the main project would be taking the drive back; we have that two lane initiative that Main Street has been instrumental in. We've had three deaths on the drive from the speeding. We have been instrumental in getting the speed limit reduced to 30 but that still means they're going 40, but that's down from 50 and 60. But we've got to make Wilton Drive pedestrian friendly . . . getting rid of the trailer park over by Colahatchee. Years ago when the park was first started they land locked us; you could only come in from 15th Avenue and that's through a boardwalk. Well we need to get emergency vehicles in there and over the years we've had to either pay the trailer park owners right of way or the FEC railroad. And now with this new project coming in we will have full access at no charge.

Above, the quote provides evidence of what Logan and Molotch describe as regulatory programs that “serve to distribute use and exchange values throughout the urban system” (1987:155). From their inception zoning regulations have “. . . served as a tool for safeguarding and increasing rents (1987:155)” and in this case, their defense of ‘collective rights’ is an argument that is used to protect the citizens of the city and not necessarily the individual property owner.

Regardless of ethnicity, sexual orientation, sex, or study group type, people reiterated their desire to control high density housing, a dimension of exchange value. As one of the middle-guard participants, a single woman who moved to Wilton Manors in 1981 with her son when she got divorced, says in the following quote, that residents like the choices that are being made in particular as they relate to green space and safety issues:

Not more housing . . . they've built a lot of condo units and it's just increased the parking, excuse me, the traffic on Wilton Drive exponentially. And then parking, in the evening like if you want to go up to one of the restaurants on Wilton Drive is always a nightmare. But what would I like to see? Oh, I don't know, I think they've done some good things already. They've, you know there was a vacant lot for years and years and years and they built houses on it and we were all afraid of what they were going to do when they build houses on it and there's actually one area that they could've fit another house on it it's been made into a small park which is really nice. They made Richardson, you know, the Richardson property to a park maybe, just you know to continue having green space. And maybe that's it, you know, instead of building one more condominium or apartment building let's, let's focus on maybe green space.

At this point, as evidenced by all the quotes above, the interviews begin to resemble each other so much that one would think they are from the same person. In my opinion, this indicates how similar the participants are in terms of basic attitudes and values – of a shared worldview. The quote also supports Logan and Molotch's view that environmental movements “are efforts to preserve use values at the expense, if need be, of rents and profits” (p. 215). It also provides evidence for the argument that Molotch and Logan (1987) present that the city is structured in terms of the conflict between the rentier class seeking to maximize exchange value and residents trying to protect use values.

To further substantiate my interpretation of the participants' feelings about an exclusive focus on city-wide development, I quote below a sixty eight year old newbie who is describing his ideas for the future of Wilton Manors and which reflect limits on exchange-value changes:

Not too much more dense building. For example, one recent issue that has generated major discussion, if not controversy in our community has been the proposal for the city to take control of Wilton Drive, State Road 811 from the State of Florida, and thus it would have to assume the cost for maintenance of the road and storm drains . . . a proposal that the City Commission is currently considering putting to a voters' referendum in the November 2010 election. Following that proposal is a proposition by a private organization called The Main Street organization which wants to narrow Wilton Drive to one lane each

way and put in diagonal parking to create more parking spaces for the businesses on Wilton Drive and I oppose both of those objectives and have publicly said so in a City Commission meeting and in a letter to the editor of the Pelican newspaper. The other concern that I have, I objected to one aspect to a new six acre time-share, with a hotel resort on six acres on the east side of Wilton Manors, called The G Resort, which is not too subtle a thing for Gay resort because there are many, many proposals for a hotel on Wilton Drive which I don't think we need, gay hotel actually. What I object to particularly on that project, is that it will have a four story parking garage and between Wilton Drive and Federal Highway there is no building structure, commercial or residential that's higher than two stories and I thought as a rising tower on the whole east side of Wilton Manors we should not have a parking garage. Now, the other proposal upcoming is something called a transit oriented corridor. There is a proposition in South Florida to use the FEC railroad tracks for passenger transportation. That is laudable, I support that effort because the train tracks generally go through the downtown areas of cities, the heart of cities, it bring you up if you wanna go to the Tri-Rail, you know, it's not close. And if you get off of Tri-Rail you gotta take a bus or taxi or something, private car to get where you want to go, okay. So, there are cities fighting to get a train station, passenger train station. And, uh, in the early 20s Wilton Manors did have at least a train stop. Uh, now to get that a city has to show, through its land-use plan, that it is willing to redevelop the area around these railroad tracks. And the FEC tracks, which is a very important part of Wilton Manors, topography, etcetera, a city commission has to approve a new land use plan for the area around it. Now, what Wilton Manors wants to do is to redo its' land use plan for a 114 acres on the east side of the city. That would be about one third, now, and a certain area of that would be rezoned. It would call for higher density development – mainly mixed-use development, mixing commercial and condos or lofts. Some of that area is in need of improvement but, I have qualms about that. About the degree, the extent to which they're going to, to, they're planning this revision of the land use plan . . . Redevelopment along Dixie Highway, which parallels the railroad tracks closely in Wilton Manors is fine and on the other side, although we have a long time public park there, Colahatchee Park, which is on the water. So I think it's too extreme. For example, under the land use revision a person would not be able to build a new single family home in that area. An area that covers 114 acres. So when you ask what physical developments, uh, I don't think I would like to see us make full use of the river that surrounds it, surrounds the city. I would only want limited redevelopment in the right places, and the right type of development in the right places. There is a goal for the city of Wilton Manors for it to be a destination point, meaning tourists, visitors, okay. I don't disagree with that but again it's the degree to which we are going to solicit tourists and visitors. I don't want things that will change Wilton Manors in a major way from the bedroom community that it is, with nice residential neighborhoods, okay. That people have fought very hard to bring up from what they were. Uh, and so I'm not in favor of very much more increasing the density here, there are legal limits to over population and over density, . . . So, I wouldn't want to change a lot. Update some of the businesses focus on one or two more commercial corridors but that's it.

The quote above shows this participants' degree of community participation and knowledge – he is also very clear about his position on making the city a destination for tourists and visitors. His primary emphasis is on the city's use value: that it remains primarily the bedroom community that it is with nice residential neighborhoods and not much more density. People like him who live in the city have high levels of engagement and collective agency which has resulted in the restructuring and transformation of a community that had deteriorated. Wilton Manors has a long history of civically engaged people who built the city's foundation and those who continue that tradition today. This legacy will be highlighted later on in the oral histories of selected pioneers. In particular, the quote is evidence of almost an environmental movement in Wilton Manors, where “. . . attempts at collective control over common place resources are a key dynamic of activism in American communities in the present day. . . as a basis for grass-roots organizing” (Logan and Molotch 1987:216). Also, it constitutes a particular worldview which reflects a vision articulated by Polanyi that “[n]ature would be reduced to its elements, neighborhoods and landscaped defiled, rivers polluted . . . the power to produce food and raw materials destroyed” (Logan and Molotch 1987:216).

The values of the participants can be inferred indirectly as in the case of a male newbie who stated: “I think Wilton Manors has really improved in a good way without compromising the best pieces of Wilton Manors.” In this quote he reveals what he means by “best pieces”:

Probably the single most important thing this community could do for the future right now development wise is to take back Wilton Drive from the State of Florida and redesign it into two lanes, with tree canopies and street lights, wide sidewalks, good visible parking and really create a downtown feel that's walkable. If the city would do that it would be the single, it would catapult Wilton Manors into just a different level and I'm not sure, I don't know if the

Commission is aware of how, what a giant step that would be if that happened. And the second development project would be the bridges, designing the bridges in such a way that they alert people that they're coming into this cute little city surrounded by water and that they're in a place that's different. So I think those two things, I think that as far as development for residential, I think there's enough, and I'm not sure the city needs anymore density. Certainly a hotel, some boutique, a hotel seems to be something that is needed, you know some commercial development, maybe a cultural arts venue like the, a small [*unintelligible*] box theatre and those kinds of things might be good coming into the city.

The quote reveals not only the desire to have local control over a road that was, at the time of the interview, under the control of the state. But like other participants who talked about the desirability of a walkable downtown, he also mentions the walkability issue. Also, the reference to the bridges grounds the image to a concrete and stable geographical element and additionally indirectly refers to the original Abreu entryway which alerted people they were entering Wilton Manors. The modern version has evolved and takes on a new meaning: "to alert people that they're coming into this cute little city surrounded by water and that they're in a place that's different." This quote suggests the variety of use values described by Logan and Molotch (1987) as "agglomeration benefits" where there are overlapping use values in a single area that helps to define a neighborhood; "A neighborhood is far more than a mere collection of houses; rather, it is a shared experience of an agglomeration of complementary benefits" (p. 108).

The following quote from a newbie contains several instances of the four concepts that have previously emerged in other interviews; it contains the most comprehensive and clear expression of the image for the future that the citizens of Wilton Manors have for their city. The worldview of the people of Wilton Manors can be deduced by piecing together characteristics that this participant considers desirable and that have emerged in other interviews: a city that is friendly, with an engaged citizenry, where social inclusion

is the norm. It also expresses the recurring pattern of agglomeration benefits where a large number of similar people "...stimulates the development of agglomerations especially appropriate to their needs. . . institutions become symbols of belonging and control, enhancing the feeling of turf security . . ." (Logan and Molotch 1987:108):

Number one, Wilton Drive. I think it is a very busy district, I think it's an unsafe street and I, there's a plan put forth by the Wilton Manors Main Street, a non-profit volunteer board, to reduce the lanes. And there's pros and cons, those who are for or against it; I happen to believe that it's a good idea . . . And the other business districts on Powerline Road and on 26th Street as well and Andrews, those are all corridors that need to be developed. And I believe a greater outreach and cross pollination within the city so that Stonewall is not a gay event, that Kids Day is not a straight event that it becomes more of a community event . . . on Wilton Drive from Five Points down to the Dairy Queen I think should be reduced to one lane. Because we're had fatalities, traffic just zooms through there and it's just not, I don't believe, a safe road . . . Powerline Road which is right out here is a very busy street, it's a thoroughfare, it's very fast but I believe there's things we can do to calm the traffic. Landscaping, lighting, aesthetic accommodations all those things encourage people to take a look and enjoy the view versus zipping through, cause all it is now is concrete, there's nothing to look at. Whereas if there's beautiful trees and maybe nice plantings people will say oh isn't it a beautiful drive to go through Powerline. And Andrews is a business district from Powerline 'till about 22nd there and a number of businesses that are along there and it's just a concrete jungle. It's just nothing. So beautification, more business friendly traffic, maybe some redesigning of the actual shopping plazas, maybe some solar energy capturing pieces over top of those big massive parking lots. Just something that demonstrates we're trying to say Andrews is a business district too. And Dixie Highway there's tons of antique stores down there, you know, let's call it Antique Alley, let's rename it, let's put some new signage down there so, just bring some new life to those districts so we become a destination. A destination for travelers, people everywhere that want to see what, what I call true America. This is what I've, that's why as I said before, I'm really not interested in Wilton Manor's becoming the gay city in America. That has no interest to me. What I want is to be is the fulfillment of the American Dream where everybody feels welcome. So no matter what you look like, 'cause there's gonna be somebody else that's gonna be in line that's gonna be different, they know wherever else I can be thrown out at least I can be home in Wilton Manors.

Here he is expressing the desire for a "full" neighborhood where "Local business and social life become intertwined in a single support system" (Logan and Molotch 1987:108). But departing from Logan and Molotch's "ethnicity" category where

everybody being a member of your ethnicity provides a use value as part of the benefits of neighborhood life, diversity becomes one of the use values of the neighborhood. He ends this section by saying: “I’m afraid that it may become a gay ghetto, that if we become West Hollywood, where we become an exclusively gay and lesbian city . . . that would be tragic”.

A common sentiment expressed by the participants was a belief that Wilton Manors is special and as stated by a middle guard woman, if the safety issues are addressed with “More lighting . . . and crossing, if they take care of that this town’s going to be fabulous”.

Separated from the contemporary residents by approximately 40 years, the pioneers seem an unlikely group to have anything in common with their younger counterparts. Upon closer examination, the selected pioneers who had done taped interviews in the 1970s revealed some of the fundamental characteristics, highlighted in the following section, which constituted part of Wilton Manors’ ideological foundation. This section also analyses the data using the relevant concepts for understanding Wilton Manors’ residents’ way of life.



Figure 39. Wilton Manors Library located at northeast 26th Street.
Photo by Emma Ergon 2011



Figure 40. Carl Hiaasen's old house, one of the original homes built in Wilton Manors for the partner in the firm of McCune, Casey, Hiaasen and Fleming which represented the Willingham Co. (McIver 1997). (See Figure 25.). Photo by Emma Ergon 2011



Figure 41. Wilton Station located on Wilton Drive at Five Points. A mixed-use community with luxury residences and on-site boutiques. Photo by Emma Ergon 2011



Figure 42. Wilton Manors Elementary. Photo by Emma Ergon 2011



Figure 43. Wilton Manors landmark, Barton & Miller Cleaners located at Five Points by the Railroad Tracks. Photo by Emma Ergon 2011



Figure 44. Richardson Historic Park and Nature Preserve. Photo by Emma Ergon 2011



Figure 45. Richardson Historic Park – Original Richardson House.
Photo by Emma Ergon 2011



Figure 46. Bridge adjacent to Colohatchee Park on N.E. 15th Ave. looking south.
Photo by Emma Ergon 2011



Figure 47. Colohatchee Park Boat Ramp looking east on the Middle River.
Photo by Emma Ergon 2011



Figure 48. Richardson Historic Park – Landmark of original E.J. Willingham house.
Photo by Emma Ergon 2011



Figure 49. Looking from east to west on Wilton Drive and N.E. 6th Ave.
Photo by Emma Ergon 2011



Figure 50. Looking from west to east on Wilton Drive and N.E. 6th Ave.
Photo by Emma Ergon 2011



Figure 51. Old City Hall and Police Department on 524 N.E. 24th Court. Source: http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/a/af/Wilton_Manors_City_Hall.jpeg



Figure 52. New Wilton Manors City Hall and Police Department opened in 2010 at 2020 Wilton Drive. Photo by Emma Ergon 2011

Findings Related to Worldview and Agency

Many definitions and philosophical perspectives exist when it comes to the concept of worldview. One cultural anthropological version declares that the two most prominent ideological orientations that drive worldview theory are cultural idealism and historical materialism (Naugle 2002). Both of these orientations debate the age-old social scientific question: do ideas in consciousness cause social conditions, or do social conditions cause ideas in consciousness? Based on these debates I concluded that cultural idealism fit my results the best: “Cultural idealism, believing that ideas are the preeminent reality, ‘assumes that material conditions are shaped by some immaterial force that operates essentially independent of matter and is responsible for material phenomena’ ” (Naugle 2002:241). Not only did these concepts help me to focus on real world phenomena that would help to explain Wilton Manors’ restructuring but it also served to locate my study within the social science literature. I found that using worldview as an explanatory variable made sense in the context of Wilton Manors. Residents’ awareness of a framework that served to make decisions in their everyday life was illustrated by one participant’s response to the question “do you agree or disagree with the statement live and let live”:

Absolutely, my father lived by that absolutely, yes . . . he, back when he was alive my dad was very kind . . . there was some gay people here and they used to use our services. I can remember people saying ‘hey, what are you . . . you know these gay guys’ and my dad used to say ‘live and let live’ . . . probably around the 70s and even into the 80s.

Another respondent stated: “I love the influx of Latinos etcetera, it makes it a more interesting society . . . it’s a matter of education...where you grew up...you have a certain outlook”. This participant’s response provides clues as to how the city is

interpreted. This type of socially inclusive orientation provides residents of Wilton Manors with a basis from which to interpret everyday life and guide behavior - many of the participants gave these same types of responses, leading to the conclusion that they share some distinct values regarding social life.

It has been previously argued that human behavior, as patterned and repetitive action, contributes to the emergence of certain social structures (Giddens 1979) which if applied suggest that the restructuring of Wilton Manors was mediated by the agency of the people who live there. In Lefebvre's terms:

The 'right to difference' is a formal designation for something that may be achieved through practical action, through effective struggle . . . The right to difference implies no entitlements that do not have to be bitterly fought for. This is a 'right' whose only justification lies in its content; it is thus diametrically opposed to the right of property, which is given validity by its logical and legal form as the basic code of relationship under the capitalist mode of production. ([1991] 2009:396-397)

Repeatedly, participants mentioned that the newbies' activism had resulted in associated growth and prosperity because of the new energy that they had brought into the running of the city and with the simultaneous accepting response of the old-guard. The city had benefitted by the inclusion and collaboration of both groups as they experienced positive outcomes, and stereotypes began to break down from their being neighbors and working side by side in community organizations and political committees. As one respondent put it, ". . . businesses, organizations, government, are run by newcomers. . . ." and as they worked for improvements to the city, their efforts were recognized by the old and middle-guard.

Volunteerism as part of the city's traditions and collaboration between the old guard, middle guard and the newbies I think is one of the unique cultural and historical

characteristics of Wilton Manors. To some extent it has created the environment and the social atmosphere where diversity and social differences are not simply tolerated but accepted as a given. When people work together in their community side by side with others who appear different “on the surface,” they get to know each other on a personal basis shattering religious, cultural, sexual, and other stereotypes where they can see that they can reach consensus on issues based on fundamental values and attitudes. It appeared to me coupled with an open mind and attitude, that volunteerism had served this purpose in the city. Some did suggest that the old guard and middle guard really had no choice since there were laws prohibiting discrimination particularly in housing and the workplace. Nevertheless, legalizing integration does not automatically eradicate racism and prejudice as structuration theory explains since one would still have to “behave” consistently in contexts where the laws apply as well as outside those contexts. Iris Marion Young also remind us of this when she writes, “Even when overt discriminatory practices are illegal and widely condemned, racialized structures are produced and reproduced in many everyday interactions in civil society and workplaces” (Appiah, Benhabib, Young, and Fraser 2004). Given this established research, I believe that the inclusion that emerged in Wilton Manors resulted from the structuration of attitudes of openness in everyday interactions already exhibited by some of the founding Wilton Manors pioneers.

Newbies, old guard, and middle guard shared portions of their vision for the cities development especially when it came to maintaining characteristics that they considered part of what makes a small town special: walkability, safety, slow traffic, friendliness. Business owners especially wanted an improved infrastructure, parking, lighting, and a

general renewal and cleaning up of Wilton Drive and its adjacent areas: “I think Wilton Manors has really improved in a good way without compromising the best pieces of Wilton Manors”. And again the idea emerged as it had when Wilton Manors was first incorporated into a village, that as long as the people have local control of the future development of the city based on their agreed upon interests and not upon outside exchange value forces they would continue to protect the city’s use value :

Probably the single most important thing this community could do for the future right now development wise is to take back Wilton Drive from the State of Florida and redesign it into two lanes, with tree canopies and street lights, wide sidewalks, good visible parking and really create a downtown feel that’s walkable. If the city would do that it would be the single, it would catapult Wilton Manors into just a different level and I’m not sure, I don’t know if the Commission is aware of how, what a giant step that would be if that happened. And the second development project would be the bridges, designing the bridges in such a way that they alert people that they’re coming into this cute little city surrounded by water and that they’re in a place that’s different .

Generally, I felt that responses regarding future projects and development was often qualified with the sentiment that development had to retain the small-town characteristics that participants seemed to value most: the close-knit nature of the community.

Overall, the most recurrent theme was that of community participation and all its permutations: volunteerism, activism, contribution, sense of individual responsibility, and agency. When I asked about belongingness and community participation, the old-guard gave similar accounts of how much they value community participation:

Yeah . . . I’m one of the older members of Kiwanis Club of Wilton Manors which really gives back everything that we make as projects to any youth projects or the city, historical society, etcetera, etcetera. It’s been a wonderful part of our life and growing up, I guess my best friends or some of my best friends are in the Kiwanis Club of Wilton Manors and it’s been a very good growing experience. I’m also the past president and the initial president of Wilton Manors business Association which is something we got started, probably about, it’s close to , close to twenty years ago just trying to build up the businesses here in Wilton Manors....the Kiwanis Club got started right about . . . right in the very early 50s . . . I guess we got close to 60 members now, it’s gone

up and down over the years , but it's always been a place, a gathering place when they have their steak fries or their barbecues or whatever as fundraisers, everybody from Wilton Manors, well not, most everybody from Wilton Manors came and it was always a gathering place, on a Saturday night for good times. The Wilton Manors business Association has been a key integral part of Wilton Manors, I think we're well over a hundred, closing in on two hundred members in that organization. We meet once a month and that's been a very good close-knit organization that has helped a lot of businesses here in Wilton Manors, get to know one another as business people and help each other out with business problems or whatever it may be.

In the quote above we can see how business interests are juxtaposed with use value interests and how the two are intertwined. For this reason it seems analytically important to examine each one of these concepts and their relationship to one another in order to better understand what is going on in the community.

Worldview as an Explanation for Agency and City Transformation

From the interviews with the old-guard in particular, I took away the sense that they definitely had nostalgic feelings about the way things had been in Wilton Manors when they were children. They primarily missed seeing large numbers of children running around the city and the associated ball games and child centered activities that they feel are now pretty much non-existent (U.S. Census Bureau statistics show that in 1980 approximately 15% of population were under 18 years of age; in 1990 it was 22%; in 2000 18%; and in 2010 approximately 10%). But as one person put it, as a child, he did not know what problems and issues his parents were dealing with in Wilton Manors that he was totally unaware of. Adult lives are very different, and his realization of this keeps him grounded in the present and what is going on now in Wilton Manors; no, like all of the others, he would never want to go back. The people, for the most part, associate the development taking place and the influx of the new gay population as simply a sign of the times. They consider it progress and feel that you can't turn back time; they do not

necessarily want to turn back time. What they do want is to preserve what they know they have, a city that values collective agency and that was founded on civic participation as a way of life. They have changed the policies that would have allowed some new mixed-use housing slated to become high-end condominiums to more affordable rental apartments. At least there is some cognizance that inclusivity is not only about ethnicity and sexual orientation; it also includes those with lower incomes than the large “dink” (double income, no kids) population enjoys.

The existence of community based on shared values is not a unique idea (Florida 2002; Suttles 1968). Increasingly urban scholars have found that common cultural and personal factors can be enough to delimit a certain space and construct a community’s identity based on their shared abstract characteristics (Abu-Lughod 1994; Florida 2002). According to Florida’s findings (2002), populations move to cities and communities where the community’s values and lifestyle options are in alignment with their own. These communities attract people who share a common ethos and, in turn, these communities are being shaped by the social characteristics of those who move there. We are now witnessing a large-scale resorting of people among cities and regions nationwide (Florida 2007). Florida’s (2007) findings indicate that communities that attract a large proportion of gays and gay entrepreneurs have a substantial increase in housing values across all region sizes. The literature reveals a wide body of studies that have shown that artist and gay populations act as urban pioneers and that their location choices can have substantial upward effects on housing prices (Castells 1983; Ley 1994; Smith 1996; Zukin 1995). Most of the respondents claimed that new businesses moved into

previously empty store-fronts and that housing values went up shortly following the opening of *Georgies's Alibi*, a primarily gay clientele oriented restaurant/bar/sports club.

Images that people hold of the city where they live and work are important because, according to Lynch (1960) the frequent rebuilding prevents the identification that builds up by historical process. Studying the social meaning of an area, its function, its history, or even its name affect the imageability of a city, and impact the decisions that play a role in its transformation. Any existing functioning urban area has structure and identity, and discovering the strong images that residents have draws out the structure and identity latent in the landscape. As Lynch (1960) and Basso (1996) have discovered, the landscape serves as a vast mnemonic system for the retention of group history and ideals. Linked to these conclusions reached by previous researchers, questions about what participants remembered about Wilton Manors' history and what they liked the most about living there yielded answers that gave me insight into how the landscape functions as this vast mnemonic system; about one fifth of the respondents mentioned The Bird Lady who lived in The Tower, and most used Five Points as a point of reference when describing various changes in the landscape. The single-most often repeated word to describe Wilton Manors was "home." The second most often used was "small-town."

Consistently, answers to questions focused on the people of Wilton Manors as deliberate agents of social transformation. From the old timers who went door to door collecting for muscular dystrophy in the 1940s to the organization of the monthly Artwalk in 2007, the dynamics between the conscious agency of residents, business owners, and the political and community elite, based on inherent and shared values,

transformed the city by making room for ethnically diverse people to reside and have businesses there as well as for gay entrepreneurs.

As it stands now, it is my feeling that Wilton Manors' city identity has changed while remaining the same in some aspects that are considered important by the residents. The residents are consciously trying to preserve the characteristics that have made their community survive: civic mindedness, neighborliness, a live-and-let-live attitude that reflects the underlying classic values of American Individualism. They also value progress and development and keeping up with the times. It seems that they do not mind being known as the third gayest city in the U.S. as long as they are also known as a friendly, urban village. Regardless, nobody interviewed wanted to leave there, and two of the people who moved to other places kept their homes in Wilton Manors so that they can be assured of being able to return whenever they want. It shows a reluctance to sever all ties.

At this point in time it seems to me that the city's identity is still in flux. With every new plan for development comes a shift in the configuration of forces and people who are either for it or opposed. Although overwhelmingly the people in Wilton Manors love living there, I heard people's underlying differences of opinions between various interests - primarily between gay oriented business interests and family oriented interests. These are not always necessarily gay versus straight, as they are often more about the bottom line business interests than actual gay interests. An underlying thread of discontent appeared among some of the people interviewed in expressions about Wilton Drive catering exclusively to the gay population. Some commented that even the gay population does not want some of the businesses that have opened on "the Drive" for

example, the porn shop next to the candy store. And more recently, there have been protests against developing a six-to-seven story gay resort/hotel at Five Points (update: the company decided to move the project out of Wilton Manors due to strong opposition from some residents). Ultimately, this is the part of Wilton Manors' uniqueness, the highly-engaged community that takes very seriously the impact of their participation on the city's development and identity. They agree that they share the same goals of wanting what is best for the city. The recurring question is best for whom?

Attitudes, feelings, and values. Florida's (2002) and Inglehart's (2000) research suggest that the social structure of a city reflects the values of its inhabitants, the existence of which functions to further attract others with similar values. In trying to ascertain the worldview of the residents and business people of Wilton Manors, I was surprised at the consistency and uniformity of their answers. Many times I heard the interviewees say that their lives had been made more interesting and more stimulating because they lived in a place that was diverse. I felt like they clearly enjoy the stimulation of being around people who do things differently than they do and consider these cultural differences part of everyday life. Some even looked at me with confusion when I asked them if they worked with people of different ethnicities, religion, or sexual orientations, one even saying to me that it would be impossible to work in South Florida without that type of diverse environment. I had to modify the question. One middle-guard person mentioned that she had grown up in a small rural town and that without the diversity she had now grown accustomed to, she would find life boring. She felt that differences bring new energy to a place:

We love it, we love the diversity. . . I think for me personally, I liked that it was a small town because I was born and raised in a very, very, very small town in Michigan and I was overwhelmed with the city - we lived in a quiet subdivision in Atlanta and I liked that . . . knowing people. . . Wilton Manors being a little island city was like I can handle that. . . to start with I guess that's what drew me. . . that small town feel and it really did back then; when we looked at this home every single neighbor around here was 70 and 80 years old. It was an old quiet neighborhood, it hadn't evolved and started turning over; we were like the first young couple that had moved in . . . we got to know all the neighbors which we really liked. As time has evolved they've passed away and now their sons and daughters live in their homes. A lot of the people stayed right where their family's homes were surprisingly enough, you know, it's not as transient as it was. Now it is, I mean there's homes been knocked down. . . because of the attraction of Wilton Drive -that wasn't a go -to -place 25 yrs. ago; it's arts and entertainment and restaurants. It was more industrial and not places to go and hang out; it was shopping, a lot of consignment and office stores and that kind of thing. And of course, you know, Wilton Manors is a notable town for gay and lesbian people. So I think that brought in a lot of different energy. They put a lot of time and energy and money into their homes their businesses. And the area it's really prospered; it's fantastic. We like the diversity. I was raised with no diversity in my culture at all, and my husband, while he was, it was, it was definitely not a Latin culture and definitely not a gay and lesbian culture in our time. So we welcome it, we enjoy it very much.

Unanimously, the participants agreed that people had a right to live wherever they wanted. Although there were several qualifications, however, those qualifications did not include excluding people of different ethnicity or sexual orientations. And they similarly responded in the same way to the question about whether or not they agreed with the statement "live and let live." One of the old-guard even went on to tell an anecdote about his father who was always telling people "live and let live". These are people who have witnessed the effects of the Cuban exile of the 1960s and who pretty regularly and, for a while now, have had people of different cultures be a part of their everyday lives. I think this is in part a function of being located in South Florida whose physical proximity to South America, Central America, and the Caribbean makes it pretty near impossible not to come into contact with others who are "different." Having already witnessed the positive effects of the new energy and creative impact on their community in the past

makes them more open to accepting differences as they present themselves. The fact that most of the middle-guard and newbies are transplants from other states or countries themselves may be a factor that impacts their consciousness.

It became very clear to me after the interviews that the community means something more to the people who live in Wilton Manors beyond its exchange value. The old-guard and newbies alike share a socio/emotional connection with their city that is more important to them than the market or exchange value of the property. Every single respondent believed that people have a right to live and work in the city as defined by Lefebvre ([1996] 2006) although a couple qualified that by making statements like “as long as they can afford it” and “as long as they do not cause harm or injury to anyone else.” The responses revealed that the respondents highly value and respect the differences of others as a fundamental principle:

The right to the city, complemented by the right to difference...should modify, concretize and make more practical the rights of the citizen as an urban dweller. . . It would affirm, on the one hand, the right of users to make known their ideas on the space and time of their activities in the urban area; it would also cover the right to the use of the centre, a privileged place, instead of being dispersed and stuck into ghettos (for workers, immigrants, the ‘marginal’ and even for the ‘privileged’). (Lefebvre [1996] 2006:34)

The majority of the participants reported an appreciation for access to the new Arts and Entertainment District in downtown Wilton Manors, the center of town; although some did express that they felt there was a lack of businesses for families and non-gays.

Most of the participants perceived the changes occurring in Wilton Manors as being so positive that they would not want to go back to the way it was, certainly not the way it was in the 1980s when the city and its buildings was deteriorating. Their feelings about Wilton Manors being “home” to them and their love of its small-town charm and urban

village characteristics made them feel that finding another place that gave them the intrinsic satisfaction that living there does would be difficult or impossible. They really enjoy walking in the streets and meeting others who greet them by their name. And they like knowing their elected officials and business owners by name, aspects of living in a small-town atmosphere that they would miss if they moved to a bigger city or a newer city. One of the most unexpected themes of the interviews was how many people talked about being proud of their police department being local; they were very much aware of who the police chief is and even talked about knowing police officers by name.

Clearly, the people of Wilton Manors are enamored of their “island city” status. Over and over they mentioned how Wilton Manors was an island between the north and south forks of the Middle River. One even said he wished they would knock down a couple of the 11 bridges that were built coming into town. They appreciate the aesthetic value and the green space that this unique geographic configuration affords them. They are also cognizant of the fact that it could very easily be destroyed by misguided development and have already taken some preservation action to assure that future citizens of Wilton Manors will have green space and natural spaces to enjoy. So there is definitely a feeling that permeates the environment: that although development has been good to Wilton Manors, there are things that they are not willing to sell. These are people who are proud of their history, who have strong local leaders who champion historical preservation and natural preservation, and who, for the most part, support these leaders in their efforts. In general and for those I interviewed, use values are more important than land speculation, and among the use values mentioned is the desire for community cohesiveness and one of its components, social inclusion.

Despite the fact that some participants expressed that having a local fire department, police department, recreation department, garbage department, as well as other local city services makes living there somewhat expensive, they feel that preserving the local character of city government and city services is what contributes to the city having its own identity and that makes it worth it. Almost all of the old-guard own businesses in Wilton Manors and as much as possible do business with their peers. One said, “they’re my friends,” and when the new businesses move in they see them as doing business in their city, so “you try to reciprocate as much as you can.” In my mind this sentiment clearly reflected participants’ prioritizing use value versus the primacy of exchange value.

On their website, the Wilton Manors “Main Street” organization states:

Our Main Street organization is a member based organization and as such, relies on donations, fundraisers, grants and membership dues to maintain operations and programs so that we can give back to the community... Wilton Manors Main Street is your community service organization and we are here to improve and promote Wilton Drive and the Arts and Entertainment district.
(www.wiltonmanorsmainstreet.org/)

Most of the participants felt the Main Street Organization has done a pretty good job with the transformation of Wilton Drive. The consensus was that the city’s mentality is to go forward with plans to improve transportation, including a passenger-train station, open a six or seven story hotel, and among other things, make it a more pedestrian-friendly city, that the owner of an art gallery says will make Wilton Manors “a destination”. And why would not the citizens of Wilton Manors embrace these changes? After all what is being replaced, in their opinion, are for the most part substandard living conditions. And to add to the up-side, one resident business owner remarked, most of the redevelopment is being done with “private dollars”. It appeared that the participants

agreed that the most visible and dramatic changes in the city have been on Wilton Drive although I heard from some interviewees that they wished more attention were paid to other areas of the city for example drainage in neighborhoods and improving streets and sidewalks. It's difficult to unravel in this context whether use value takes precedence over exchange value – many of the changes up to now have been intertwined.

For the most part the people those who were interviewed felt these changes were helping the city, helping people who had become accustomed to being exploited by profit-maximizing owners who took advantage of people used to living badly: one participant said “people used to living in a rut and if you don't know anything different you keep living in that same rut and you're taken advantage of”. The hope, it seems, is that as redevelopment continues people will see the core of the city rejuvenated and they will want to live there. They will want to move to Wilton Manors because “they can get rid of their cars” and because they will discover that “some of the neighborhoods . . . because of the river are gorgeous”. It was clear to me from all of the interviews that residents and business owners of Wilton Manors are very proud of their city and the community that it has become, albeit still with some degree of apprehension about what future developments might bring. The use of private dollars to make improvements and initiate projects is important to the participants but so is the appearance of “the Drive” and investment in projects that make the city pedestrian friendly, safe, and generally give it an environment that facilitates interaction -- what may be defined as small-town characteristics with an emphasis on use value.

One of the ways in which values of social exclusion are manifested is in the relative lack of an individual's or a group's access to resources compared with other members of

a community (Askonas and Stewart 2000; Fraser 2004; Gerometta, Häussermann, and Longo 2005). The concept is used to describe situations where least privileged or less powerful groups have been undermined in their ability to fully participate and access the social infrastructures (Paraskevopoulos, Korfiatis, and Pantis 2003). In examining housing practices, public office, and the overall racial composition of Wilton Manors I did not find that any group's access to the city's resources (compared with other groups) was in any way restricted.

All of those interviewed felt that they could go and express their feelings at city council meetings, even though they did not necessarily do so. And for those who did not go to meetings, they felt that they could express their sentiments to council members in other ways and at other venues where they had access to them. Most felt proud of the amount of activities and services that the city provided them. Many were in agreement with the goals that the city and the Main Street organization has for an "urban village" (www.wiltonmanors.com) and for the preservation of green spaces and beautification of the city; however, some felt that much of the restructuring that had gone on until now did not necessarily benefit all, and that some of the mixed- use development was solely for the benefit of developers and not necessarily residents or local business owners.

Some felt that it was getting "too gay" although some quickly qualify that by stating that some of their best friends were gay or that they loved their gay neighbors or that it was not a reflection on the gay people they knew and liked. What they seemed to mean is that there were few businesses on the Drive that were not targeting a gay clientele. The responses to interview questions did not show that social inclusion had been originally part of the contemporary city-wide development strategy. Some participants candidly

admitted that early on some tension between the new gay entrepreneurs and the old-timers existed. Nevertheless, once they came into contact with one another through volunteer activities, memberships on boards, attendance at meetings, and neighborhood friendliness did the tensions diminish, and they reached mutual acceptance. Do the residents of Wilton Manors enjoy living with diverse people as a value? Yes. Are a majority of households included in mainstream social and economic activities?

Apparently so; it appears from the responses that all activities and elected positions are open to all residents and resident business owners alike. The attitudes and responses of the participants affirmed a conception of city life developed by Iris Marion Young (2000); she argued:

As an alternative to the ideal of community, I propose an ideal of city life as a vision of social relations affirming group difference. As a normative ideal, city life instantiates social relations of difference without exclusion. Different groups dwell in the city alongside one another, of necessity interacting in city spaces. If city politics is to be democratic and not dominated by the point of view of one group, it must be a politics that takes account of and provides voice for the different groups that dwell together in the city.

(<http://readings.connect.theasitheas.org/files/2010/05/young01.pdf>)

Access to local elites, including publicly elected officials, is one measure of social inclusion (Askonas and Stewart 2000). If he does not catch them during the meeting, one participant assured me, he'll catch them at the Kiwanis Club. Every single person interviewed felt that they could talk to any of the elected officials or local leaders whenever they wanted about any concern they might have. And if that did not clearly reveal that inequalities in the access to power are relatively small then the fact that they were the second city in the United States to have a city council with a gay majority and the first city in the State of Florida to have an elected openly gay African-American on the city council will add evidence to the credibility of the high level of inclusivity in the

city. One straight male from the old-guard told me that there were over two hundred members in the business organization that he belongs to; in a 2.5-square-mile city you have to assume that there are some who are not Anglo and some who are gay. It seemed that this was a taken-for-granted part of his life as he did not even mention it.

When I interviewed one straight woman from the old-guard, she was very proud of the large number of different countries that were represented in the local elementary school; one of the newbies who had been an elected public official said there were 29 countries represented in the elementary school. The woman's biggest complaint was that she felt too many resources were going into developing Wilton Drive and not enough were going to programs and services that impacted the children. There is a fairly new public school building, however, and one of the best public libraries around with a very organized volunteer organization, Friends of the Library that does fundraising for them. But I did think that she had a valid point as all the talk about development is centered on downtown Wilton Manors with surrounding areas being somewhat overlooked, and although these are primarily residential neighborhoods and it's up to the owners to do the maintenance, some fundamental infrastructural issues require attention - drainage, road repair, and sidewalks. Nevertheless, again these issues were framed as issues that impact everyone and not just a particular interest group.

Comparing the image of the city that the residents' had with corresponding values and attitudes was a way to identify these as components of their worldview. This linkage of worldview and values and attitudes is supported by other scholarly findings that claim,

'Culture wars' theories . . . claim that . . . worldviews that are independent from and transcend myriad social groups determine moral value attitudes. Specifically, it is not a person's class, educational level, ecclesiastical

membership, or membership in any other social group that determines moral value attitudes. Rather, it is a person's worldview, independent of any one of these variables, that determines their moral value attitudes. (Evans 1997:372)

Admittedly, worldviews are difficult to measure because they are largely unconscious "taken for granted assumptions that are largely unspoken" (Evans 1997:378).

The overall values of wanting a community that is an urban village is clear; what urban village means to the residents and business owners is still being worked out.

Recently the following was posted on the city website:

The City is nearly 100% built-out and embraces the vision of a 'sustainable urban village.' As part of its growth management strategy and in anticipation of redevelopment, Wilton Manors completed a major rewrite of its Comprehensive Plan and Unified Land Development Regulations (ULDR's). The ULDR's include regulations that promote New Urbanism and Smart Growth principles. The area adjacent to Wilton Drive, the City's signature thoroughfare, is home to the Arts and Entertainment District. Within the District, mixed-use development provides for a pedestrian-oriented environment where residents and visitors can shop, dine, and experience the best of what Wilton Manors has to offer. (www.wiltonmanors.com)

Presently the city is still being led in the direction of maintaining its small-town feel, with friendly folks and safe and walkable streets. As revealed by some of the participants, development has been balanced by a consciousness that the environment matters and that preserving green space and Wilton Manors' history are two things that must be incorporated into future development. Whether or not outside capitalist forces are impinging on Wilton Manors and creating a divide between gay and straight interests is a question that is still unanswered. At present, use values appear to be the most important thing for the residents even while recognizing that exchange values are also important. These two forces are still pushing on Wilton Manors and creating a place that is mostly responsive to resident and business demands. Up until now, the gay interests and the straight interests have pretty much coincided because, as a couple of participants

said, it is a place where there are not many people at the extremes. If this changes, then the delicate balance that Wilton Manors' has been able to maintain for the last 15 years might tilt in one direction or another.

CHAPTER V

A SHARED WORLDVIEW: LINKAGES WITH PIONEER ORAL HISTORIES

After listening to the taped interviews of Alvar Hagen, Dorothea Mickel, Arlene and Charles Saxer, Vernon Burnell, Alice Sargent, Merle C. Slagle, and Grace Newton, I identified various themes running through their stories that overlapped with those of the contemporary interviews. Surprisingly, many of the pioneer stories about Wilton Manors' founding contained similar patterns of attitudes and values that the contemporary interviews revealed. Among the concepts that emerged were tolerance towards those who are "different" and a very high level of community participation and activism, as well as feelings for their city's preciousness. The high level of volunteerism is particularly striking in the oral histories. Basso states that ". . . in acts of speech, mundane and otherwise, Apaches fashion images and understandings of the land that are accepted as credible accounts of what it actually is, why it is significant, and how it impinges on the daily lives of men and women. In short, portions of a world view are constructed and made available" (1996:40). In a similar manner, the contemporary participants and the pioneer oral histories reveal attitudes, beliefs, and values that are components of a shared worldview in the stories they tell about their everyday lives in Wilton Manors. Stories about the geography and historical events serve the function of anchoring the system of rules and values "according to which Apaches expect each other to organize and regulate their lives" (Basso 1996:52). Below are short synopses of the pioneers' oral histories that give us clues as to their values, vision, and worldview.

Introduction to the Pioneers

Alvar "Al" Hagen. "Al" Hagen who showed up at his first party in Wilton Manors in shorts while everyone else was conservatively dressed, was part of a group of volunteers who built Wilton Manors with their labor and their resources. In 1941 he won some property in Wilton Manors in a golf game (he paid the original \$3,000 the owner paid for it rather than what it was worth - double the price) and "If it hadn't been for that golf game I would've never seen Wilton Manors". He divided the 8 or 9 acres into lots, some of which were on Wilton Drive, along the Richardson golf course and west, and he sold some of them. All the roads were dirt roads that ended on Dixie Highway, there was no US 1. Along with Clayton Leaver who was an architect and building contractor, they built two houses before both were drafted into World War II; Hagen went into the Army Air corps and Leaver went into the Navy Seabees. In 1943 Hagen bought about 40 acres of land on the east side of Wilton Drive.

After he returned from the war he began his real estate development, which highlights the exchange value of the city. The first thing he built was the Laundromat on Wilton Drive. He then built two buildings on the east side of Wilton Drive north of N.E. 20th Street and later built the Tropical Club and Williams Pharmacy. Eventually the Tropical Club became a restaurant in 1951. His wife interrupts on the tape and says:

Let me tell you about an interesting little sidelight. You know where the Tropical Club is and to the left of it that was packaged goods [*sic*], it was a restaurant then and then in the back there was a separate room that was called The Tropical Club and you had to join and that's where they had poker games and it was just a little club room in the back and that's where the Woman's Club started . . . The organizational meeting was held in the poker room. The Civic Association started in Al's office, the Woman's Club organized in the bar.

This was in 1948 and later on he donated the land for Hagen Park and the land for the Woman's Club and loaned them the money to build the building. At one point he wanted to buy the Richardson golf course as he describes: Actually...later what I

had hoped to do was to buy the golf course over there and have nine more holes over here...but they wouldn't sell it. I made what I thought was a pretty good offer for it and they admitted it was a good offer, but they just didn't want to sell.

His wife adds "She loved it, Mrs. Richardson loved owning a golf course, she would not sell it for any price. That was her life." Clearly revealed is the continuing thread of use value taking primacy over exchange value that runs through the interviews and that can be traced back to founding pioneers.

The Civic Club was originally organized in Hagen's office and later on they held their meetings there. Among other city positions and contributions, Al Hagen was the First President of the Village Council (1947-1952) and the First City Judge. Eventually the Village Council moved to the Village Meeting Hall on N.E. 26th Street (where the library is today); the Hall was built on land donated by Dave Turner and volunteer labor. Al Hagen left the Village Council in 1952 but he continued as a member of the Zoning Board and was still on it at the time of the interview in 1975. In the interview he talks about wanting to be independent from the city of Fort Lauderdale: "We decided we needed to organize and unless we formed a village, Fort Lauderdale would absorb us – we had no taxes. We survived on a tax we put on cigarettes." He donated the land where the recreation department and Hagen Park stand today, as well as the Woman's Club.



Figure 53. Woman's Club Landmark.
Photo by Emma Ergon 2011



Figure 54. Woman's Club designated a historic site. Photo by Emma Ergon 2011



Figure 55. Hagen Park and Recreation Department. Photo by Emma Ergon 2011

Dorothea Mickel. Dorothea Mickel, along with her husband Perry, is considered pioneers of Wilton Manors. She had been a nurse and her husband Perry had opened a restaurant in Indiana after returning from World War II. They had heard about Florida's improving real estate market and they came down to take a look. At the suggestion of Ned Willingham, they moved into one of his empty houses in Wilton Manors in 1928 and fixed it up. Ten years later they bought a cow pasture and she continued to work as a nurse in the school program, as he farmed and raised cows. They had 48 acres and donated the land for 9th Avenue and Mickel Field (see Figure 5), one of the parks and open spaces that the Leisure Department still oversees. In 1952 he started selling lots for building and development. He was also Wilton Manor's second mayor and was a municipal court judge at the same time. In her 1976 interview his wife recalled, "He would go out and get the kernel corn out west and bring a truckload and everybody would come with their bags and get corn and what was left he'd feed to the cows".

One of the interviewers interrupts with "He went into politics too . . . He was our second mayor". And she continues with "Well, I don't remember just exactly how he got started." Again, the interviewer repeats "He was second mayor." And she replies, "Yes, because we'd all work together you know, in our little community. It was a homey place. We'd have barbecues, things to raise money and we'd, we would, this was like one big family really". Here we see how notions of neighborhood and "hominess", again considered use values, can be used to understand the roots and evolution of the city.

Shortly after her husband passed away in 1968 Mrs. Mickels moved to a house they had built in Ashville, North Carolina to be closer to her daughter but continued her close connection to Wilton Manors. To this day this reluctance to sever ties with Wilton

Manors is repeated as two of the contemporary people I interviewed had also moved to other places but kept their homes in Wilton Manors.

Arlene and Charles Saxer. Arlene and Charles Saxer moved to Wilton Manors in 1950, from the New York/ New Jersey area; he had been in World War I. After a particularly bad winter in New York he decided to retire as Controller of the U.S. Steel Corporation and moved to Florida. Wilton Manors was a Village of 450 people and there was nothing on the other side of “five points” (where Dixie Highway intersects with Wilton Drive and 26th St.). As he tells it, after a couple of months of retirement they began to get involved in everything. He was President of the zoning board, Director of Wilton Manors Civil Defense. On February 15, 1952 Charlie, along with other volunteers, started the first fire department of which he became the first President. She was the Secretary of the Civic Association, started the first library behind Manor Market, and was President of the Woman’s club, along with volunteering for fundraising events. Both were active in the Shriners; he in the Masons and she in the Eastern Star and in the Ladies Oriental Shrine. Charlie states: “You know, all these things we did back in town, we never got a dime pay. Even when I was on the council we never got paid. None of these things you did you got paid. All volunteer. We had a good time.” Arlene continues, “There was lots of closeness, no matter where you went you saw people. If you wanted to meet anybody you went out and stood in front of Manor Market . . . It was a very friendly town, because you knew everybody”. We can see by this statement that from the beginning the people who lived in Wilton Manors valued “friendliness” and relationships. During the interview one of the interviewers can be heard saying in the background, “They have more fun than any two people I know. Arlene told me when we talked before

that she never thought she would be honored for doing something that they thoroughly enjoyed doing.” Arlene reiterates “We’ve had so much fun! Oh, it was so much fun!” Charlie continues, “I hadn’t worked since I’d been down here and we had nothing to do so we were glad to do things, keep occupied and do something, you know. And help anybody, do this, do that, we had a lot of fun”. Arlene adds, “That’s the proper attitude - to help your fellow man . . . we have done more emergency work with sickness and carting people to hospitals and doctors. When there’s been funerals [*sic*] we go sit.”

Vernon “Vern” Burnell. “Vern” Burnell and his wife Laura arrived in Wilton Manors in 1945 from Michigan and Illinois, a couple of years before it became incorporated as a village. In 1946 his was the only trailer in *Trailer Haven* on Wilton Drive and 24th Ave. They lived there until 1953 and moved again into a house in 1965 when uncertainty about the impact of a possible bridge being put in on 16th Ave., “at the north branch of the Little River” sent some homeowners scrambling to sell their properties:

When later on . . . 1965 . . . there was talk and there was a lot of effort to put a bridge in on 16th Avenue and the north bridge of Little River and so it was quite a commotion then. A lot of the people around the neighborhood they were afraid that it would ruin their property and so on, and so taking advantage of that I found one that wanted to sell out so I bought this place that I’m living in now (1975) and instead of the property value going down it went the other way. So it proved out my contention at that time that there’s nothing that improvements for the whole actually helps the individual is the saying [*sic*]. So I’ve never known any case, any improvement like that hurts property.

Connections made by the pioneers between the welfare of the individual and the welfare of the community are revealed here; values that were also reflected in the contemporary interviews and that may be interpreted as part of the city’s use value, as well as a common worldview that is shared between founders and contemporary residents.

Mr. Burnell belonged to the Civic Association before Wilton Manors was a village, and along with other volunteers who helped to build it, as an electrician he did the wiring for the first Town Hall. On land donated by Dave Turner, he along with other volunteers built the old city council hall that became the library when they moved out to a new building on Wilton Drive in 1957 as the city council. He was President of the City Council and simultaneously the Police Commissioner, on the building committee, an Elder in the church, and a Mason; he was President of the official board of the Wilton Manors Christian Church, President of the Christian Men's Fellowship of the Christian Church and although he was a Methodist he thought he should support Covenant the church in Wilton Manors which was Presbyterian. He says about the building of the church, "Well, it's funny, that church was built with donations from other churches. The Jews, Catholics, Negroes, they had contributions from everybody when they started that Church." Here we see the same strands towards tolerance, given the period of time, that runs through all the interviews and that evolved to create the foundations of diversity in Wilton Manors.

At that point one of the interviewers asks "Do you remember Archie that used to work for the city?" Someone responds "who?"; "Archie, the colored man" Vernon answers, "Archie was a resident of Wilton Manors before there was a Wilton Manors". Laura says, "I believe he had a house or a shack down at the end of our street on a modest property down there. And he worked for the city", Vernon responds, "We were integrated before we became a city".

When reminiscing with the WMHS interviewer about the past, his wife asked "Does anybody have a picture of those towers?" when Vernon mentioned the gate to the city.

The interviewer continues, “The [*unintelligible*] towers and then they made an apartment out of one of them. And the bird lady went in there [*unintelligible*]. Do you remember what year they were built?” Vernon responds, “Oh that was in 1926 . . . that’s part of the Willingham, when they made this a subdivision”. Laura says, “I don’t know why they ever tore those down”, and the second interviewer responds “That would’ve been history”. The main interviewer reacts with “I’ve talked to several people that said they tried to stop the destruction of those, they went to the police department and everything but it was because it wasn’t an organized group that they couldn’t do anything about it”.

Vernon interjects:

Well, they, we had a group, listen we had a group here in town the so called civic association, they tried to operate like the Broward County tax payers’ league . . . they’re people who do pay heavy taxes . . . so they had three or four people who were making all the fuss doing all the talking, coming over to city hall like sticking needles into us all the time, see, so they finally . . . so these guys they’d see how the votes were going . . .

This is one time when market value and the political economy in the shape of future votes, trumped use value in Wilton Manors. The towers held special meaning for many of the residents back during the time of the interviews, meaning that is still evident today when people talk about Wilton Manors. Much of the participants’ individual histories and historical memory are associated with those towers.



Figure 56. The Abreu entryway circa 1926. Source: Wilton Manors Historical Society

Alice Sargent. Alice Sargent arrived in Florida in 1947 and moved into the Middle River trailer park on Christmas day 1947 with her husband and two sons. Shortly after moving in, she became Director of a Teen Center in Wilton Manors; she says “All of us took turns helping do things there”. In 1948 she joined the Woman’s Club of Fort Lauderdale and says she was about the only woman without a Master’s degree, “. . . all were very well educated”. That’s when she and her husband decided they wanted to stay in Wilton Manors and in 1949 started looking for lots to build a house.

She organized a book exchange club where she would read books exchanged with friends in Iowa and would make recommendations to the library. The city back then had about 500 people and she set up the first PTA in the city. In Iowa where she had come from, there was a Parents and Teachers Association in the community; realizing that Wilton Manors did not have one, she started to organize it and her involvement led to her getting a job at the newspaper in Broward (she does not specify which one):

I wrote columns for the newspaper during the war on our boys in service . . . for the Sioux City Journal . . . I was doing publicity for the PTA and four other organizations at the same time. And they said, ‘who is that down there that’s writing this publicity?’ so they got my name and number and called me, called me one day and asked me if I’d like to write for their paper.

From the beginning of Wilton Manors, women have taken on equal partnerships with the men in building the city and the community. Issues of inclusivity appear to be practically non-existent in these interviews, particularly as it related to the participation of women in citywide activities. Additionally, many of the women held jobs outside the home. Perhaps this tolerance of women working along with the men was a shift that had occurred during the war when the absence of men who had left for the military forced

women into what were previously considered male roles. In any case, the national trend continued at the local level.

Although they had moved to the Fort Lauderdale Trailer Park after four months of living in Wilton Manors to be closer to both their jobs, she explains “. . . we used to do most of our trading up at the Manor Market in Wilton Manors” and in May of 1949 she started looking for lots in Wilton Manors; they bought a corner lot on Northeast 21st Drive, one of the first sold. Along with her husband she constructed the inside of their house. In 1951 she joined the Wilton Manors Woman’s Club and by 1958 had been Vice President and was President; by 1962 she was the Secretary of the Broward County Woman’s Club and eventually became Director of District 13, a group of 25 women’s clubs from Broward County. In 1964 she served two years as District Director, was appointed Community Improvement Chairman for the Florida Federation of Women’s Clubs and from 1966-1970 served in that capacity. In 1972 she received the appointment of Status of Women Chairman for the Florida Federation of Women’s Clubs until she resigned in 1973 over differences in the interpretation of policy.

Simultaneously, she worked with others in Wilton Manors to organize the Friends of the Library in 1970 and was elected the first Secretary. As she recounts “I later took over as Program Chairman and I carried that on for two years. The third year I was President. We’d get out and do things for the community”. That same year she was Vice President and President elect of the Broward County Library Association and became President in 1974; in 1975 she took back the reigns as President of the Friends of the Library of Wilton Manors and at the time of the interview in 1975, when she was 74 years old she was Vice President of the Broward County Friends of the Library. As part of her

community related work, she organized Meet the Candidates in 1971, 1972, 1973, organized the first arts and crafts show held in the Kiwanis Hall in 1972, and was very involved in the county library system, attending their conventions. She joined the League of Women Voters in 1965. She was instrumental in organizing a bicentennial program for Wilton Manors, initiating a history program that included oral and written histories and that she hoped to one day publish.

Merle Slagle. Merle Slagle was one of the pioneers interviewed who had come to Florida from Nebraska in 1919; at the time of his interview in 1975 he was 91 years old. His interview was almost inaudible and incomprehensible and perhaps with the development of technology, at a future time, someone may be able to minimize the static and raise the volume of his voice so that he can be heard. It was interesting to note however, that he was a college graduate and had been a High School science teacher. After going into the chicken business in Wilton Manors, he eventually went to work at the downtown Fort Lauderdale Post Office from where he retired after 21 years. He is included here to illustrate the relatively high level of education that many founding pioneers had, and the suggestion that this may have been a factor in the high level of tolerance towards others that they exhibited.

Grace Newton. The most interesting story of all the pioneer stories, I thought was Grace Newton's. In the 1970s Grace Newton's home was called "The Turning Point," where she lived with her husband and five children. She had come to Broward County in 1946 from Tennessee (she was born in Oxford, Mississippi) with two years of college and for twelve years managed a beauty salon along with her many other community

activities and positions in Girl Scouts. Around 1948-49 she was asked to start a Girl Scout group in Wilton Manors:

A few little girls around in the community came and, asking if I would start a Girl Scout group for them in this area . . . I was some kind of a correspondent for the downtown newspaper in Fort Lauderdale . . . it was a Wilton Manors column, yes from our society and city news you know, and I would take it to Fort Lauderdale. And so we put a little notice in the paper inviting everyone interested to a mother-daughter tea. And we had it in the building where the library is now. Because we had all of our club meetings and everything there. And I thought oh I hope we have enough, eight girls to make a troop and I was fearing that we wouldn't have any. When they arrived there were enough girls for a Brownie troop and a Junior troop and we started from that. With the help of the Woman's Club and everybody in the community . . . Just anybody that would come along was my first co-leader.

From then on, she recounts her lifelong participation in Girl Scouts and community activism, and as one of the original members to sign the incorporation charter:

You talk about demonstrations, we had them . . . When we wanted a school, we grew out here [*sic*] when we were incorporated, and the first time I went to court in my life . . . when we were incorporated as a village...Mr. Hagen and all the people that we knew belonged to the Civic Association asked us if we would go to court and say that we wanted our area too. And here I am shaking because and, I'd never been in court, I didn't know what to say to them. The attorneys just, they speak very sharply and abrupt, and that's just not my style. So finally we got it over with and 50 people incorporated the Village of Wilton Manors...somewhere between '47 and '48. . . and then we grew to need a school and so help me Margaret Turner came over and she was a Brownie leader and Girl Scouts and she had her sister's children living with them and we thought there we needed a school so we put on our uniforms proudly, marched straight up to the school board and sat there 'til they gave us a school building. . . [The interviewer asks: I mean how long really?] . . . well just two or three hours . . .

At one point during the taping the interviewer brings up when Mrs. Newton received the Broward County Hall of Honor, voted on by the County Commissioners at the time. She speculates that the Girl Scouts must have had something to do with that and goes on:

That's just my way of life. Girl scouting is really my way of life because those laws and promises are just really engraved upon my heart . . . I went to Edith Macy training school for Girl Scouts. This is a special honor because I was fortunate enough to be sent there when there was an international encampment for leaders from 30 nations around the world. My specialized training was to become a trainer of leaders and it was a little tough but I made it. And then they

changed the word supervision to consultant and that was my other training that I got at Edith Macy training school . . . it's in Pleasantville 40 miles north of New York City . . . I was sent by the Girl Scout organization to have special training . . . we were there for 26 days . . . Well it was the most wonderful experience. There were people there, women from 30 nations and we didn't know what was happening on the outside world. We were encamped in a big forest and we learned dance, we learned the most beautiful thing I ever learned in my life and I wish the whole world would do this. We learned to share our differences instead of comparing them. And this is what I think the whole world should do because there were people from Egypt and Korea and from Japan and from all kinds of places and from Belgium . . . and everybody had something to share with everybody and something beautiful to give.

And then she goes on to explain why she thought she was meant to go there:

And that's what I came back and taught the girls. Well, that I think is the reason I was sent up there because we'd had some little experiences, people of different races were excluded from groups. But we took anybody red, white, or blue we didn't care what color they were or what race or anything because in our troop we were all Girl Scouts.

The interview continues when the interviewer asks her about having the first Seminole Indian Girl Scout in her troop:

When I first met Dorothy she was a very small, shy little child. I went with a group of women from the Woman's Club to visit the Seminole Village. And when I got out there I discovered that the Baptist mission was there. And we took toys from the club to the little Seminoles and this one little shy girl was so sweet and I gave her a doll and I remembered her so and I got acquainted with the missionaries too while we were there. And every now and then my husband and I would decide we'd like to go back and visit the little girl . . . her father was a Baptist preacher . . . I invited her to come and be a Girl Scout . . . Dorothy is a college graduate and a very wise and sweet person now.

She continues to recount her experience with Dorothy's father and the Seminoles:

Dorothy's father started a book about his life. . . he asked me to help him with it but he died before we could get very much done . . .and I thought I'd go out and visit Dorothy and ask her if she had someone like you to help her would she finish writing her father's book. Because I've been reading this thing in here about Indians, the different kinds in the southern part of Florida and I think we ought to hear their side, their story instead of our story telling about them. And this was Sam's story he told me many beautiful things.

She taught Sunday school out in Big Cypress and says "We did a lot of things that were unusual. We camped out in Big Cypress with the Seminoles and were written up in the

Miami Herald.” Of all the oral histories, Mrs. Newton’s is the most poignant and the one that most clearly indicates the roots of social inclusion in Wilton Manors. Her great compassion for others and her keen intellect were combined to leave an impressive legacy in Wilton Manors. Her interview clearly indicates a worldview made up of tolerance towards others and a love for the role of individual agency in community action and development. Her story is remarkable and definitely fits the model of Middle American individualism that Gans (1988) defines as “...a mixture of cultural and moral values for dealing with everyday life and of goals for guiding self-development and familial improvement” (p. x).

Along with Frank and Sue Haney (who had a local radio show) she started the original Baptist church in Wilton Manors in 1965 out of her house; Dr. Hansen, the preacher did the first baptism in their pool she recounts. As people began to attend their services they needed a larger space so they rented the Tower to have their mission there until they were able to buy property for the church; at the time of the interview in 1975 there were about 600 members.

Also, with the Mickels and others, she and her husband volunteered to build the civic association where the library eventually was located. “Catholics helped build the Baptist Church...nobody cared what you were...we were just that kind of little country community”. She described how the community got together to raise funds by doing barbecues and fish fries; Newt barbecued the chickens and the ladies would cook; “All was done by volunteers . . . nobody had money”.

At one point she visited the National Cathedral in Washington and moved by their Children’s Chapel she established a similar one at the Baptist church when she returned.

Eventually this evolved into a project for handicapped and mildly retarded children. She took several of these children into her home to raise, and adopted one of the little girls.

In 1965 she was contacted about working with “retarded” children; she was sent to North Carolina for training and then went to Stetson for three years to learn about their medical and psychological needs. She says she started with a class for handicapped girls “we always spoke positive”, she says. And then she adds “If you get crippled here (signaling to her head) your body will follow.” All along her husband “Newt” would work with her and would pick up little children from the hospital and take them to the children’s chapel that she had started. Eventually she was licensed to have the first of its kind – a residential setting for retarded, high functioning children under 12 years old; it was licensed for six. The residence was named *The Turning Point*, and was run out of Grace’s home.

One of the common threads that runs throughout the pioneer interviews as well as the contemporary ones, are the similar attitudes towards inclusiveness and agency. Inherent ideas about individual responsibility in supporting and constructing community are part of the citizens’ orientation that continues until the present. The idea that external structures do not control the individual but that it is the individual who has the ultimate power in constructing the city is inherent in their worldview. Furthermore, suggesting that worldview is the explanatory variable that is the motivating force behind individual action, addresses Ortner’s (1994) call that any project that includes agency needs to address the motivating forces behind agency.

At this point in time I would say that Wilton Manors is in the middle of Tönnies’s ideal types of societies, *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft*; it is both rural in its small-town

feel and emphasis on personal, face-to- face social interaction and it is urban in its cognizance of the impersonal structural and global forces that impinge on the local economy. I would say that it is a mixed city if there is not such a term. I would call it “Gemischtstadt.” It is teetering on a fulcrum balancing gay interests with straight interests, family interests with capitalist interests, and use value with exchange value interests. It still is struggling with its “new” identity and has yet to stabilize. If one side or the other ends up having its will imposed on the city, then the harmonious diversity that still is very much a part of Wilton Manors may shift the delicate balance. There is somewhere a threshold which, if crossed, could potentially be the catalyst for an exodus of a large segment of the population. At that point the current primacy of the city’s use value for residents and business owners could do a 180 degree turn where a marginalized section of the population will feel that Wilton Manors no longer represents them, their interests, or their values. Use value could succumb to market value as people decide to find elsewhere the qualities and the lifestyle that they have up to now enjoyed in Wilton Manors, and search for the highest bidder on their real estate before they move out. It would be unfortunate, as one newbie put it, if Wilton Manors turned into an exclusively “gay ghetto.” Some feel that it would also be unfortunate if the city turned into an exclusively straight neighborhood or dominated by the interests of any one particular group, kind- of- neighborhood.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Guided primarily by theories from the Chicago School of Human Ecology, Henri Lefebvre, Anthony Giddens, and Logan and Molotch, this study focused on the following questions: 1) was exchange value or use value the primary force that shaped the social, political, and economic restructuring that occurred in Wilton Manors in the mid to late 1990s; 2) how was use value created and sustained in the city; 3) does worldview help to explain decisions that people make about the cities where they live; and 4) is agency, one of the components of structuration (i.e. individual action), the prime mechanism via which worldview is translated into social structural change?

The study examined the values held by selected families who are descendents of early settlers of Wilton Manors as well as contemporary residents and business owners in order to determine whether exchange value or use value was the main factor in the city's restructuring. Since we know that Wilton Manors started out as an exclusive community for whites only, I wanted to examine how community use value was created, sustained, and transformed into other use values for the residents since the city's history shows that since the 1940s it became more inclusive. In an attempt to explain this inclusion I examined residents' worldview in terms of their social values and attitudes towards others of difference to find out if this could be a factor that explained the city's transformation. After listening to the interviews, it became increasingly clear to me that the key to the city's attitude of social inclusion was rooted in the citizens' value of and history of community engagement. That mechanism I concluded, is their shared worldview. Worldview may have various definitions but when I heard the oral histories

of the Pioneers of Wilton Manors it became clear that they share a worldview with the contemporary participants. What I thought the contemporary residents and the pioneers shared was an ideology of community participation and activism – or individual agency. Women and men alike were partners in doing whatever was required to push ahead the small community of original settlers. With a worldview that included a spirit of volunteerism and attitudes of social inclusion, it is my opinion based on the results of the study that the Wilton Manors’ pioneers set the ideological foundation upon which the city was built. Although it is clear in their stories that political-economic forces were at play, their values of social inclusion turned the little town away from the social and racial norms of the time and towards a more inclusive path. Along with the meaning that the city holds for them based on strong emotional significance and the city’s high imageability, the use value overrode the competing market value considerations resulting in a transformation that constructed a new city identity as gay friendly while maintaining their desired characteristics normally associated with small towns or villages.

Summary of Main Findings and Earlier Studies

In Wilton Manors the integration of gay entrepreneurs and residents into the city was a result of the belief of people living there that everyone has a right to the city, including those who are socially “different” or marginalized by the larger society in some way. As a recurring belief that was held by all of those interviewed, it may help to explain why social inclusion, at least as a value, played a dominant role in the restructuring.

In this study I explored how behavior rooted in certain inclusive values and attitudes resulted in the transformation of Wilton Manors from an all white exclusive enclave to one of greater diversity in general and inclusive of gay entrepreneurs and residents in

particular. The 2010 census data suggests that the city is an ethnically and racially diverse city, where approximately 25% of the population is either Black or Hispanic, where the median income for individuals (males = \$44,357 and females = \$39,111) suggests it is more middle class than working class, where between 8% and 13% of the population has been estimated to live in a same-sex partner household, and where the population is relatively well educated. Social inclusion in the city expands on more traditional definitions of inclusion beyond just race and class but incorporates the inclusion of generally marginalized populations like the elderly, those stigmatized due to HIV/AIDS, and abandoned and /or abused children, populations all of which have a place in Wilton Manors. The fact that they call themselves a diverse city on the city's website, also says something about whom they are and who they are striving to become.

Exchange value and use value in Wilton Manors. The first question guiding this study, whether or not exchange value or use value were prime forces in the social, political, and economic restructuring that occurred in Wilton Manors in the 1990s, along with the others, was posed against data gathered through semi-structured interviews of the contemporary residents and pre-recorded interviews of Wilton Manors' pioneers that were taped in the 1970s. My research found that emotional factors contribute to the creation and sustainability of a city's use value. In one of the Pioneer interviews, Al Hagen for example, talks about when he offered the Richardsons a good deal for their golf course and Mrs. Richardson refused because "she loved owning a golf course". This window into the everyday reveals, as Lefebvre's ([1991] 2009) argued, that analysis of the production of space must take into account the everyday. Additionally, this is an example of how emotional meaning of property and structures affect use value versus

exchange value. These findings add to what we know about why people move to or stay in certain places in addition to explanations that are based on entirely political-economic frameworks.

Locals have a strong sense of neighborhood based on their experiences in the city and on its high imageability which hinges primarily on the river, the Towers, and five points. There are several other physical structures that have or have had strong visibility and for which residents developed a strong sentiment: the manor market, the A&W restaurant, Williams' City pharmacy, among others. Clear boundaries provided by the river have also served to make it a city that is grasped with little effort which I think makes it easier to perceive as a place versus an untethered geographic space.

The study's findings also show how residents of Wilton Manors produced new sociospatial relationships as described by Lefebvre ([1991] 2009) and how the meanings that they attach to structures in the city are analogous to Apache places of memory described by Basso (1996) which create and sustain use value. The main street, Wilton Drive became a space where events and instances of sociospatial theatre celebrated the new, diverse, and gay identity in ways that support Giddens's (1979) structuration theory. Agency and structure became intertwined in a feedback system of production and reproduction of new relationships and a new city landscape.

In my opinion, an increase in property values (or exchange value) is not the main thing that the people of Wilton Manors care about. Representing the majority of the opinions of those interviewed is the following comment made by one old-guard member: "I would rather live with people that feel basically the same way that I do regardless of what the property value does". And without exception they prefer to live in a place that

is “pleasant” and “safe”. Since the renovation started in the late 1990s, some people say that the city “is starting to get some of the old identity back”. The old-guard sees the new people who have moved in and set up businesses as having “become your neighbor, you get to know each other, that small town community is coming back”, and there is recognizable pride when, as one old-guard states:

They even recognize it if you go to Oakland Park, they know that the people in Wilton Manors know each other. Especially in Fort Lauderdale. . . they know, in fact there’s people down there that call us ‘The Wilton Manors Gang’ and they’ll come into Wilton Manors to do business here because they like the way they get treated here.

The fact that the newbies improved real estate values and bought in new development projects that improved the aesthetic value of the community was an added bonus. Most of the participants would not trade higher property values if it meant living side by side with people who did not share their values or attitudes or, as one participant said, “creepy people”. All the sentiments expressed by the participants about the city laid the foundation for an expanded analysis of inclusion beyond a pure analytic focus on social and economic class as the primary axis for analysis – although class issues intersect with the main factors in this analysis (that is values, norms, and attitudes as components of worldview) and therefore class needs to be addressed - it is not a main concept used in the explanation for the changes observed in Wilton Manors.

While mixed-use developments and the Arts and Entertainment District continue to grow, residents and business people hold on to what previously seemed a pre-modern, pre-urban, *Gemeinschaft*-type characteristics that in Wilton Manors have become a post-modern, urban village permutation. Wilton Manors represents a modern type of society

where social bonds are based on close personal ties of friendship and kinship, where neighborliness is valued, and where an old-guard businessman states:

Everybody knows everybody, you don't want to disappoint. . . you know everybody and you want to make sure that if they call and recommend your service you're not just somebody out of the clear blue sky, you have to interact with them, within the city. That's a good thing.

Over and over again participants talked about the people and the cohesiveness of the community, about "old-fashioned" American values of neighborliness, friendliness, respect, and American individualism with a dash of good business sense. Wilton Manors is a place where generations of residents believe people have a right to live wherever they choose and whose main business principle is "live and let live." It also does not hurt any, as one respondent said, that Wilton Manors is such a small city. The people in power are your neighbors, your business clients, your church members, and that when you have an issue, "you keep yelling and screaming until they hear you" with the confidence that they eventually will. Since "it's such a small city they can't get away from you and a couple of them are in my Kiwanis Club and you get them in a corner...and let them know what you think". As anyone who does not know better will find out, the people of Wilton Manors are not shy about expressing their concerns or sense of limits. In the Lefebvrian sense:

The right to the city manifests itself as a superior form of rights: right to freedom, to individualization in socialization, to habitat and to inhabit. The right to the oeuvre, to participation and appropriation (clearly distinct from the right to property), are implied in the right to the city. (2006:173-174)

Additionally, the transformation of social relations that Lefebvre ([1991] 2009) writes about reflects the transformation of sociospatial relations and the production of a new,

liberatory space that I found in Wilton Manors. The liberatory space Lefebvre depicts echoes the middle-American individualism that Gans (1988) speaks of and defines as a:

. . . mixture of cultural and moral values for dealing with everyday life. . . the pursuit of personal freedom and of personal control over the social and natural environment. It is also an ideology – a set of beliefs values, and goals – and probably the most widely shared ideology in the U.S. . . . implicit, almost taken-for-granted ideology of the ordinary person. (Pp. x, 1)

What I found is also different from the places where capitalist interests have primacy and like was described by Gans' study as having “. . . little . . . in common with the individualism of corporate and entrepreneurial capitalists” (1988:ix), and shares with previous studies that notions of equality and fairness are the basis for diversity :

Fairness appears to have become a more significant ideal over the last half century, probably because it is particularly relevant to and necessary for a diverse society. Fairness has many meanings, but in some respects it has turned into a simile for equality. Most of the time, equality means equality of opportunity or treatment. (1988:37)

Although capitalism and the capitalist impulse to invest and maximize profit played a role in some of the activities and development that occurred in Wilton Manors, for the most part, participants repeated over and over again that they would not trade their “home” and move from Wilton Manors “even if the price was right”.

Almost all the people I spoke with had no qualms about going up to the mayor or vice mayor or council member and expressing their concerns. Most felt they did not need alternative local leaders to go to since they felt they had access to their community leaders and elected officials not only at council meetings but also in more informal settings. This gives the residents and business owners a sense of individual power and agency to impact the community. My impression based on the interviews is that Wilton Manors is a place where the focus is on relationships. Even their notion of diversity is

not based so much on actual numbers of different groups of people who live there but on how well integrated into the community those of different religions, ethnicity, and sexual orientation who live there are. This is a very subtle distinction to make, I thought, as one old-guard said, “I don’t think that there’s a lot of minorities represented in Wilton Manors but the ones that are here are very integrated” and for me really gets at the core of the issue of diversity. Numbers of minorities are not as important an issue as is how attitudes and feelings about them are translated into how they are treated every day.

Use value and social inclusion. I do not know when it began or how it has been maintained, but even the architect who built the famous Towers in the 1920s, Francis Luis Abreu, was the son of a Cuban sugar plantation owner (Thuma 2005). Despite the original marketing strategy to advertise Wilton Manors as an “all white” development, the people who eventually moved in seemed to have moved on with the times. If anything, the people of Wilton Manors are socially progressive. One 90-year-old resident proudly claimed that she has two gay friends and a Jewish friend and a half Puerto Rican half Asian best friend. These findings may support the idea that if Lefebvre’s “Right to Difference” is embedded in the local culture, it may serve as a force that holds back the urban growth machine, as defined by Logan and Molotch (1987) and its ability to control what happens in the area based strictly on property market values.

In interviewing some of the local elites I found their attitudes reflected widespread acceptance of gays; either they were gay and held leadership positions or were straight people in leadership positions who accepted working side by side with members of the gay community. Almost all of the old timers had held leadership positions in one city organization or another. And their attitudes and interests revolved around the best

interests and welfare of all of the residents, regardless of ethnicity or sexual orientation. I found that they valued diversity in their neighborhood, that diversity made life “more interesting”. And the coalitions that formed generally appeared as a mix of old and new. The biggest complaints I heard were about “politicians” doing whatever promoted their political careers rather than doing what benefitted “the business” people or the residents; no distinction was made between gays and straights in this regard. The growth elite thesis gives an image of the city as being in constant conflict as powerful groups scheme to make money from property and the residents push against these in their striving for affection, community, and physical survival as found by Logan and Molotch (1987). I found very few deviations from the list of “development” projects that the participants recited. Almost uniformly they mentioned “parking,” “making Wilton Drive pedestrian friendly,” “adding street lights,” “improving parking,” and “shrinking the Drive from a four lane to a two lane street” as the development projects that should get priority. There were no differences in the answers that gays gave versus straights revealing to me that they share a vision for the city, and supporting my conclusion that worldview as a common framework can help to explain city development and restructuring, although sometimes conflicts did emerge regarding development projects, as evidenced by the activism sparked against the construction of the G-Resort, but they seemed to be conflicts between groups – maybe not so powerful – scheming to make money and those who wanted to keep Wilton Manors an urban village for “users” (meaning those who live there).

In support of previous research done on cities by Florida and Mellander (2007), and Gates (2004) other types of incentives for investors and higher income residents exist for

relocating to communities that are trying to attract development capital. Among these incentives are cities that have diverse, creative, “authentic” environments that attract creative “types” (Florida 2002). When I asked participants what they liked about Wilton Manors most, they answered most often with “its diversity,” “its small town feel,” “its friendliness,” “its amenities.” One respondent stated that although the city had grown and developed the people’s attitudes and personalities had not changed.

The responses to interview questions confirmed that residents and business owners alike share worldviews as reflected in common values. Over and over again respondents revealed answers that reflected their high regard for a small-town atmosphere with friendly people who know each other and help each other out, who care about their community and are willing to participate to make it a more beautiful, safe, and prosperous place, and where diversity is valued as a positive element that makes a place more interesting and stimulating. I think that the emphasis participants gave on citywide projects that promote safety and walkability certainly reflects the value they place on interaction and community. These concepts that emerged in the interviews, when linked together reveal a shared worldview that in the past served to guide the city’s founders and now continue to serve the citizens in their efforts to improve their quality of life defined at the local level, and supports previous research done that finds that each place has its own individual mix of use values that have emerged through historic developments of their physical structures, ethnic and class relations, connection to outside institutions (Logan and Molotch 1987), and particular mix of personal characteristics of the population (Florida 2002). Interestingly the images of city structures that the participants had were consistent across age, gender, religion, length of time living in the city, sexual

orientation, and ethnicity; during the interviews the same images of the city kept reemerging.

I also found that social inclusion was a use value in the pioneer accounts. The story of the black couple who lived in Wilton Manors and the husband, Archie who was one of the first city workers for instance, is a measure of social inclusion considering the context of the times. Likewise, Vernon Burnell and Grace Newton both talk about the church being built by Catholics, Jews, and Blacks, and Grace Newton talks about how she accepted “red, white, and blue” girls in her Girl Scout troops; the first Seminole Indian Girl Scout in Florida was in her troop. Her ideological foundation of “sharing differences rather than comparing differences” clearly comes across in her interview as serving as a guide for her everyday life.

These shared concepts appear to exist in Wilton Manors as reflected in participant answers about the images that they hold of Wilton Manors and how they imagined their surroundings revealed not only their perceptions of the city but also what values they hold. As Lynch (1960) writes “. . . the image is not solely the result of external characteristics but is a product of the observer as well” (p. 158).

Since the beginning, Wilton Drive has been a symbolic street, considered the main street in Wilton Manors; the Abreu entryway, first houses, businesses, golf course, church, and trailer park were built on the Drive. The first carnivals and parades were along the Drive also; to this day whoever is in control of the Drive seems in control of the city. The Stonewall Parade takes place on the drive and symbolically, the new City Hall was built and inaugurated on the Drive in 2010 (see Figure 44). All the variety of events that occur on this street represent the grassroots response of citizens of all types working

in coalitions, citizen action group, neighborhood organizations, and social movements regardless of class echoing Castells' (1983) conclusion that class is not always the prime factor in coalitions that are formed and influence city development.

My research found that with innovative ideas, buildings emulating the new urban mixed-use design, and reputation as the third gayest city in the United States, Wilton Manors reflects a Middle American Individualism like Gans describes which “. . . is first and foremost a mixture of cultural and moral values for dealing with everyday life and of goals for guiding self-development . . . it also includes political values . . .” (1988:x). But unlike Gans' conception, the Middle American Individualism of Wilton Manors is characterized by involvement with organizations, not exclusively in informal social groups (microsocial in Gans' terms) but also in community level agencies and organizations, particularly political ones. They do not avoid political participation and unlike Gans' characterization, they do exercise considerable power over their politicians. Particularly the newbies, but also many of the old and middle guard, do not lack the resources to exert their power. And although they are a highly diverse collection of people they are very capable of coalition building and organizing around common interests. One major difference with Gans' definition is that they absolutely do not doubt that they can change society when they want to. As agency and structure go back and forth in a unique feedback and dialectic dynamic, the city's shape and identity are carved out - all the while remembering why it is that everyone seems to want to stay there: it's a “homey” place with “friendly” people. And despite the perception that there are not many children in Wilton Manors, the census data shows that although this is true to some

extent the percent difference of children under 18 years of age between 1980 and 2010 is not that large (approximately 5%) – although it is larger for the intervening years.

How did this city acquire this homey and friendly characterization as part of its use value? The data gathered seems to support Tuan's contention that "The lasting affection for home is at least partly a result of . . . intimate and nurturing experiences..."

(1977:138). My findings support Tuan's elaboration on St. Augustine's notion that the source of the value of place is the intimacy of "the human bond" (p. 140) together with the idea that a city's "[l]andscape is personal and tribal history made visible" (1977:158).

I also found that emotional attachment to Wilton Manors was a common emotion among the participants. Associations and memories were triggered by specific buildings or constructions mentioned - the Towers and the railroad tracks, the A&W and the drugstore -confirmed Tuan's definition of place as "specific-ties to a particular cluster of buildings at one location" (1977:150). As some researchers have found, I expected the image of the city to vary significantly between different observers (Lynch 1960).

Surprisingly, there was a great deal of consistency among the three groups regarding the images they held of the city. As Lynch suggests this should be of interest to city planners "who aspire to model an environment that will be used by many people" (1977:7). For those who are more interested in use value and the quality of life in the city than exchange value, it is noteworthy to highlight what Lynch writes: "[e]xploitation is more easily accomplished where there is no sentiment about the land" (1977:138).

Among the lessons learned from this study are findings consistent with previous research specifically that "[e]very mode of social organization produces an environment that is a consequence of the social relations it possesses . . . producing a space according

to its own nature. . .” (Gottdiener 1993:132). Actions that residents and business owners alike have taken in Wilton Manors and the consequences for the city’s transformation reverberate with the Lefebvrian concept of “production of space” and Giddens’ “duality of structure” as being inexorably intertwined. The notion, that “space is both a medium of social relations and a material product that can affect social relations . . . [is] a dialectical idea [that] is a major tenet of the ‘new urban sociology’” (Gottdiener 1993:132).

Worldview, Use Value, and Agency

I believe the results of this study found enough evidence to support the conclusion that cities are reflections of residents’ worldviews, as illustrated in the case of Wilton Manors. In particular, the conclusion that where residents share a common framework from which they act, cities are less vulnerable to outside, exploitative, market forces becoming the prime factors structuring the city. Many examples of Wilton Manors’ pioneers donating land to the city and building early city buildings with their labor were recounted in the pioneer tapes. This underlying culture of community and individual activism supports Giddens’ Structuration Theory (1984) that ties individual agency as a key component in the construction of social reality. The strong emotional ties that the participants have to the city also support Ortner’s (1994) conclusion that any theory that includes agency has to address the forces that motivate individual action. Strong feelings associated with the city and the emergence of a common worldview that contains values of social inclusion and community civic participation may be construed as motivating forces. As I review the interviews keeping in mind limitations and implications, several things emerge that should be explicitly stated: 1) it appears that the old timers and some

new guard have constructed a discourse that makes them and the city look good. Very few of them discussed issues and problems that have arisen in the city and most reiterated in their interviews only the positive aspects of living in Wilton Manors - one old timer and several of the newbies however, did bring up issues of contention and problems in the city that contributes to a more authentic and nuanced analyses; 2) once again, I should reiterate that the social context of the time, the pre-civil right era of a legally racially divided society is important and should be taken into account when evaluating the interpretations presented - in particular in the analyses of the Pioneers 'oral histories - although individual people may have been less racist and prejudiced, their stating so does not make it necessarily so, but I feel that their wanting to be perceived as not racist or prejudiced does say something about their attitudes and values; and 3) the small sample size and the case-study method employed constrains and limits the generalizations that can be made.

What can be done is to raise some questions based on the data gathered. Is there evidence of potential class exclusion as another form of prejudice? What can be said about class exclusion in Wilton Manors? It appears that both the high end occupations and low end on the occupational scale have remained constant in relationship to one another since the 1980s, although there is a larger proportion of the population concentrated in the managerial and professional category than in the operators, fabricators, and laborers category suggesting that the population tends to be more middle and upper middle class than working or lower class – but this appears to have been the case since the 1980s. At this point I want to reiterate that the definition of inclusion I have applied refers to a wider group of marginalized people than African Americans,

Haitians, or Hispanic – the eldest of my interviewees talked about her Jewish friend and her Puerto Rican friend back in the 40s and 50s. It was probably the case that Blacks were segregated in the city and most likely due to housing segregation laws in effect at the time but there were other “acts of inclusion” if you will, that provide evidence of an openness to differences. Evidence that the contemporary residents’ were willing to accept gay entrepreneurs going back at least to the 1980s exists. Grace Newton represents the most clear example of the Pioneers’ inclusivity with the recruitment of a Seminole girl into her Girl Scout troop – her attitude perhaps stemming from personal experience as someone who may have experienced feelings of being treated as different due to physical challenges attributed to having been born club-footed as she recounts in her oral history and then having had sleeping sickness where she slept for an entire year when she was six years old - sensitizing her to those who are treated differently by the mainstream society as she spoke about her experiences at a convention where everyone “shared their differences”. Her portrait clearly emerges as a leader of considerable character and moral authority in the city.

Finally, this study’s findings are based on the notion, as stated by Lynch, that “[t]he given cannot be known in itself. What can be known is a reality that is a construct of experience, a creation of feeling and thought” (1960:9).

Policy Implications

The policy implication of knowing how use value is created and sustained can help us to create cities that are more livable. Knowing that people’s worldview may be a factor in the explanation of the construction of a city’s use value has the potential to guide us in designing cities that are a response to human needs rather the outcome of land

speculation. External reflections that are congruent with people's internal structures, including psycho-social safety, and democratic access to local government and city resources will help us to create cities that are more livable, sustainable, and less alienating. Additionally, a city's stability and continuity are even more important in times of social and economic upheaval (Lynch 1960) when the need for identity and structure becomes particularly relevant. City dwellers need a mental map where they can fit reality and get clues as to the relatedness of things for their own orientation and ability to navigate their everyday lives. As the world continues to globalize, it is necessary to recognize that each culture provides its citizens with its own mental schemas, mental maps that serve for orientation and that include symbols of intimacy, history, and aesthetics among others that are widely recognized by its people. The meaning that people give to local structures like that of the river, the corner drugstore, Main Street, and even the Towers is an important factor in the construction and reconstruction of cities around the world (Tuan 1977). If there were a need to promote certain sentiments about a city or a neighborhood, what experiences and conditions would promote them? In terms of social inclusion of marginalized peoples, for example, how would policy serve the function of integration in a city at the level of the everyday? In the case of Wilton Manors it seems that "[t]he importance of landmarks in particular those with features of high visibility and public significance, such as monuments, shrines, a hallowed battlefield or cemetery are visible signs that serve to enhance a people's sense of identity; they encourage awareness of and loyalty to place" (Lynch 1960).

Planners should take into account in their designs of cities the perceptions and images of the people who live there. In Wilton Manors there is no lack of celebrations of public

occasions where the people are drawn to the streets like the annual Stonewall parade that goes down the main street and constant community-wide fundraisers and special celebrations that all take place within the city core. These public festivities and celebrations help the city to become historic and many of them are part of ongoing traditions. These events help the city build a store of facts from which, as Lynch states, “successive generations of citizens can draw to sustain and recreate their image of place” (1960:173).

Based on my findings, I would suggest that civic and local leaders focus on making exchange value decisions that do not sacrifice the use value that neighborhoods and the city have for its residents. Additionally, decisions made should take into account both “gay” interests and “straight” interests so that Wilton Manors does not become an entirely “gay ghetto” nor lose the progress it has made in promoting diversity and everyone’s “rights to the city”.

Directions for Future Research

Future studies should continue to use case studies and community and city studies that can provide insights that global perspectives and analyses will not produce as Lynch states. Answers to questions like “how long does it take to form attachments to place” or “how do the images of the neighborhood or city affect people’s everyday lives” give us an understanding of locally variable conditions that global analysis cannot. Nevertheless, in a shrinking world global understanding is becoming increasingly important and studies of cities, even of neighborhoods, can be building blocks to the understanding of larger processes that global analysis entails. At this point in time, the relationship between the global and the local city environments cannot be ignored.

At the urban city scale, the importance of considering the city as a thing in itself is complemented by the idea of the city as perceived by its inhabitants as many scholars have suggested (Basso 1996; Florida 2002; Inglehart 1977b; Logan and Molotch 1987; Lynch 1960; Tuan 1977; among others). A focus on the inhabitants of the city is particularly useful for professionals and architects who create human habitats. Understanding the images and their interrelations that different groups have of a city can add information to our knowledge base that facilitate the construction and reconstruction of environments that will satisfy deeply rooted human needs. Future research would contribute much to the understanding of cities if they develop longitudinal studies to further understand the processes involved in city construction over time. As other researchers have speculated (Brindley 2003) residential developments based on the urban village model may have a limited success if they have primarily a 'lifestyle choice' appeal. Some of these will be successful but others may be less successful if they lose sight of local market conditions which could lead to the surplus availability of high density, mixed developments in particular localities making them difficult to sell.

Furthermore, future research on local cultural understandings may provide clues as to how people understand external reality, as Basso argues, analysis that needs to be done at the local level. Studying how different groups imagine their surroundings also gives us clues as to how they identify themselves and how they go about constructing their built environment. I also think that at the global level of analysis there is a greater danger of distorting the reality to preserve cognitive maps because there is a greater probability that focusing on large processes will make it easy to turn our attention away from the specifics of contexts and people. At the city, community, and neighborhood levels I

suspect that that possibility will be less likely. Also, understanding one city can add information that will help us to understand other cities by linking them together in a world network of cities with a focus on understanding the people who live in them and their everyday lives. Additionally, despite critiques of Florida's creative class construct, and based on my observations of Wilton Manors, I agree with the thesis proposed by him and other scholars of urban and regional research that the socio-cultural qualities of place are a significant factor in urban regions' capacity to attract people and enhance their economic prospects.

Future research could also provide empirical studies on the effects of redevelopment schemes. It would be helpful for the construction of cities to have empirical evidence on how redevelopment impacts the "place memories" that people have in cities and furthermore, how these affect women and other minorities in particular who have considerably less space to inhabit.

Other possible contributions to the study of cities would be studies of the cultural meaning of urban spaces and the meaning that they have for the people who live within them. These might be done with various purposes in mind including the study of the antecedent cultural values and their contributions to the construction of the cityscape. Studies that revolve around ideas of memory and representation may contribute to the development of new forms of urban and community studies that take up questions of culture and politics in the same framework and look at how city histories become constitutive of action and shape the planning of cities the way others have suggested (Walton 2001).

Finally, future research would contribute much to the understanding of urban cities by continuing with studies of the cultural sphere using theoretical paradigms of grounded theory and extended case study as building blocks towards the development and modification of theories about the cities in which humans live their everyday lives.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1 – Profile of General Demographic Characteristics: 2000
Profile of General Population and Housing Characteristics: 2010

Table DP-1. Profile of General Demographic Characteristics: 2000

Geographic area: Wilton Manors city, Florida

[For information on confidentiality protection, nonsampling error, and definitions, see text]

Subject	Number	Percent	Subject	Number	Percent
Total population	12,697	100.0	HISPANIC OR LATINO AND RACE		
SEX AND AGE			Total population	12,697	100.0
Male.....	7,021	55.3	Hispanic or Latino (of any race).....	1,228	9.7
Female.....	5,676	44.7	Mexican.....	204	1.6
Under 5 years.....	621	4.9	Puerto Rican.....	226	1.8
5 to 9 years.....	569	4.5	Cuban.....	201	1.6
10 to 14 years.....	567	4.5	Other Hispanic or Latino.....	597	4.7
15 to 19 years.....	555	4.4	Not Hispanic or Latino.....	11,469	90.3
20 to 24 years.....	588	4.6	White alone.....	9,159	72.1
25 to 34 years.....	1,887	14.9			
35 to 44 years.....	2,737	21.6	RELATIONSHIP		
45 to 54 years.....	2,097	16.5	Total population	12,697	100.0
55 to 59 years.....	621	4.9	In households.....	12,082	95.2
60 to 64 years.....	458	3.6	Householder.....	5,876	46.3
65 to 74 years.....	827	6.5	Spouse.....	1,670	13.2
75 to 84 years.....	696	5.5	Child.....	2,434	19.2
85 years and over.....	474	3.7	Own child under 18 years.....	1,827	14.4
Median age (years).....	40.5	(X)	Other relatives.....	602	4.7
18 years and over.....	10,591	83.4	Under 18 years.....	157	1.2
Male.....	5,950	46.9	Nonrelatives.....	1,500	11.8
Female.....	4,641	36.6	Unmarried partner.....	625	4.9
21 years and over.....	10,281	81.0	In group quarters.....	615	4.8
62 years and over.....	2,268	17.9	Institutionalized population.....	264	2.1
65 years and over.....	1,997	15.7	Noninstitutionalized population.....	351	2.8
Male.....	758	6.0			
Female.....	1,229	9.7	HOUSEHOLD BY TYPE		
RACE			Total households	5,876	100.0
One race.....	12,198	96.1	Family households (families).....	2,467	42.0
White.....	10,058	79.2	With own children under 18 years.....	1,065	18.1
Black or African American.....	1,674	13.2	Married-couple family.....	1,670	28.4
American Indian and Alaska Native.....	31	0.2	With own children under 18 years.....	671	11.4
Asian.....	204	1.6	Female householder, no husband present.....	530	9.0
Asian Indian.....	98	0.8	With own children under 18 years.....	285	4.9
Chinese.....	40	0.3	Nonfamily households.....	3,409	58.0
Filipino.....	18	0.1	Householder living alone.....	2,393	40.7
Japanese.....	9	0.1	Householder 65 years and over.....	572	9.7
Korean.....	6	-	Households with individuals under 18 years.....	1,177	20.0
Vietnamese.....	1	-	Households with individuals 65 years and over.....	1,215	20.7
Other Asian ¹	32	0.3	Average household size.....	2.06	(X)
Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander.....	7	0.1	Average family size.....	2.91	(X)
Native Hawaiian.....	2	-	HOUSING OCCUPANCY		
Guamanian or Chamorro.....	3	-	Total housing units	6,321	100.0
Samoan.....	2	-	Occupied housing units.....	5,876	93.0
Other Pacific Islander ²	-	-	Vacant housing units.....	445	7.0
Some other race.....	224	1.8	For seasonal, recreational, or occasional use.....	156	2.5
Two or more races.....	499	3.9	Homeowner vacancy rate (percent).....	1.4	(X)
Race alone or in combination with one or more other races: ³			Rental vacancy rate (percent).....	6.1	(X)
White.....	10,266	80.9	HOUSING TENURE		
Black or African American.....	1,989	15.7	Occupied housing units	5,876	100.0
American Indian and Alaska Native.....	64	0.5	Owner-occupied housing units.....	3,380	57.5
Asian.....	268	2.1	Renter-occupied housing units.....	2,496	42.5
Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander.....	22	0.2	Average household size of owner-occupied units.....	2.07	(X)
Some other race.....	606	4.8	Average household size of renter-occupied units.....	2.04	(X)

- Represents zero or rounds to zero. (X) Not applicable.
¹ Other Asian alone, or two or more Asian categories.
² Other Pacific Islander alone, or two or more Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander categories.
³ In combination with one or more of the other races listed. The six numbers may add to more than the total population and the six percentages may add to more than 100 percent because individuals may report more than one race.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Census 2000.



DP-1

Profile of General Population and Housing Characteristics: 2010

2010 Demographic Profile Data

NOTE: For more information on confidentiality protection, nonsampling error, and definitions, see <http://www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/profiletd.pdf>.

GEO: Wilton Manors city, Florida

Subject	Number	Percent
SEX AND AGE		
Total population	11,632	100.0
Under 5 years	338	2.9
5 to 9 years	284	2.4
10 to 14 years	328	2.8
15 to 19 years	340	2.9
20 to 24 years	467	4.0
25 to 29 years	707	6.1
30 to 34 years	740	6.4
35 to 39 years	903	7.8
40 to 44 years	1,145	9.8
45 to 49 years	1,459	12.5
50 to 54 years	1,275	11.0
55 to 59 years	1,005	8.6
60 to 64 years	881	7.6
65 to 69 years	514	4.4
70 to 74 years	330	2.8
75 to 79 years	311	2.7
80 to 84 years	257	2.2
85 years and over	348	3.0
Median age (years)	46.8	(X)
16 years and over	10,619	91.3
18 years and over	10,473	90.0
21 years and over	10,257	88.2
62 years and over	2,256	19.4
65 years and over	1,760	15.1
Male population		
Under 5 years	182	1.6
5 to 9 years	150	1.3
10 to 14 years	154	1.3
15 to 19 years	190	1.6
20 to 24 years	230	2.0
25 to 29 years	409	3.5
30 to 34 years	472	4.1
35 to 39 years	648	5.6
40 to 44 years	861	7.4
45 to 49 years	1,091	9.4
50 to 54 years	897	7.7
55 to 59 years	644	5.5
60 to 64 years	554	4.8
65 to 69 years	322	2.8
70 to 74 years	203	1.7
75 to 79 years	156	1.3
80 to 84 years	96	0.8
85 years and over	84	0.7

Subject	Number	Percent
Median age (years)	46.6	(X)
16 years and over	6,825	58.7
18 years and over	6,740	57.9
21 years and over	6,620	56.9
62 years and over	1,182	10.2
65 years and over	861	7.4
Female population	4,289	36.9
Under 5 years	156	1.3
5 to 9 years	134	1.2
10 to 14 years	174	1.5
15 to 19 years	150	1.3
20 to 24 years	237	2.0
25 to 29 years	298	2.6
30 to 34 years	268	2.3
35 to 39 years	255	2.2
40 to 44 years	284	2.4
45 to 49 years	368	3.2
50 to 54 years	378	3.2
55 to 59 years	361	3.1
60 to 64 years	327	2.8
65 to 69 years	192	1.7
70 to 74 years	127	1.1
75 to 79 years	155	1.3
80 to 84 years	161	1.4
85 years and over	264	2.3
Median age (years)	47.6	(X)
16 years and over	3,794	32.6
18 years and over	3,733	32.1
21 years and over	3,637	31.3
62 years and over	1,074	9.2
65 years and over	899	7.7
RACE		
Total population	11,632	100.0
One Race	11,414	98.1
White	9,396	80.8
Black or African American	1,440	12.4
American Indian and Alaska Native	30	0.3
Asian	252	2.2
Asian Indian	81	0.7
Chinese	31	0.3
Filipino	40	0.3
Japanese	14	0.1
Korean	10	0.1
Vietnamese	16	0.1
Other Asian [1]	60	0.5
Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander	3	0.0
Native Hawaiian	0	0.0
Guamanian or Chamorro	3	0.0
Samoan	0	0.0
Other Pacific Islander [2]	0	0.0
Some Other Race	293	2.5
Two or More Races	218	1.9
White; American Indian and Alaska Native [3]	15	0.1
White; Asian [3]	47	0.4
White; Black or African American [3]	56	0.5
White; Some Other Race [3]	30	0.3
Race alone or in combination with one or more other races: [4]		
White	9,561	82.2
Black or African American	1,552	13.3
American Indian and Alaska Native	58	0.5

Subject	Number	Percent
Asian	339	2.9
Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander	12	0.1
Some Other Race	347	3.0
HISPANIC OR LATINO		
Total population	11,632	100.0
Hispanic or Latino (of any race)	1,498	12.9
Mexican	224	1.9
Puerto Rican	336	2.9
Cuban	263	2.3
Other Hispanic or Latino [5]	675	5.8
Not Hispanic or Latino	10,134	87.1
HISPANIC OR LATINO AND RACE		
Total population	11,632	100.0
Hispanic or Latino	1,498	12.9
White alone	1,113	9.6
Black or African American alone	41	0.4
American Indian and Alaska Native alone	11	0.1
Asian alone	5	0.0
Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander alone	1	0.0
Some Other Race alone	265	2.3
Two or More Races	62	0.5
Not Hispanic or Latino	10,134	87.1
White alone	8,283	71.2
Black or African American alone	1,399	12.0
American Indian and Alaska Native alone	19	0.2
Asian alone	247	2.1
Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander alone	2	0.0
Some Other Race alone	28	0.2
Two or More Races	156	1.3
RELATIONSHIP		
Total population	11,632	100.0
In households	11,341	97.5
Householder	6,235	53.6
Spouse [6]	1,110	9.5
Child	1,529	13.1
Own child under 18 years	991	8.5
Other relatives	544	4.7
Under 18 years	132	1.1
65 years and over	104	0.9
Nonrelatives	1,923	16.5
Under 18 years	22	0.2
65 years and over	108	0.9
Unmarried partner	1,029	8.8
In group quarters	291	2.5
Institutionalized population	275	2.4
Male	107	0.9
Female	168	1.4
Noninstitutionalized population	16	0.1
Male	14	0.1
Female	2	0.0
HOUSEHOLDS BY TYPE		
Total households	6,235	100.0
Family households (families) [7]	1,744	28.0
With own children under 18 years	605	9.7
Husband-wife family	1,110	17.8
With own children under 18 years	354	5.7
Male householder, no wife present	228	3.7
With own children under 18 years	60	1.0
Female householder, no husband present	406	6.5
With own children under 18 years	191	3.1

Subject	Number	Percent
Nonfamily households [7]	4,491	72.0
Householder living alone	2,980	47.8
Male	2,004	32.1
65 years and over	307	4.9
Female	976	15.7
65 years and over	369	5.9
Households with individuals under 18 years	687	11.0
Households with individuals 65 years and over	1,314	21.1
Average household size	1.82	(X)
Average family size [7]	2.83	(X)
HOUSING OCCUPANCY		
Total housing units	7,162	100.0
Occupied housing units	6,235	87.1
Vacant housing units	927	12.9
For rent	296	4.1
Rented, not occupied	14	0.2
For sale only	196	2.7
Sold, not occupied	30	0.4
For seasonal, recreational, or occasional use	218	3.0
All other vacants	173	2.4
Homeowner vacancy rate (percent) [8]	5.5	(X)
Rental vacancy rate (percent) [9]	9.2	(X)
HOUSING TENURE		
Occupied housing units	6,235	100.0
Owner-occupied housing units	3,331	53.4
Population in owner-occupied housing units	6,096	(X)
Average household size of owner-occupied units	1.83	(X)
Renter-occupied housing units	2,904	46.6
Population in renter-occupied housing units	5,245	(X)
Average household size of renter-occupied units	1.81	(X)

X Not applicable.

[1] Other Asian alone, or two or more Asian categories.

[2] Other Pacific Islander alone, or two or more Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander categories.

[3] One of the four most commonly reported multiple-race combinations nationwide in Census 2000.

[4] In combination with one or more of the other races listed. The six numbers may add to more than the total population, and the six percentages may add to more than 100 percent because individuals may report more than one race.

[5] This category is composed of people whose origins are from the Dominican Republic, Spain, and Spanish-speaking Central or South American countries. It also includes general origin responses such as "Latino" or "Hispanic."

[6] "Spouse" represents spouse of the householder. It does not reflect all spouses in a household. Responses of "same-sex spouse" were edited during processing to "unmarried partner."

[7] "Family households" consist of a householder and one or more other people related to the householder by birth, marriage, or adoption. They do not include same-sex married couples even if the marriage was performed in a state issuing marriage certificates for same-sex couples. Same-sex couple households are included in the family households category if there is at least one additional person related to the householder by birth or adoption. Same-sex couple households with no relatives of the householder present are tabulated in nonfamily households. "Nonfamily households" consist of people living alone and households which do not have any members related to the householder.

[8] The homeowner vacancy rate is the proportion of the homeowner inventory that is vacant "for sale." It is computed by dividing the total number of vacant units "for sale only" by the sum of owner-occupied units, vacant units that are "for sale only," and vacant units that have been sold but not yet occupied; and then multiplying by 100.

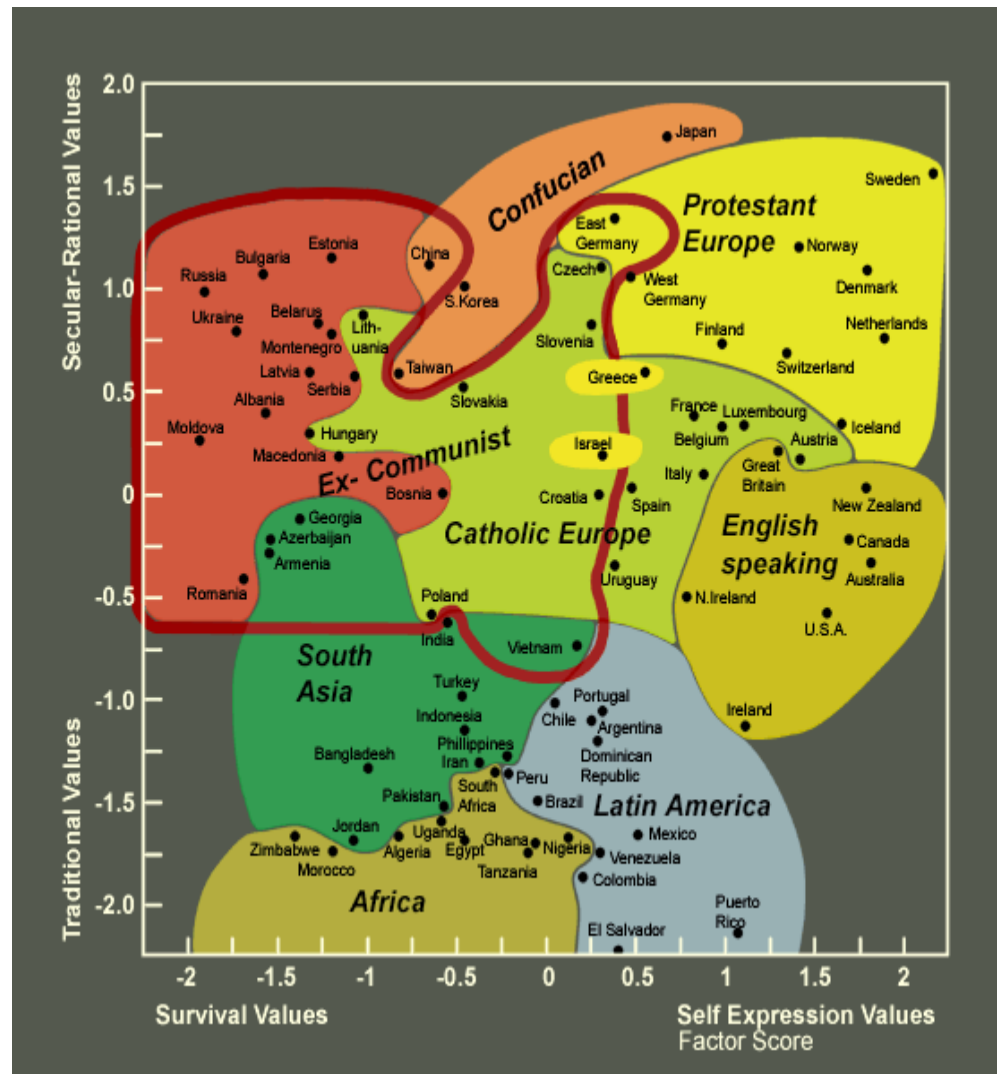
[9] The rental vacancy rate is the proportion of the rental inventory that is vacant "for rent." It is computed by dividing the total number of vacant units "for rent" by the sum of the renter-occupied units, vacant units that are "for rent," and vacant units that have been rented but not yet occupied; and then multiplying by 100.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 Census.

Appendix 2 – Inglehart’s Values Map

The Inglehart Values Map

The Inglehart Values Map visualizes the strong correlation of values in different cultures. Countries are clustered in a remarkably predictable way.



Retrieved December 09, 2009
http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/library/set_illustrations.html

Appendix 3 – Interview Instrument

Wilton Manors Interview Instrument

1. When did you move to Wilton Manors?
2. Why did you move here?
3. What is it like to live in Wilton Manors?
4. What changes, if any, have you seen since you moved here?
5. Do you participate in any community organizations, sports clubs, churches, etc.?
6. When you go out for entertainment do you go in Wilton Manors?
7. What do you like best about Wilton Manors?
8. What do you like least about Wilton Manors?
9. Do you usually patronize the businesses in Wilton Manors?
10. Would you consider this to be a segregated city or an integrated one?
11. What types of people have you seen move in or out since you moved here?
12. Has your life improved or gotten worse since you moved here?
13. Do you have any friends, family, co-workers of a different race, religion, ethnicity, or sexual orientation than yourself?
14. Do you feel that you are part of the community?
15. Would you feel comfortable expressing your concerns at the City Council meetings?
16. Do you feel that the City Council members listen to and respond to your concerns?
17. Are you a member of any city or community organization? If so, do you have a leadership role?
18. How do you feel about working with people of different race, ethnicity, religion, or sexual orientation than yourself? Prod for beliefs about others who are different on these characteristics.
19. How would you describe Wilton Manors to someone who knew nothing about it?
20. Do you wish Wilton Manors were the way it used to be? Prod on perceptions of how used to be.
21. Would you prefer to live somewhere else?
22. If the price was right would you move from Wilton Manors?
23. Have you ever lived in a large city like New York or Los Angeles? Any European city?
24. If local government leaders do not respond to your concerns, do you have other local community leaders to whom you can appeal?
25. What is your age?
26. What is your ethnicity?
27. What is your occupation?
28. What is your religion?
29. What is your partner status?

Appendix 4 – Letter from Wilton Manors Historical Society



Wilton Manors Historical Society

2325 NE 19th Avenue • Wilton Manors, Florida 33305

July 23, 2007

Emma Ergon
4811 NE 2nd Terr.
Fort Lauderdale, Florida 33334

Dear Ms Ergon,

We are writing this letter in strong support of your request to review the Wilton Manors oral histories to study urban change as part of a Doctoral dissertation in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at Florida International University.

Via this letter you have my permission to review oral histories in our collection and use the histories in your research. We also give you permission to use them in research publications. If your research and publications identify living individuals you should seek their permission before using their names.

As part of this agreement you will provide the Wilton Manors Historical Society copies of your research reports, dissertation, and publications if requested. You further grant the Wilton Manors Historical Society permission for the reasonable use of your output to further its goals and objectives.

Because of the fragility of the cassette tapes, we can only make available to you those which have been copied to CD ROM. We have provided you with a complete inventory of what we think we have and would welcome your input on which tapes should be transferred to CD ROM next. We do not have a time frame for getting them all transferred, but your project places even more urgency on us. Please advise me on the best way to transfer what we have to you as expeditiously as possible.

The Wilton Manors Historical Society is excited about your project and is more than happy to help you in any way we can.

Sincerely,

Benjamin B. Little
Secretary

For:

Diane Cline
President
Wilton Manors Historical Society, Inc.

VITA

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PUBLICATIONS AND PRESENTATIONS

Ergon-Pérez, E., McCoy, H.V., & Estrada, M. (2009, November). *Do you like yourself? The effects of positive ethnic attitudes and sense of belonging on risky sexual behaviors in a Migrant Worker HIV prevention program cohort*. Oral presentation at the 137th APHA Annual Meeting, Philadelphia, PA.

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