"Place-Framing" as Place-Making: Constituting a Neighborhood for Organizing and Activism

Deborah G. Martin

Department of Geography, University of Georgia

This article uses social-movement theory to analyze how neighborhood organizations portray activism as grounded in a particular place and scale. I apply the concept of *collective-action frames* to a case study of four organizations in a single neighborhood in St. Paul, Minnesota. Using organizational documents such as annual reports, comprehensive plans, and flyers, I present a discourse analysis of the ways that organizations describe their goals and agenda. In particular, I assess the extent to which the organizations characterize the neighborhood in their justifications of organizational goals and actions. In order to legitimate their own agendas and empower community activism, neighborhood organizations foster a neighborhood identity that obscures social differences, such as ethnicity and class, among residents. They do so by describing the physical condition of the neighborhood and the daily life experiences of its residents. These "place-frames" constitute a motivating discourse for organizations seeking to unite residents for a neighborhood-oriented agenda, despite very different substantive issues, from crime to land-use planning. This perspective allows for a more effective understanding of how place informs activism at a variety of spatial scales. Further, by inserting place into theories of collective-action framing, this research helps to introduce a new research agenda that addresses the gap between geographical analyses of territorial identities and activism and other scholarly literatures on contentious politics. *Key Words: collective action, discourse, neighborhood organizing, place-frames.*

We're dealing with the neighborhood. Community is culture, faith, etc. Neighborhood is geographic, and we all have [it] in common. Regardless of community. (Johnny Howard, Executive Director, Thomas-Dale Block Clubs, conversation with author, St. Paul, MN, 10 July 1996).

The neighborhood functions as a site of political activism. The statement above, made by a neighborhood organizer who founded a block-club organization in his neighborhood in St. Paul, Minnesota, illustrates the importance of geographic location in his organizing efforts, although it also implies additional complexities in relations among residents. Indeed, it highlights an important difference between community and propinquity, one stressed by scholars as well (Cox 1982; Lyon 1989; Menahem and Spiro 1989; Johnston 1994). "Community"-based organizing is traditionally thought to rely not on territory per se, but upon identifying multiple issues of common interest—such as health or housing concerns, schools, or job conditions—among a group of people (Bailey 1974; Alinsky 1989; Davis 1991). Proximity fosters common experiences of problems and thus common interests, but location does not, in itself, make a community (Cox and Mair 1988; Alinsky 1989; Davis 1991). Yet many scholars have argued that place fosters a common identity, based on common experiences,

interests, and values (Tuan 1974, 1977; Pred 1984; Purcell 1997, 1998; Jonas 1998). The question is not *whether* the local context structures common interests and goals, but *how*. In this article, I explore the connection between place and organizing by arguing that, for neighborhood-based organizations, place provides an important mobilizing discourse and identity for collective action, one that can obviate diverse facets of social identity in order to define a neighborhood-based polity. Further, this analysis introduces a framework for analyzing the "place-making" that occurs at a variety of spatial scales through collective action.

Scholars have convincingly demonstrated the persistence of local activism and local identities in the face of globalizing economies, politics, and cultures (Massey 1991, 1994, 1998; Keith and Pile 1997). Indeed, words like "glocalization" (Swyngedouw 1992; Robertson 1995)[1] highlight the dialectical relationship between the global and local, in which both dynamics shape peoples' daily lives and experiences. Neighborhood organizing occurs across and within varied sets of contexts and relationships, ranging from the daily life experiences of residents and organizers to the local economic and political context and broader national and global forces operating on and affecting the urban area in which the neighborhood is situated (Wilson 1993; Jonas 1998; Haughton and While

1999; Wilson and Grammenos 2000). Its focus, none-theless, is on the *local* context (Alinsky 1989; Davis 1991).

Neighborhood-level activism in U.S. urban areas increasingly operates in a political context dominated by an elite agenda of urban growth through civic boosterism and redevelopment projects (Logan and Molotch 1987; Jonas and Wilson 1999). Neighborhood- or community-based organizations are increasingly responsible for local services in neoliberal governance schemes, while regional and local states prioritize economic relations and the "business climate" (Raco 2000; Ward 2000). The concept of local dependence (Cox and Mair 1988) articulates how diverse urban political-economic interests can be united in growth-oriented coalitions in which one urban econ-omy competes against others. But local dependence addresses urban economies; it does not conceptualize place-coalitions at scales within urban areas, differenti-ated from the broader community. Within any particular urban economy, neighborhood-based or community groups may challenge redevelopment schemes, demand-ing greater attention to local, community-based identities and concerns (Haughton and While 1999; Bûcek and Smith 2000; Wilson and Grammenos 2000; Robinson 2001). These community groups assert place concerns and identity at a more local scale than that of the entire urban area. Robinson (2001), Wilson (1993), and Wilson and Grammenos (2000) argue that space—the setting, geog-raphical location, and sociospatial context of a neighbor-hood—influences the formation of collective identities and activist agendas. Indeed, Wilson and Grammenos (2000, 367) suggest that political movements must appeal to ideals about community, or "terrains of civility," which refer to characteristics or spatial processes such as "the gentrified aesthetic, 'stable' blue-collar orderliness, the suburban ideal, and the city beautiful ethic" (see also Purcell 1997).

Asserting a spatial grounding or discourse in neighbor-hood activism is but a first step in understanding the dynamics of spatial processes and appeals in activism. Geographers recognize the importance of place to social life (Tuan 1974, 1977; Mitchell 1993; Purcell 1997), but our theoretical tools for demonstrating where and how place is deployed in polities are still being developed. Following Mitchell (1993), Boyle (1999), and Gilbert (1999), I argue that scholars need to "uncover" (Mitchell 1993, 288) the meanings and representations of activism at the local level, particularly as they constitute place-based activist communities. I do so here by examining how neighborhood organizations draw upon and represent experiences of daily life in the material spaces of a neighborhood. I seek to uncover how common interests, imputed in the shared spaces of residential neighborhoods,

are constructed and portrayed in discourses of neighbor-hood organizations operating in a "racially" and ethnically diverse urban area.[2] These references to shared daily life in the spaces of a neighborhood seek to legitimate commu-nity organizing at the neighborhood scale.

In the following sections, I define the terms "place" and "neighborhood" as I use them here and develop a framework for analysis of neighborhood-based activism that draws upon and extends theories of social move-ments, which have been used to provide explanations for the structure and actions of collective organizations. In particular, the concept of "collective-action frames" (Snow et al. 1986; Snow and Benford 1988, 1992) provides a basis for exploring how organizational dis-courses situate and legitimate activism in a neighborhood. I use the idea of "frames" (Goffman 1974) to examine the place-oriented discourses of four organizations in the Frogtown neighborhood of St. Paul, Minnesota.

I conclude this article by arguing that organizations discursively relate the conditions of the place—the common experiences of people in place—to their different agendas for collective action. In doing so, they construct the local scale of the neighborhood and its organizations as the appropriate sphere for political activism, consolidating the "neighborhood" as a salient political place. This "place-framing" asserts a neighborhood identity, albeit one based on partial accounts of the neighborhood, emphasizing only some social characteristics of residents and portrayals of the physical landscape to support the organizations' different activities. These framings empow-er a neighborhood-based political community while rhetorically diminishing alternative axes of mobilization through social identities or at other territorial scales. The framings represent a powerful activist discourse, one that may be deployed to constitute places and polities at a number of spatial scales.

Conceptual Framework: Background and Definitions

Neighborhoods

I employ the term "neighborhood" in this article to refer to an urban residential district—one codified in local politics—but I simultaneously problematize the notion of neighborhood as a salient, given territory of experience, as planning practice assumes. "Place" and "neighborhood" connote two distinct yet related local-level social con-structions and processes. Place, as geographers have argued, is socially constructed through several complex and intertwined elements, including interactions among

people and groups, institutionalized land uses, political and economic decisions that favor some places and neglect others, and the language of representation (Pred 1984, 1986; Massey 1991; Barnes and Duncan 1992a; Duncan and Ley 1993; McDowell 1999). Harvey (1989), Lefebvre (1991), and Merrifield (1993a, b) have suggested that place represents a "spatialized moment" of global flows of labor, goods, and capital exchange. Place is both a setting for and situated in the operation of social and economic processes, and it also provides a "grounding" for everyday life and experience. In this latter sense of daily life, place as a territorially bounded residential district (physically, as by railroads or highways or waterways, or mentally, as in a social imaginary) embodies the concept of neighborhood on which I draw here.

"Neighborhood" is a frustratingly vague term, as exemplified by Johnston's (1994, 409) definition in *The Dictionary of Human Geography*: "a district within an urban area." Many cities base political decisions on some notion of neighborhood units (Haeberle 1988, 618), including decisions that organize voters on the basis of location. Although neighborhoods "are certainly not easy to identify empirically" (Johnston 1994, 409), they persist as an idea among many urban residents and as a reality in local politics, where neighborhood planning units—or "citizen participation districts," as in the case of St. Paul, Minnesota—are designated (often by city planners) to organize and categorize residents in various parts of the city.

At one time in urban history, neighborhoods comprised relatively homogeneous cultural, ethnic, and income groups reliant upon one another for mutual aid (Cox 1982). These residential districts fostered territorially based communities of interest.[3] Although neighborhood and community are not synonymous, Logan and Molotch (1987, 108) hint at an implicit connection between the two in their definition of neighborhood as "a shared interest in overlapping use values (identity, security, and so on) in a single area." Their definition highlights the notion that neighborhoods become meaningful to inhabitants because of the interactions among people in them or from shared values and interests. Thus, neighborhoods are the site of and encompass a variety of interactions and exchanges that form a complex set of social and economic relations. The pernicious problem of how physically to specify a neighborhood remains. The vagueness of the idea of "neighborhood" seems to be inherent to its very nature; neighborhoods are socially constructed in particular times and places, and therefore they are not fixed and specific. As the setting for daily life, however, socially constructed neighborhoods have real, material consequences for people who live in them.

Neighborhood Organizations, Social Movements, and Collective Action

Neighborhood organizations can be thought of as groups of residents and organizers dedicated to addressing one or a range of issues, including social, political, economic, and quality-of-life concerns at the neighborhood level. It is useful to conceptualize neighborhood organizations as part of what can broadly be characterized as "contentious politics" (McAdam, Tarrow, and Tilly 2001). Although they often work within an existing political structure, neighborhood organizations are not formally part of an appointed or elected body, and at times they explicitly challenge governance structures. Neighborhood organizations interact with and demand services from existing political institutions while they strive to define collective polities at a scale different from that of local government. Although there is no nationwide or globally-coordinated neighborhood movement, the presence of neighborhood organizing in countless cities in North America and around the world constitutes a form of "social movement" that is helping to reshape local governance by demanding neighborhood-based decision-making. It is useful conceptually, therefore, to draw upon social-movement scholarship in investigating the efforts of neighborhood organizations to mobilize neighborhood action.[4]

Social-movement scholars examine why and how collective action occurs. Some have argued that resources—primarily money and leadership—have been a key to motivating action (McCarthy and Zald 1973, 1977; Jenkins 1983; Gamson 1990). Other scholars have focused on the political structure (Kitschelt 1986; Klandermans, Kriesi, and Tarrow 1988) or quality of life and the desire of identity groups such as gays or women to be recognized in the broader political culture (Habermas 1981; Melucci 1988; Laraña, Johnston, and Gusfield 1994). All of these perspectives point to a variety of influences on collective action and to the need for grievances among a group to coexist with some definition of a collective sense of agency or community to address the grievance.

The question that remains for scholars is how and why certain collective identities motivate activism at given times and places. Social movements can foster activism by drawing upon class, ethnicity, gender, race, sexuality, and other identities as "positions" from which to unite coalitions of citizens for common goals (Laclau and Mouffe 1987; Staeheli and Lawson 1995). Neighborhood organizations seek to link social goals and activism at the scale of a neighborhood, but basing community politics at that scale is just one possible position for urban activism. In St. Paul, however, neighborhood organizations have a

place-based mandate in the local polity. By using that mandate to further define and demarcate neighborhoods as political communities, organizations prioritize place over other social identities. Frame analysis exposes the ways that organizations highlight particular social positions and the inclusions and exclusions such choices entail.

Collective-Action Framing

Social movements draw upon social identities to foster collective activism by *framing* their goals and activities in order to appeal to the collective group (Snow et al. 1986; Snow and Benford 1992; Benford 1993, 1997). *Collective-action frames* denote how social movements articulate issues, values, and concerns in ways that foster collective identity and activism (Snow et al. 1986; Snow and Benford 1992; Benford 1993, 1997; Hunt, Benford, and Snow 1994; Silver 1997). Broadly speaking, "frames" —or "framing"—is a term that refers to how individuals organize experiences or make sense of events (Goffman 1974). Collective-action framing makes sense of events in ways that highlight a collective set of values, beliefs, and goals for some sort of change.

Frames are also discourses—"frameworks that embrace particular combinations of narratives, concepts, ideologies and signifying practices" (Barnes and Duncan 1992a, 8)— oriented to collective action. Johnston (1995, 219) argues that there is "an inextricable link between discourse and frames" in which collective-action frames articulate the embedded, discursive relationship between shared values, cultural understandings, and activism. Frames are collective organizational narratives negotiated from a combination of cultural values within a movement and from some degree of deliberate framing choices by social-movement leaders (Roy 1994; Benford 1997; Paige 1997). Collective-action frames are not fixed and internally cohesive, but they may contain contradictions and they certainly change over time (Giddens 1976).

Focusing on neighborhood organizations, I extend the conceptualization of framing to explore how neighborhood organizations advance or constitute a place identity as part of their articulating of reasons and goals for activism. I have created the term "*place-based collective-action frames,*" or "*place-frames,*" to highlight the potential relationship between activism based on an idea of neighborhood and the material experiences of that place. Scholars have suggested that real, tangible places can be a basis for identity-based activism, in which groups of people draw upon distinct political and economic frameworks that shape identity (Castells 1983; Routledge 1993), their shared ideals about residential places (Purcell 1997, 1998; Robinson 2001), and specific sites of resistance and domination (Clark 1994; Keith and Pile 1997). Place-frames conceptually identify this relationship between place and activism by situating activism in place and defining a collective identity in terms of the common place that people—mostly neighborhood residents—share. Place-frames describe common experiences among people in a place, as well as imagining an ideal of how the neighborhood *ought* to be (Mitchell 1988; Anderson 1991; Purcell 1997, 1998). Place-frames thus define the scope and scale of the shared neighborhood of collective concern.

As discourses that reveal ideologies about activism and place, frames have material consequences both in shaping people's ideas about places and in fostering social action. While some collective-action frames are aimed primarily at motivating activism among members, frames affect external perspectives of a community as well. For example, Martin (2000) demonstrates how media representations of a neighborhood shifted from mostly negative portrayals of crime to more positive acknowledgements of residents' agency in tandem with organizational discourses about neighborhood activism.

In this article, I examine whether the frames of four St. Paul neighborhood organizations advance a common place-identity, or characterization, even as they advocate multiple (and different) agendas, by assessing how they describe problems, characteristics, and activities that make a neighborhood a unique place.[5] Studying place-frames provides the conceptual framework for understanding how community organizations create a discursive place-identity to situate and legitimate their activism. I focus on the internal, neighborhood-based "place-making" of the organizations, but their place-frames also form part of the external rhetorical negotiations over the meaning and status of the place (Martin 2000). This research reveals a reification of the local, neighborhood scale for community organizing. It demonstrates how organizations define the neighborhood community as a universal, common interest among residents who might otherwise see themselves as or be represented by alternative identities based on race, ethnicity, religion, culture, or household type. In the sections that follow, I describe the research site and explore how place is discursively constituted by neighborhood organizations through collective action place-frames.

The Frogtown Neighborhood, the Local State, and Neighborhood Organizing

This research examines the Frogtown, or Thomas-Dale/District 7 (as it is officially called in city documents and plans) neighborhood, just northwest of downtown

St. Paul, Minnesota. Frogtown is a mostly working-class neighborhood, and in 1990 it had 50 percent minority residents (non-Hispanic), with 35.5 percent of residents living below the poverty line. Frogtown has a reputation in the Twin Cities (especially in the media; see Martin 2000) as a dangerous (crime-ridden) neighborhood.

The four neighborhood-based organizations in this study address four broad but overlapping themes. The oldest organization is the one that has a formal "contract" or relationship with the city of St. Paul, stemming from the mid-1970s, when the city mandated official urban "neighborhoods" for citizen participation in local spending and planning initiatives (Figure 1).[6] The Thomas-Dale District Seven Planning Council, or District Council, acts as an official liaison to the city and its planning agencies on issues such as long-range planning, zoning, and land-use policies. Its primary mission is to foster

Figure 1. Frogtown/Thomas-Dale and the citizen planning districts in St. Paul, Minnesota.

participation and communication about land-use and planning among local government, residents, social-service providers, and businesses. The organization has a small office and staff, which is funded in part by the city of St. Paul.[7] All residents of the officially designated district, as well as property and business owners and employees of Frogtown businesses, are considered "members" of the council, with the right to vote for the board of directors. The organization sponsors social events and neighborhood clean-ups, but most of its activities are conducted in meetings that address city and neighborhood land-use and zoning policies.

In the late 1980s, the District Council developed a program called the Sherburne Initiative to buy, rehabilitate, and sell several properties on a particularly rundown street. In 1995, the Greater Frogtown Community Development Corporation (GFCDC) was established as a separate organization, with a mission to maintain and develop the housing stock in Frogtown, continuing and expanding the work of the Sherburne Initiative (Dawn Goldschmitz, Director, GFCDC, interview, St. Paul, MN, 4 September 1996; Michael Samuelson, Director, District Seven Planning Council, interview, St. Paul, MN, 23 July 1996). The GFCDC was initially financed by a national nonprofit, the Local Initiatives Support Corporation, which wanted to support low-income housing development in St. Paul. The GFCDC identifies vacant lots for housing construction and builds new homes that are designed to fit into the scale and architecture of the surrounding houses. It also targets abandoned homes for rehabilitation and buys homes forfeited to the city for tax arrears, rehabilitates them, and then sells them for single-family residential use. In addition, the GFCDC acts as an information clearinghouse for prospective homebuyers in the neighborhood and for homeowners interested in rehabilitation and maintenance. Because of the technical nature of much of its work, the GFCDC does not set out to formally organize residents. Its board of directors, however, is composed of neighborhood residents, who set the mission and direct the activities of the organization, and its staff spends a fair amount of time in the neighborhood talking with residents about current or upcoming construction and rehabilitation projects.

Another development-oriented agency was established in the early 1990s with support from the Minnesota-based McKnight Foundation.[8] The primary goals of the Frogtown Action Alliance (the FAA) are to address economic development, jobs, and training in Frogtown. One of its main activities in this regard is to provide resources for residents to become more involved in the business community, primarily through entrepreneurship classes (which have been geared especially to African
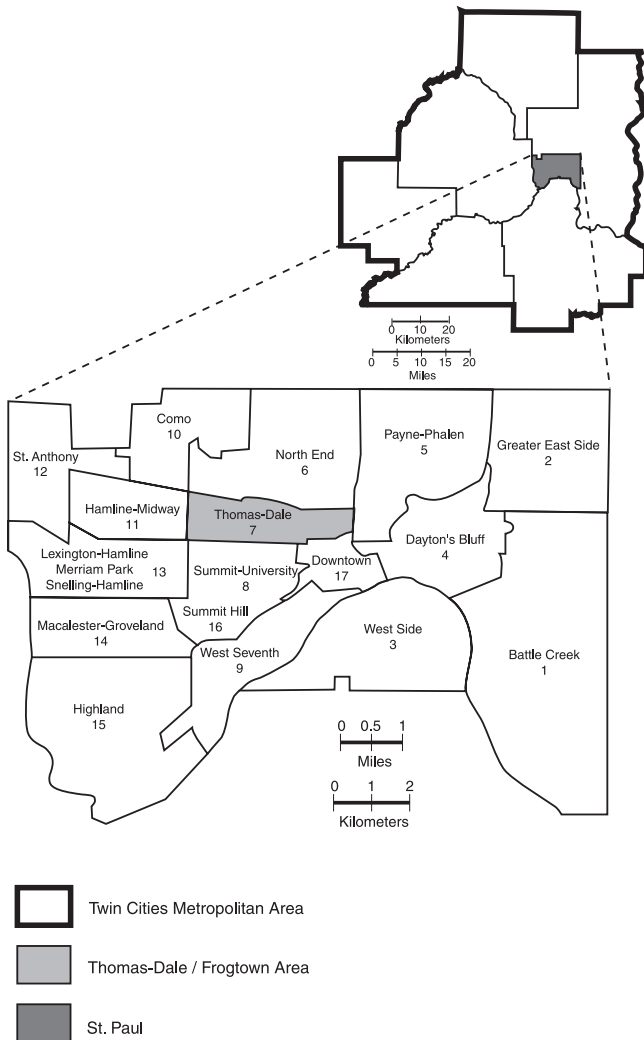
Americans). The second area of emphasis has been to improve the "business climate," which has involved initiating and coordinating infrastructural improvements to commercial districts and corridors, including working with the city to repave a major corridor through Frogtown and to help businesses in a shopping center to design and finance a new façade.

The final organization in this study, which was established in 1990 by two residents, addresses crime and public safety in the neighborhood. The Thomas-Dale Block Clubs organizes residents into block clubs and mobilizes them to build community and protest illegal activities in the neighborhood. Its funding comes from a combination of private foundations, member donations, and city contracts for specific projects. The Block Club coordinates activities for youth and seniors and maintains public and private property through agreements with the city and through programs—such as a "beautiful block" contest—that encourage people to care for their yards and homes. In many ways, the Block Club is the most visible of the four organizations, as it holds block meetings and conducts street marches, complete with bullhorn and signs that call for residents to work for a better community. The primary goal of the group is to create pride in the neighborhood.

In the mid-1990s, at the time of this study, all of these organizations had various formal and informal relations with city agencies, including annual payments to the District Council for its citizen participation program, planning coordination and initiatives among the District Council, the FAA, and planning and economic development units at the city, and contracts with the GFCDC and the Block Club for housing development and maintenance of publicly owned property in the neighborhood, respectively. Despite these many relationships with the city and its agencies, however, each organization operated as an autonomous entity, responsible for its own planning and agenda-setting for activism in the neighborhood, with little city oversight other than required audits of financial records (Nancy Homans, planner with St. Paul Department of Planning and Economic Development and liaison to District Seven during the development of the Thomas-Dale Small Area Plan, interview, St. Paul, MN, 22 August 1996; Hope Melton, former St. Paul city planner, interview, St. Paul, MN, 11 September 1996).[9] Formal city efforts at planning and urban development were concentrated on improving the manufacturing-job base with industrial district redevelopments—including a site partly in Thomas-Dale—and downtown development. The planning staff was cut in the mid-1990s as part of efforts to reduce the size of government, leading to less interaction between individual planners and neighborhood

organizations (Homans, interview, 1996; Melton, interview 1996).

The basis for activism and organization within the city framework is its district-council system and boundaries, which assumes common interests and experiences among residents within districts like Frogtown, providing resources and autonomy for neighborhood groups to act within their communities. In Frogtown, the district-council system had evolved by the mid-1990s into an amalgam of organizations addressing issues far beyond citizen input into planning and zoning. Although the district boundaries were, at one time, created in part by neighborhood organizations, the continuing salience of the neighborhood "district" may rely in part upon fostering a sense of identity and community among its diverse residents. Organizations working to improve the level of citizen participation, physical infrastructure, economy, and safety of the neighborhood, therefore, define a neighborhood-scale, place-based identity as part of their discourses for activism.

Research Approach

Examining the ways in which organizations use place to situate and structure neighborhood collective action requires attention to the discursive frames of neighborhood-based organizations. Since discourses are narratives, conceptual frameworks, and ideologies (Barnes and Duncan 1992b), they may be manifest in several ways in a given social enterprise. For the purpose of this research (conducted in 1996 and 1997), I sought representations of the neighborhood and organizational activism by activists—most of whom are residents—including group and individual portrayals, written and spoken accounts, in public and in private. I focus here on a primarily internal neighborhood dialogue: organizational discourses aimed at neighborhood residents and businesses.[10] The sources for these accounts include announcements in a local neighborhood newspaper (the *Frogtown Times*[11]); organizational documents such as annual reports, comprehensive plans, meeting minutes, brochures, leaflets, and flyers; and my own notes of announcements and conversations during public, board, or committee meetings that I attended for each of the four organizations.[12]

For each organization, I had a least one major document that set out the purpose and scope of the organization, with supplementary literature that provided some insight into the activities and discourses of each organization in 1996–1997. I examined the documents and notes repeatedly, reading documents individually as well as grouping them by topics and organizations. I looked for themes and words that explained the activities of the

organization or indicated representations of the neighborhood and neighborhood issues. I used the discourses of the organizations to identify their frames, specifically those elements of the frames that referred to and described the neighborhood and its characteristics. What I include here as my findings are the themes that described the neighborhood and organizational visions for its improvement—a discourse about place and collective action.

Although I refer to the frames as "organizational discourses," I recognize and stress that they were developed by people—especially organizational leaders, staff, and board members—through interaction and negotiation with one another. As Benford (1997) has emphasized, organizations do not act—people do. Once assembled into formal documents, presented at meetings and in the local neighborhood newspaper as coherent messages, however, these discourses must be understood as organizational. In this sense, therefore, it is useful to conceptualize the frames as organizational, rather than individual, discourses.

Although Frogtown's organizations have staff members who are not neighborhood residents, the discourses cannot be dismissed as outsiders' views of Frogtown. Indeed, the participation in and direction of organizational discourses by resident members makes these discourses part of internal, neighborhood-based representations of residents' daily life and perspectives. While not all neighborhood residents are involved in organizing, the residents who are active in these organizations help to shape their agendas and discourses. The majority of these residents were homeowners, but many were not: my interviews with residents active in organizational boards and events in 1996 included 33 percent current or onetime renters in the neighborhood—compared with 56 percent of all neighborhood households comprised of renters in the 1990 census (Wilder Research Center 2002). Furthermore, all of the organizations seek resident participation and support of their missions, and as such, aim to appeal to residents on the basis of shared concerns in the neighborhood. Consequently, I expect these organizational discourses to say something about the context or site—the neighborhood—of the activism, and I examine these discourses with the question in mind of how the organizations portray the context of their activism.

Collective-Action Frames: Discourses of Place

Analyzing collective-action frames involves examining both language and practices that describe or exemplify

motives and goals of collective activism. One way to do so is to use a conceptual heuristic from Snow and Benford (1988, 1992). They argued that collective-action frames consist of three functions: a *motivational* element, which defines the community that acts collectively; a *diagnostic* element, specifying a problem and its cause; and a *prognosis* of the solution that involves collective action. Thus, collective-action frames articulate or define a community of people who identify a particular problem and who else might be affected by it, how the problem occurred, and actions to solve or remediate the problem.

Using Snow and Benford's (1988, 1992) heuristic of motivational, diagnostic, and prognostic frames, I break organizational discourses into three parts: characterizing and defining the community (motivation), describing problems and assigning blame (diagnoses), and advocating for certain types of action to solve problems (prognoses). Examining neighborhood organizations as social movements—with collective-action frames that articulate values and agenda for activism—posits such movements as full actors in the local political arena, with strategies that construct the urban neighborhood as an important site of citizenship. Indeed, the framework of St. Paul's district-council system also posits neighborhood districts as a basis for citizen involvement in the local polity. The collective-action frames identified here illustrate how organizations construct those neighborhood districts as places for collective community and political identity. I start the frame analysis with definitions of the activist community.

Motivation Frames

Motivation frames define the community that acts collectively (Snow and Benford 1988, 1992), describing the group of actors and potential actors and exhorting people to act. Scholars also refer to motivational framing as "frame resonance" because motivational frames articulate community values (or ought to, to be successful) (Snow et al. 1986; Snow and Benford 1988; Marullo, Pagnucco, and Smith 1996). Motivation *place*-frames should refer to the daily-life experiences residents are likely to have in the neighborhood (such as common sights or conditions in the neighborhood) in order to foster recognition by residents of their location-based commonalities. In the frames of Frogtown's neighborhood organizations, I identified several discursive characterizations of the neighborhood, as well as its residents, that form the core of the motivation frames (Table 1).

The most explicit motivation frames are those that call upon residents to get involved in activism in the neighborhood. These frames do not all reference place

Table 1. Motivational Framing by Organization

Thomas-Dale District Seven Planning Council (TDD7PC)	Greater Frogtown Community Development Corporation (GFCDC)	Frogtown Action Alliance (FAA)	Thomas-Dale Block Clubs (TDBC)
• Wake up—our children need us (1996a, 7) • There's power in numbers (1996b, 10) • Only with your involvement can . . . Thomas-Dale . . . be a great place to live, work, and raise our families! (1996h) • Join our . . . planning efforts (1996e, 12–13) • A community is stronger when its residents are linked together around shared concerns and a common purpose (PED 1996, 20) • Don't miss Clean-up Day (1996c, 16) ————————— • Welcome . . . We appreciate [our community] for its strength [from] . . . diversity—racial, cultural, and economic (1996g) • Thomas-Dale . . . an attractive residential option . . . across the . . . racial, cultural, and socioeconomic spectrums (PED 1996, 10) • You will notice . . . working-class Victorian cottages and quaint, brick railroad houses (1996i)	• Learn how to buy a home (1996b, 15) • We need your help! Frogtown housing will only get better if residents are involved . . . so everyone has a decent home (1996c, 14) ————————— • The area contains . . . homes having architectural and historic significance . . . [T]hese modest-priced homes represent an opportunity to create pride and a cohesive sense of place among area residents (1995, 2) • Many houses have been insensitively altered, resulting in eyesore houses (1995, 2)	• Make it a reality (1996a, 16) • Many . . . problems . . . can be resolved with a high level of neighborhood participation (1994, 20) • Problems affecting the neighborhood . . . are common to Frogtown's residents without regard to racial or ethnic distinctions (1994, 4) ————————— • Frogtown . . . sustains about $850 million in economic activity per year (Meter 1994, 1)	• It's your home—it should do you proud (*Reporter* 1995, 14) • You are either part of the problem OR part of the solution (1996b, 4) • You can stand for something. Or you can get stepped on (*Reporter* 1997, 20) • Take ownership of the space you occupy (*Reporter* 1996a, 10) • Together we really can decide how we're going to live in Frogtown (Howard 1994, 7) • Win great prizes in TDBC's first bright and beautiful block contest (*Reporter* 1996b, 13) • Frogtown or Pigtown? . . . [S]tart cleaning or start oinking (*Reporter* 1996c, 7) ————————— • Our community is diversely rich in the creeds, cultures, and colors of its people (1996b, 13) • Youth . . . are less than 27% of our population but 100% of our future (1996b, 6; Howard 1996b) • The future is in our children (Paulson 1995, 5)

Note: The excerpts in this table are quotations from the organizations. They were chosen as representative of the words or themes used repeatedly in organizational documents for each group. Sources cited here are fully listed in the references section under the name of the organization in the column heading unless otherwise specified. The dotted line in each column indicates a break between frames that mostly exhort people to act (above the line) and those that describe the physical/economic conditions or social characteristics, of the neighborhood (below the line).

explicitly. Instead, they address individual residents and suggest that residents ought to think of themselves as part of a community and as responsible to that community. In particular, Table 1 shows that the Block Club and the District Council evoked community and personal responsibility in their calls to action. A key theme of this discourse was that all individuals in the neighborhood share the responsibility for being active in the community. The Block Club was the most blatant in calling for individual responsibility: "You are either part of the problem OR part of the solution" (TDBC 1996b, 4), but both it and the District Council used the theme of

neighborhood commitment in their motivation frames. The references to place are subtle (deciding how to live in Frogtown, making the neighborhood great), but the implicit message is that Frogtown is a territorially defined community.

Some motivation frames addressed and made explicit a relationship between people and place. The GFCDC and the District Council called for residents to ensure that everyone has a "decent home" (GFCDC 1996c, 14) and referred to the neighborhood as a place to raise families. The Block Club admonished residents to maintain the landscape: "[T]ake ownership of the space you occupy"

(*Reporter* 1996a, 10). They announced contests for "most beautiful" block, linking residents' lifestyles with the physical landscape. These exhortations implied that homeowners and renters ought to have common interests in maintaining the area (see Davis 1991). A call to residents to "take ownership" of space is important in an area with 56 percent of housing units occupied by renters. It recognizes that residents have varying economic relationships to their homes. At the same time, however, the Block Club did not use this tenure differential to call for sweeping social change. It sought to unify residents around landscape maintenance, rather than to constitute identities around tenure status.

In describing why he became active in his neighborhood by founding the Block Club, the executive director of the organization, Johnny Howard, said, "Five years ago I looked out my window and realized that there was a drug house on my block" (Howard 1994, 7). By invoking drug-dealing on his street, Howard illustrated the very real connection between individual daily life and the local environment. He suggested, therefore, that residents, by virtue of their common location, also share concerns and problems, and can work together to address them.

While one aspect of motivational frames—illustrated in the top sections of each column in Table 1—comprises exhortations to residents to act, giving self- or community-interested individuals reasons for doing so, another element of motivation frames defines or characterizes the community itself. In Frogtown, these references—illustrated in the bottom sections of each column in Table 1—described characteristics of neighborhood residents and the look of the physical landscape.

The organizations that characterized the neighborhood most frequently in terms of its people were those two that also had strong responsibility-oriented motivation frames: the District Council and the Block Club. Both of these groups referred to the ethnic, racial, and cultural diversity of the neighborhood in a celebratory tone (see Table 1). The references to diversity, though, were generic; they did not specify particular groups or cultures. Thus, they did not problematize relations among diverse residents or question the ability of people to identify and share common needs or interests in the neighborhood. The FAA took a different approach. They hinted that diversity could be a basis for fragmentation in the neighborhood, but they argued that everyone in the neighborhood faces the same problems. The implication, of course, was that propinquity does foster common problems, a foundational notion in neighborhood-based organizing (Alinsky 1989). All of these references to a diverse neighborhood population, therefore, ignored potentially pressing concerns, for example, of Asian immigrants, some of whom came to Minnesota as refugees, or of African-American residents who face racialized experiences in the housing market, schools, and everyday social interaction.

References to children and families constituted another means of universalizing individual residents into a generic neighborhood population who share a place. Evocations of children sought to define a broad responsibility among neighbors for one another, but they also *defined* the neighborhood as a family-oriented place. The Block Club described the high percentage of children living in the neighborhood and, like the District Council's announcement that children "need us," argued that children were the "future" of Frogtown. People who do not have children still have some responsibility to them as adults, the organizations implicitly suggested—ignoring the potential sense of exclusion adults without children might feel upon hearing a "family" discourse. Asserting generic "neighborhood-ness" (people sharing a common location, common experiences, raising families and with some responsibility to each other) is one way to situate and mobilize residents for place-based organizing. It illustrates, however, the inherent exclusions of the frames in attempting to define a territorially inclusive community.

Motivational frames did not focus only on residents, however. In fact, the GFCDC and FAA made few references to residents in their motivation frames (Table 1). Instead, these organizations focused on the economic and physical characteristics of the neighborhood—two elements of place that related directly to their own agendas. The FAA characterized the neighborhood through statistical analyses of economic activity in the neighborhood. In doing so, it constituted its primary activism issue—the economy—as coherent with its territorial scope of Frogtown. Yet this construction belies—or, at a minimum, ignores—the broader context of the neighborhood. Frogtown is but one neighborhood in the larger city of St. Paul, which itself is situated as part of a metropolitan regional economy, within a broader midwestern, national, and international economy. Thus, it is almost peculiar to view or describe Frogtown as a separate entity in what the FAA surely recognized as an integrated global economy. By situating Frogtown as an economic region, the FAA supported or perhaps even sought to legitimate its own mission of economic development in Frogtown. Clearly, describing Frogtown as a distinct economic place was an important frame for the organization, as part of establishing the importance of its work for the neighborhood. In doing so, the frames could foster activism as well as legitimating the existence and focus of the organization.

Perhaps the most obvious place-oriented motivational frames are those that addressed the physical condition of

the neighborhood. All four of Frogtown's organizations characterized the neighborhood by describing its landscape or physical infrastructure, but these frames were most evident with the GFCDC. These physical descriptions blurred the line somewhat between mobilizing discourses that define the community and diagnostic discourses that describe problems needing action. Nonetheless, they clearly defined the neighborhood as a place with certain landscape features that were distinctively "Frogtown." The District Council and the GFCDC, for example, described the housing as "Victorian" and "cottages." These and other references highlighted the neighborhood as a residential community with a particular history.

As I indicated earlier, Frogtown was settled by working-class immigrants, and although the District Council and the GFCDC have undertaken historic rehabilitation and renovation, little if any private-market gentrification has occurred there. In contrast, the district directly to the south of Frogtown—also a neighborhood with high levels of people in poverty and of minority residents—has experienced considerable gentrification since the mid-1980s, in Victorian-style homes that were once part of a solidly middle- and upper-income neighborhood. In suggesting that Frogtown's smaller "railroad houses" or "workers' cottages" that date from the Victorian era have "architectural significance" in their own right, the GFCDC and the District Council were highlighting "workers" as a neighborhood class identity of which residents could be proud. These organizations claimed working-class residences as a strength of the neighborhood, distinguishing it from gentrifying areas while also asserting an economic value for its smaller houses. In doing so, the organizations challenged economic valuing of larger, "historic" houses and distinguished the Frogtown housing market as different from other areas in St. Paul. At the same time, however, the organizations did not challenge the functions or logic of the housing market overall, nor did they criticize gentrification as a process. Perhaps because of their own territorial limits, the organizations inscribed Frogtown's working-class housing as valuable for and valued in the neighborhood, rather than questioning the forces that devalued it.

The organizations that drew attention to the physical infrastructure in their mobilizing frames did not simply discursively celebrate the housing stock. The GFCDC, in particular, wrote positively of a neighborhood "look" but also indicated negative features of the physical landscape, suggesting that many houses had been "insensitively altered" (GFCDC 1995, 2). The GFCDC frame described the neighborhood in a way that suggested a need for residents to restore a previous history and pride. Although

the GFCDC board was one of the most diverse of the four organizations in the neighborhood in the mid-1990s (40 percent of its members were Asian or African American), its references to a working-class history ironically evoked a time when the neighborhood was primarily white, populated mostly by European immigrants. The focus on the material, built landscape of the neighborhood obscured the flexible, shifting character of the place as its residents change over time.

The motivation frames that described the physical features or general socioeconomic conditions of the neighborhood made a discursive connection between the goals and missions of the neighborhood organizations and the daily life experiences of residents. In doing so, they generated a universalizing discourse that simplified the characteristics of place as "diversity," "children," and a generic working-class identity. These frames may be the most important element of organizational portrayals of their place- or neighborhood-based missions, because they attempted to link individuals to the experience of neighborhood *and* to activism. The motivation frames sought to draw upon residents' experiences in place and use them dialectically, both to articulate and to create a place identity based on organizations' activities. But collective-action frames do not only characterize actors and places; they also define problems and propose solutions (Snow and Benford 1988, 1992). To analyze neighborhood organizational place-frames fully, therefore, it is also necessary to examine how they diagnose and assign blame for problems and recommend action in the neighborhood.

Diagnostic Frames

According to Snow and Benford (1988, 1992), when collective-action organizations describe problems that they purport to address and assign blame or causes for the problems, they are framing diagnostically. We might expect the diagnostic frames of these neighborhood-based groups to locate the problems in the place. Diagnostic frames should also provide a notion of what organizations believe the neighborhood *should be* like if it had no problems. By describing problems, organizations identified those activities or elements in the neighborhood that they conceived as "out of place," not belonging in Frogtown or in a residential place more generally (Cresswell 1996). As in the mobilization frames, a crucial way for organizations to describe problems was to evoke the physical landscape. The District Council lamented a lack of public space, the Block Club cited problems with dirty or unkempt public and private spaces, and the GFCDC, as in its motivation frames, referred to degraded housing (Table 2).

Table 2. Diagnostic Place-Framing by Organization

Thomas-Dale District Seven Planning Council (TDD7PC)	Greater Frogtown Community Development Corporation (CDC)	Frogtown Action Alliance (FAA)	Thomas-Dale Block Clubs (TDBC)
• Gathering places play an important role in the life of any community . . . [A]mong the challenges . . . is the acute lack of . . . space (PED 1996, 23) • Thomas-Dale has among the smallest amount of green space per resident of any neighborhood in the city (PED 1996, 35) • Thomas-Dale . . . [is] in danger of being caught in a continuing cycle of disinvestments and isolation (PED 1996, 10) • Metropolitan decisions . . . have a profound impact on the health and vitality of . . . Thomas-Dale (PED 1996, 24) • Access to quality, affordable health care is a national issue . . . with particular concern for Thomas-Dale (PED 1996, 32)	• Vacant lots: expensive eyesores (1996d, 7) • Many houses have been insensitively altered, resulting in . . . loss of neighborhood character and value . . . [T]he good points of the area's housing are obscured . . . [by] the media (1995, 2) • Some of the infrastructure has been altered or destroyed (1995, 2) • This big old house has been vacant . . . [I]t's still a solid building (1996e, 13) • Frogtown has an increasing number of vacant lots due to the aggressive efforts of the City's Environmental Health Division . . . Frogtown's tax base is declining, and gives the perception that there are not many good reasons to invest . . . in the neighborhood (1996a, 2) • [The CDC] expects to gain . . . insight into . . . the financial impediments [to] . . . improving . . . housing (Biko Associates 1997, 4)	• !Action to meet problems is frequently fractured along racial and ethnic lines (1994, 4) • Frogtown residents pay . . . $8 million of income taxes, which more than covers the $7 million of public assistance collected by all households (Meter 1994, 1) • None of [St. Paul's economic development] programs have been implemented in the Frogtown neighborhood in the last two years (1994, 11) • [Perceptual issues in Frogtown include] lack of clear, action-oriented priorities . . . negative image of the neighborhood . . . undeveloped leadership . . . shallow capacity . . . poor coordination . . . poorly defined sense of geographic identity (1994, 4–5)	• [Residents] shouldn't have to live with garbage, disrepair (*Reporter* 1996c, 18) • There has been blowing trash and broken glass in this area that needs to be cleaned (1996a) • It's not the economics. It's attitude (Howard, interview, 1996; Howard 1996a, 1996b) • There are drug dealers in some of your homes . . . [L]et [the police] take care of them (Howard 1996b) • Neighbors are tired of all types of disrespectful behavior (1996c)

Note: The excerpts in this table are quotations from the organizations. They were chosen as representative of the words or themes used repeatedly in organizational documents for each group. Sources cited here are fully listed in the references section under the name of the organization in the column heading unless otherwise specified.

The District Council's 1996 Small Area Plan contained many diagnoses of neighborhood problems (see PED 1996 references in Table 2, column 1). The *Small Area Plan* (PED 1996) was a planning document for Frogtown in which the District Council described a broad range of problems in the neighborhood and solutions for improving the community. It was developed with the assistance of St. Paul's Planning and Economic Development (PED) staff, with a committee of neighborhood residents to direct the project. Such area plans were a regular part of city business, managed through the planning department, up until the mid-1990s, when budget cutbacks reduced such activities (Homans, interview, 1996). The Thomas-Dale Small Area Plan represents one of the last such plans created by a St. Paul neighborhood, funded and shepherded through PED.

The plan highlighted a series of issues and problems facing the neighborhood. Those problems that directly referred to the neighborhood landscape involved concerns about the need for public space to foster the informal social interactions that help to create or support a neighborhood community. The plan—and therefore the District Council—cited an "acute lack of . . . space" in the neighborhood (PED 1996, 23), and pointed out that Thomas-Dale had much less public green space per resident than other neighborhoods in the city. This attention to a lack of public space indicated an ideal of how a neighborhood—specifically Frogtown—should look and function (Purcell 1997, 1998).

A different approach to the problems of the physical landscape was to highlight the decay or deterioration of the neighborhood and the need for people to maintain

the streets and yards of Frogtown. The Block Club was the most strident in calling for individual and collective responsibility for the existing (public and private) space, saying that there was too much garbage littering the neighborhood: "[Residents] shouldn't have to live with garbage, disrepair" (*Reporter* 1996d, 18). The Block Club's place-frame diagnoses, like the District Council's, had a normative element in referring to the landscape. Quite simply, according to the Club, a degraded landscape "should not" exist. The Block Club assigned blame for the problem simply by noting that garbage was in the streets and spaces of the neighborhood and, in its motivation frames, calling for every resident to help clean up the neighborhood. By leaving the culprit for garbage unspecified, the Block Club suggested a universal responsibility among all residents for the problem. The solution—or prognosis, which will be explored in greater detail shortly—was quite simple: individual and collective action, coordinated by the Block Club. The collective-action frame located problems in the physical condition of the neighborhood, and blamed it on a lack of action on the part of residents. In a flyer, the Block Club also specifically cited "disrespectful behavior" for problems in the neighborhood. It did not define such behavior, but problems of drugs, trash, and dilapidated property were also mentioned (TDBC 1996c). In this vague reference to behavior, every neighborhood resident was potentially the source of the problem or responsible for the solution. Only the Block Club explicitly blamed individuals for problems.

Indeed, the assigning of blame in these diagnostic frames reflects important differences between the Block Club and the other three Frogtown organizations. I identify two main sources or causes of neighborhood problems: those that focused on structural forces (mostly political-economic) that shaped the neighborhood, evident in frames of the FAA, the GFCDC, and District Council; and those that cited individual behavior as a dominant force for both problems and solutions in the neighborhood, most common with the Block Club.

These differing views indicate contrasting perspectives on the scope and scale of neighborhood problems. The FAA, for example, stressed Frogtown's connections to broader economic forces, including the state, in situating the neighborhood as a site of poverty and underdevelopment. It blamed a lack of funding by the city for economic development programs in the neighborhood. The GFCDC, meanwhile, attributed causes of neighborhood decay to homeowners or (often absentee) landlords who failed to maintain their houses, reconstructed houses without regard to architectural style, or abandoned homes entirely. Even more so, however, the GFCDC blamed city

policies for abandoned and decaying housing in Frogtown. They argued that the "aggressive efforts of the City's Environmental Health Division" led to the razing of housing in the neighborhood, which increased vacant lots and decreased the tax base in the neighborhood (GFCDC 1996a, 2, excerpted in Table 2). Both the GFCDC and the FAA situated problems in the structural relationship between the neighborhood and the local state. Thus, they fostered an image of the neighborhood as a coherent territory maligned by outside government forces. As we will see in the section on prognosis frames, the solution is to take government functions of planning and development and conduct them in/have them conducted by the neighborhood.

In contrast to these two more structural causes of neighborhood decay, the Block Club identified the causal forces at the level of neighborhood residency and citizens' actions and responsibilities to a local community: "It's not the economics. It's attitude" (Johnny Howard, Executive Director, Thomas-Dale Block Clubs, interview, St. Paul, MN, 25 June 1996; Howard 1996). Yet it addressed problems of degradation and crime that could also be construed as having structural causes, such as poverty, lack of job opportunities, or investments in local infrastructure.

These divergent attributions of blame highlight how differently the organizations framed their actions and the situation of the neighborhood. The FAA, like the GFCDC and the District Council's Small Area Plan, blamed state policies for at least some of the physical and socioeconomic problems in the neighborhood. These organizations implied that the neighborhood ought to assert its needs to the state, demanding greater financial assistance from the city or decision-making at higher levels of government that attended to their impacts at the neighborhood level. But these frames had another, more important effect: they conceptually and discursively broadened the scope and scale of the neighborhood's problems beyond its own residents and territory to the local and national economy. The neighborhood in these portrayals was not a separate, isolated and ideal place, but one grounded in a broader reality of actors and political and economic forces that were outside of, and acting upon, the neighborhood itself. Nonetheless, these organizations worked to constitute a neighborhood-scale community in order to assert their demands and claims to the local state.

The Block Club focused much more on the very local and immediate scale of the neighborhood in characterizing the sources of problems, commenting on the "attitudes" and "behavior" of neighborhood residents. In doing so, the Block Club represented neighborhood residents—and neighborhood organizations—as the only

actors who could truly make a difference in the neighborhood. Outside actors or influences seemed, in their absence, irrelevant to the Block Club's imaginings and portrayals of struggles in the neighborhood.

Given these very different descriptions of neighborhood problems and, especially, causes for the problems, the organizations proposed very different solutions.

Prognostic Frames

According to Snow and Benford's (1988, 1992) framework, prognostic frames identify the actions that collective organizations take, the solutions that they propose to solve the problems that they have identified. Like their diagnoses, the prognoses of the four Frogtown organizations highlighted the differences among the organizations in their approaches to problem-solving in the neighborhood, because they focused on the actions of each group (Table 3).

One theme that resonated throughout all the phases of the collective-action frames was that of the physical condition of the neighborhood. The specific solutions that the organizations undertook and advocated, therefore, included attention to the physical landscape. There were two elements to this discourse. One, used by the District Council and Block Club, cited the importance of residents

Table 3. Prognostic Framing by Organization

Thomas-Dale District Seven Planning Council (TDD7PC)	Greater Frogtown Community Development Corporation (CDC)	Frogtown Action Alliance (FAA)	Thomas-Dale Block Clubs (TDBC)
• [D7's goals are] to stimulate greater interest . . . in planning [and] . . . improving the physical, economic, and social quality of life (1995, 3) • The council strives to conserve, foster, and restore the well-being of our neighborhood (1996h) • We . . . work . . . to strengthen families; [support] decent, affordable . . . homes; provide opportunities for employment; create . . . productive businesses; make Thomas-Dale a safe, clean place to live (PED 1996, 1) • Spring Clean-up Day . . . resulted in . . . tons of trash . . . being cleaned from our alleys, garages, and back yards (1996f, 17) • Here's our people's plan for Thomas-Dale! (1996e: 12-13) • Join our Dale Street/Maxson Steel Industrial Park planning efforts (1996d, 17)	• The mission of the [CDC includes] promoting the area's advantages as an affordable, diverse, safe, and congenial place to live (1995, 1) • GFCDC would like to . . . [build] single family homes [to achieve] . . . land . . . back on the tax roles . . . market interest . . . in Frogtown . . . residents can take pride (1996a, 2)	• The mission of the FAA is to bring together diverse individuals and organizations in Frogtown (1996b, 6) • Key elements of the FAA structure [include] building a sense of geographic identity (1996b, 6) • The Frogtown community needs to be revitalized in a way that is responsive to resident needs, leads to greater community control, and develops local capacity (1994, 5) • [FAA] achieves its goals and objectives by working . . . in collaboration with other organizations (1995a, 16) • Shop Frogtown (1995b, 16) • Our business is building business for the Frogtown neighborhood (1997)	• Neighbors helping neighbors (1995, 1996b) • [Development of pocket parks] has turned space used for illegal activity into places of peace and beauty (1996b, 8) • [Giving away flowers] not only changes the perception others have of our community, it changes our perspective (1996b, 7) • Events have been a staple . . . [T]hey bring neighbors together . . . to share in the struggle for a clean, safe, and comfortable community (1996b, 5) • [TDBC works to] close down drug houses, clean up our blocks and hold neglectful property owners accountable (Lammers 1994, 3) • [Street protests] increase neighborhood visibility, disrupt disrespectful and illegal behavior, and . . . encourage pride (1995, 16) • When neighbors know who is REPSONSIBLE . . . and . . . hold themselves and others ACCOUNTABLE the POSSIBLITY of a better neighborhood becomes reality (1996a)

Note: The excerpts in this table are quotations from the organizations. They were chosen as representative of the words or themes used repeatedly in organizational documents for each group. Sources cited here are fully listed in the references section under the name of the organization in the column heading unless otherwise specified.

coming together to clean and maintain various spaces in the neighborhood. The second, used by the GFCDC, referred to the physical infrastructure of housing stock (Table 3).

The Block Club and District Council referred to actions that they had taken and were continuing to take to keep the neighborhood looking clean and pleasant. In particular, the Block Club explained its organizational belief that the physical look of the neighborhood affects perceptions of the neighborhood: "[Giving away flowers] . . . changes our perspective" (TDBC 1996b, 7). Images of the neighborhood clearly mattered to these organizations, which sought to change the way the place was both perceived and experienced. Actions to clean and maintain the neighborhood, therefore, were essential for fostering a positive place-image. The solutions that the Block Club advocated included marches against drug dealing and prostitution, protests of police inaction, pickets of property owned by landlords identified by the organization as irresponsible, building pocket parks, maintaining empty neighborhood lots, and citizen watch programs.

While the District Council and Block Club emphasized cleaning the neighborhood as one way to enhance its image, the GFCDC, FAA, and District Council also all participated in and advocated for various long-term planning and development strategies, each focused on a different area or component of development. The Council and the FAA collaborated on planning for an abandoned industrial site, with the FAA doing so as part of its broader business development and the District Council participating as part of a comprehensive look at land use in the neighborhood. Each organization stressed planning and local, community involvement—"community control," according to the FAA (FAA 1994, 5).

In the case of the industrial redevelopment, both the FAA and the District Council referred to the redevelopment of the site as being about jobs and economic growth in Frogtown; their discourses ignored the broader St. Paul economy. Although the site itself crossed Frogtown's district boundary into another neighborhood and was part of the city's economic development strategy, the FAA and the District Council referred to the site as "Dale Street Shops" or "Maxson Steel," names of two entities that had existed on the Frogtown side of the industrial site. For these organizations, the site was a neighborhood one, and their actions were situated in and addressed at the neighborhood level. In its diagnostic frames, the FAA explicitly blamed the local state for some of Frogtown's woes; prognostically, however, it situated solutions for economic growth in planning at the neighborhood scale.

To constitute neighborhood-based solutions, the organizations called for residents to help direct planning efforts. Residents could—and should—attend meetings, listen to presentations about land-use planning, and help decide future redevelopment schemes, including types of businesses to attract and neighborhood amenities to include in the construction. The FAA also suggested that business development in Frogtown relied in part on individual consumer actions. A solution, therefore, was for residents of the neighborhood to "Shop Frogtown" (FAA 1995b, 16). This was a very simple, direct, and explicit prognosis frame on the part of the FAA. It continued a discursive theme for the organization of referring to Frogtown as an economic entity, a focus of the organization's own business development and support for neighborhood entrepreneurs. This role of individual consumers on the local economy contrasted with the FAA's main activities, which focused on: coordinating citizen and business input in industrial redevelopment, particularly for physical infrastructure; entrepreneurial skills and opportunities, including a business incubator; business coalition development in two commercial corridor areas; and other long-range planning and development for economic growth in the neighborhood.

The GFCDC's main development strategy, of course, focused on the housing stock. Its prognosis discourse linked housing to the broader economic and physical health of the neighborhood by describing the need to build houses for families, adding to the tax value of neighborhood property and, according to the GFCDC (1996a, 2), developing greater neighborhood pride among residents. The GFCDC's representation of its activities in buying abandoned houses and fixing them or building new houses on vacant lots suggested impacts far beyond any single house or homeowner. The GFCDC connected its housing-development efforts to financial investments in the neighborhood and to the overall character and the perception of the neighborhood by residents and outsiders (potential investors and residents, and even the tax assessors). For the GFCDC, individual and group decisions to invest in housing through ownership or rehabilitation provided tangible evidence of support for the neighborhood as a community.

The prognoses by the FAA, the GFCDC, and the District Council for physical development and community planning reflected a broader theme of *community development*. For example, the Block Club was quite explicit about the role of organizational gatherings in fostering a sense of community. It used events to "bring neighbors together" (TDBC 1996b, 5); the FAA talked about developing "local capacity" (FAA 1994, 5); the District Council spoke of the need for space for neighbors to gather and get to know one another; and the GFCDC presented the neighborhood as a "congenial" place to live (GFCDC

1995, 1) (Table 3). These many references to community reflected the goal of connecting residents and organizations together in the place called Frogtown. In other words, these organizations worked discursively to constitute the place as a "neighborhood," with the connotations that word carried of community or shared residential experiences. The actions of these organizations ranged from block parties and street protests against crime and inadequate policing to meetings about zoning ordinances, development of business associations, arranging for new businesses, and building new houses. Their discourses and actions strove to foster a sense of place, one that emphasized the local dependence of residents, in which positive events and investments were good for everyone (Cox and Mair 1988). But the local dependence of Frogtown, its organizations asserted discursively, was not based in St. Paul or the metropolitan area: it was a dependence situated at the neighborhood scale of daily life interactions in and near people's residences.

The unifying theme of community and shared neighborhood commitments was also apparent in a prognosis of collaboration. The FAA was most blatant in advocating for cooperation among the four Frogtown organizations, arguing that "[A]n organization with the word *alliance* in its name achieves its goals and objectives by working with others" (FAA 1995a, 16, emphasis in original). In different ways in their discourses and actions, each of the Frogtown neighborhood organizations recognized the actions of the others and the importance of working together to achieve certain ends. It was in this shared concern and collaboration among organizations that a neighborhood dependence was most apparent. The FAA and the District Council collaborated to solicit input and plan with city officials for the redevelopment of an industrial corridor along the northern part—and boundary—of the neighborhood. The GFCDC and the Block Club cooperated in efforts to notify residents and seek their input on housing rehabilitation and construction projects through door-to-door visits and public meetings. The GFCDC also met regularly with the physical planning committee of the District Council in order to discuss particular sites for housing rehabilitation or construction. In addition, the organizations' leaders cooperated in their interactions with the city, such as when they demanded resident input on a street-paving plan for which city officials had failed to consider street design and traffic-calming, replacing lead pipes, and funds for housing improvements in conjunction with the paving project.

Like a city with competing interests among its boosters, however, Frogtown organizations' prognosis discourses evidenced competing agendas as well. The District Council encouraged and coordinated planning and physical improvements to the neighborhood (such as through an annual clean-up). The GFCDC highlighted its role as a developer of housing but linked its actions to the overall quality of life in the neighborhood; in this respect, it remained quite focused on the neighborhood environment—and perceptions thereof—as the locus of its problem-solving activity. The FAA sought solutions oriented around business development, primarily planning-related ones as well as some fostering local investments in businesses. Finally, the Block Club helped residents to get to know one another through block parties and anticrime rallies and cleaned up the neighborhood through planting flowers and creating small parks on vacant lots.

In the next section, I discuss how the analytic separation of collective-action frames into the three-part heuristic of mobilization, diagnoses, and prognoses is useful for understanding how territorially based action is discursively sited.

Place-Framing as Place-Making

Ultimately, the four organizations in Frogtown in 1996 and 1997 were all trying to solve—or at least address—problems in and of a place. Thus, by all logic, the ways that they presented themselves and their agendas should have referred to the neighborhood in which they were located. Yet it is too simple to say that a concept of place was evident in the discourses of the organizations. Rather, it is more important to examine *how* place appeared in the discourses of the organizations, and why. Unraveling the elements of place in neighborhood-based community organizing illustrates how local dependence is constituted at multiple scales within urban areas. Through local governance structures, the neighborhood organizations in Frogtown were locally dependent at multiple scales, those of the urban area and of the neighborhood in which they operate. They used place-framing to legitimate and circumscribe their neighborhood sphere of activism by drawing upon presumed daily experiences of life in the neighborhood to locate both problems and potential solutions at the scale of the residential place. In doing so, the organizations constituted themselves and their resident-members as citizens, not just of a broader city, but of a particular location within the city, with needs and demands that were directed at the local state and its officials, even as they cast the neighborhood as the most salient sphere of community.

The framework of collective-action frames facilitates an analytical separation of motivational, diagnostic, and prognostic elements. Although it is somewhat artificial to

separate dynamic, integrated organizational discourses about the neighborhood and activism into such fine-grained parts, theoretically it permits an examination of the construction of place-based agendas for activism. Separating the components of framing discourses reveals that place was invoked by the organizations primarily in motivational and diagnostic frames (Table 4).

Motivation frames included descriptions of the neighborhood in terms of its population—as being diverse racially and ethnically, having high numbers of children, and being mixed by housing tenure (renters and homeowners). These characterizations of the neighborhood represented the place and its residents in a universalizing manner, identifying them as having shared characteristics, rather than divided by differences. Frogtown's diversity was reduced to a set of general elements with which residents presumably could identity. In acknowledging difference among residents, the organizations'

Table 4. Themes in Organizational Frames by Type (Summary of Tables 1–3)

Organization	Motivational Frames *Exhort action and define/ describe the community (who, what)*	Diagnostic Frames *Describe problems and assign cause/blame*	Prognostic Frames *Solutions (specific actions)*
Thomas-Dale District Seven Planning Council (TDD7PC)	*Exhortations:* • Plan for future • Clean up neighborhood • Support/protect children • Create community *Descriptions:* • Racial, cultural, economic diversity • Historic homes (railroad, working-class)	• Lack of green, public space • Cycle of disinvestment • Broader processes/decisions affect local conditions	• Plan for future development: ◦ Industrial ◦ Social ◦ Economic ◦ Infrastructure ◦ Long-range comprehensive plan • Clean-up days
Greater Frogtown Community Development Corporation (CDC)	*Exhortations:* • Buy a home • Families need homes *Descriptions:* • Architectural and historically significant housing: • Modest prices • Run-down	• Degraded, run-down houses • City policies increase number of vacant lots • Lack of investment • Financial barriers to homeownership • Negative images of neighborhood	• Promote neighborhood as a residential location • Build and rehabilitate houses
Frogtown Action Alliance (FAA)	*Exhortations:* • Everyone faces the same problems and should help solve them *Descriptions:* • Economic activity in neighborhood	• Fracturing by race, ethnicity • More money leaves neighborhood than is invested • Frogtown is neglected by the city • Negative perceptions, undefined geographic identity	• Unite individuals and organizations: ◦ Create geographic identity ◦ Foster community control • Entrepreneurship classes • Business development and support
Thomas-Dale Block Clubs (TDBC)	*Exhortations:* • Keep neighborhood and homes clean • Individuals responsible for community • Win prizes *Descriptions:* • Cultural, religious, racial diversity • Children	• Garbage in streets, yards • Poor attitudes, behavior, and lack of responsibility by residents	• Foster residential interactions and neighborhood pride • Clean up area, plant flowers, and build pocket parks • Protest criminal behavior: ◦ Work with police ◦ Hold property owners accountable for tenants, clean up

motivational frames aimed to portray difference as merely another descriptive feature of a single, place-oriented community. This strategy reveals a place-based identity construction, one that sought to subsume other social identities under a territorial identity in order to establish and maintain place-based collective-action agendas.

The organizations also highlighted the physical features of the neighborhood in their motivation frames, either by celebrating historic housing stock or by deploring run-down and unkempt landscapes. The organizations argued that residents had a responsibility to the physical land-scape and to each other. In all of these discourses, the neighborhood was taken for granted as a place, an entity in which people experienced life in a particular way. The FAA even sought to establish it as an economic region by citing government taxing and spending statistics at the level of the neighborhood.

The organizations continued to describe the physical and economic conditions of the neighborhood in their diagnostic frames, thereby locating the problems that organizations addressed in the material realities of the place (Table 4). They cited the degradation of the neighborhood in terms of a lack of cleanliness and decaying buildings, as well as the lack of green space. The causes of problems cited in the organizational diagnostic frames, however, represented a difference in how the organizations located Frogtown in relation to other places, especially to the state. Thus, the Block Club identified the causes of problems as mostly in the behavior of its own residents, which also implied that the solutions were locally rooted. The GFCDC and the FAA, by contrast, were quite explicit that actors and forces working outside of the neighborhood were at fault for the abandonment of houses and the economic struggles of the businesses and residents. Nonetheless, their focus for activism was at the neighborhood level, both in identifying problems and in recommending solutions.

The differences among the organizations in assigning causes to the problems certainly reflect their differing agendas, which were most evident in the prognostic frames. The District Council stressed planning, the GFCDC housing development, the FAA business devel-opment, and the Block Club the physical maintenance of the neighborhood and the protesting of crime (Table 4). Yet Table 4 illustrates that even in the prognostic frames, the organizations conceptualized Frogtown as a particular and specific place, a neighborhood where these four organizations worked to improve the perception, the sense of pride, the community, and the collaborative efforts of people in the neighborhood.

In all of these collective-action frames, therefore, the neighborhood was repeatedly invoked or cited as the sphere of action, as having particular features and problems that residents could understand and identify with because of their common, shared location. Of course, the "neighborhood" was created and maintained in a public imaginary—or, at least as illustrated here, in organizational discourses—based on a series of ideals and ideas about a residential "place." Thus, in referring to Frogtown as a "place," the organizations asserted that it was a coherent "district within an urban area" (Johnston 1994, 409). Their descriptions of physical infrastructure, such as housing or the presence of garbage in streets, evoked common sights that most residents would likely notice on a daily basis, thereby connecting problems to experiences of everyday life. The organizations evoked "a shared interest in overlapping use values" by asserting that problems in the neighborhood were common to all residents and that everyone in the neighborhood had some responsibility to try and solve those problems (Logan and Molotch 1987, 108). Yet the organizations did not assert that the neighborhood is unique. Indeed, while they cited important, distinctive features—such as the historic, working-class housing, the problems of the economy, or the diversity of residents—none of the organizations argued that Frogtown had characteristics or faced prob-lems unlike those of any other place. Instead, they discursively situated the particular configuration of history, architecture, people, economy, and problems at the scale of the residential neighborhood, one that corresponded to the "citizen participation" district of Frogtown in the St. Paul polity.

Conclusion

This research expands social-movement theories to understand more adequately microscale dynamics of place constitution through the collective-action frames of neighborhood organizations. It examines a framework in urban politics in which neighborhood or community groups operate in a relatively small and delineated geographic location, organizing residents to participate in the local polity. These groups then use their territorially bounded political identities to constitute a justification for place-based action and to foster concern and community at the scale of the neighborhood. They do so through place-frames, which legitimate neighborhood-based ac-tion and define the neighborhood community organiza-tion as the best actor both to represent neighborhood residents and to respond to neighborhood needs. Place-frames discursively legitimate the sphere of the neighbor-hood, siting blame at the local and regional level, but action within the neighborhood. They thus reveal the

creation of urban spaces at scales below the broader urban fabric of city- or metropolis-wide local dependency and growth coalitions (Cox and Mair 1988; Gilbert 1999).

Place frames do not simply reveal the ways that place provides important grounding for neighborhood activism and community development. They provide a conceptual framework for analyzing collective action more generally, in multiple places and at scales beyond the local. Place-frame analysis investigates the concrete references to place, people, and events in organizational discourses and the ways that they are linked to recommended actions. As such, it goes beyond asserting an importance of place in activism by illustrating how the conditions of daily life—inherently spatial and geographically located—inform and underlie activist discourses. The place-frames in the case of Frogtown, for example, discursively represent Cox and Mair's (1988) local dependence at a neighborhood scale, nested within the urban political economy.

This analysis demonstrates how local communities constitute their territorial sphere as a legitimate and meaningful site for activism. As Harvey (1989, 1996) cautions, locally based approaches to problems that have origins in national and international social, political, and economic processes may undermine global activist agendas. Place-frames, however, offer a conceptual framework for analyzing global and regional activist-claims, as well as those of locally situated groups. With the conceptualization of motivation, diagnostic, and prognosis frames as they relate to place in mind, geographers can assess the degree to which various types of activist frames draw upon and constitute place-based identities or offer alternative geographies grounded in the spatialities of social life. As Jonas (1998) suggests, locally based discourses rhetorically organize and make sense of the daily experiences of life in a particular place, helping to link local-level events and problems with broader processes. Place-frames at a multitude of scales can make sense of daily experiences and connect them to particular types of social or community action.

The Frogtown organizations situated their activism in a single place and context, one that the local political structure assigned them. As manifested in Frogtown in the 1990s, their place-frames represented an assertion of community at the neighborhood scale and did not address alliances with other neighborhoods in St. Paul. Yet alternative frames certainly would be possible. Even the discursive grounding of specific experiences of the neighborhood could reconfigure the meaning and salience of the local by focusing on common experiences—of physical decay or drugs, for example—across a variety of locales. Focusing on these common experiences in different locales could form a set of place-based, collec-tive-action frames that situated calls for activism across a broader political and social sphere than that of a single neighborhood. Indeed, international local-global coalitions fighting the impacts of globalization may provide examples of how spatialities of daily life are being discursively drawn upon to articulate calls for activism at a variety of scales. A place-frame analysis would elaborate on how these coalitions are being deployed by many types of collective organizations.

This research demonstrates an important theoretical and practical insight: that place-based collective action involves definitions of problems, goals, and strategies with explicit reference and attention to the site and subject of the activism through place-frames. It continues the "geographical project" (Herod 1991, 398) of specifying how place informs social action, and provides a conceptual tool for imagining and understanding alternative scales and forms of place-based organizing. Place-framing illustrates the meaning-making that groups of people undertake in their social and political lives.

Acknowledgments

Notes

1. Swyngedouw (1992, 40) credited conversations with Andrew Mair for his coining the term "glocalization," although Robertson (1995, 28) indicated that the term was popular in business in the 1980s and suggested that the initial use of the word came from Japan. I do not think that there is necessarily one origin; the many uses of "glocalization" indicate that it articulates an idea that many people find salient.
2. I put the terms "race" and "racial" ("racially") in quotes to emphasize their social constitution.
3. They were also the basis for Alinsky-style political activism, which seeks to identify and build upon common interests among a group of people, be it based upon race or ethnicity, work status, or, most commonly, residential location (Bailey 1974, 106; Alinsky 1989; Fisher 1994).
4. I do not wish to argue that all neighborhood organizations are social movements, merely that, as collective organizations outside of formal governments, they *act like* social movements.
5. I focus here on the frames of the organizations and what they say about place, not on the reception of the place identity and discourse among residents.
6. The boundaries of each district were determined primarily by community groups in existence at the time, in consultation with city planning officials.

7. The city of St. Paul provides funds for a district council in each of the seventeen planning districts of the city, of which Frogtown/Thomas-Dale is one.

8. The McKnight Foundation primarily supports community and family development programs.

9. In fact, organizations were not all audited regularly by the city or the nonprofit foundations that supported them. In 2000, the Alliance declared bankruptcy after financial mismanagement (Balaji 2001).

10. Martin (2000) examined organizational discourses aimed at external audiences: nonresidents and the media in St. Paul.

11. For more about the *Frogtown Times* as a neighborhood discourse in its own right and in juxtaposition to major media portrayals of the neighborhood, see Martin (2000).

12. I collected and analyzed over one hundred documents for all four organizations. I also attended a total of twenty-nine organizational or neighborhood meetings from June 1996 through January 1997, although most of my observations of meetings were conducted in July, August, and September 1996.

References

Alinsky, Saul. 1989. *Rules for radicals*. New York: Vintage Books.

Anderson, Benedict. 1991. *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origins and spread of nationalism*. Rev. ed. New York: Verso.

Bailey, Robert Jr. 1974. *Radicals in urban politics: The Alinsky approach*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Balaji, Murali. 2001. Frogtown community marks end of group. *Saint Paul Pioneer Press*, 4 May:5B.

Barnes, Trevor J., and James S. Duncan. 1992a. Introduction: Writing worlds. In *Writing worlds: Discourse, text, and metaphor in the representation of landscape*, ed. Trevor J. Barnes and James S. Duncan, 1–17. New York: Routledge.

———. 1992b. *Writing worlds: Discourse, text, and metaphor in the representation of landscape*. New York: Routledge.

Benford, Robert D. 1993. Frame disputes within the nuclear disarmament movement. *Social Forces* 71 (3): 677–701.

———. 1997. An insider's critique of the social movement framing perspective. *Sociological Inquiry* 67 (4): 409–30.

Biko Associates. 1997. *Greater Frogtown Community Development Corporation: Strategic plan, 1997–1998*. Minneapolis: Biko Associates.

Boyle, Mark. 1999. Growth machines and propaganda projects: A review of readings of the role of civic boosterism in the politics of local economic development. In *The urban growth machine: Critical perspectives, two decades later*, ed. Andrew E. G. Jonas and David Wilson, 55–70. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Bûcek, Jan, and Brian Smith. 2000. New approaches to local democracy: Direct democracy, participation, and the "third sector." *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy* 18:3–16.

Castells, Manuel. 1983. *The city and the grassroots*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Clark, Helene. 1994. Taking up space: Redefining political legitimacy in New York City. *Environment and Planning A* 26 (6): 937–55.

Cresswell, Tim. 1996. *In place/out of place: Geography, ideology, and transgression*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Cox, Kevin R. 1982. Housing tenure and neighborhood activism. *Urban Affairs Quarterly* 18:107–29.

Cox, Kevin R., and Andrew Mair. 1988. Locality and community in the politics of local economic development. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 78:307–25.

Davis, John Emmeus. 1991. *Contested ground*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Department of Planning and Economic Development (PED), City of Saint Paul 1996. *Thomas Dale Small Area Plan and forty-acre study*, Planning Commission review draft. Recommended by the Thomas Dale Small Area Plan Task Force 29 July; recommended by the District Seven Planning Council 26 September. St. Paul, MN: PED.

Duncan, James, and David Ley, eds. 1993. *Place/culture/representation*. New York: Routledge.

Fisher, Robert. 1994. *Let the people decide: Neighborhood organizing in America*. Updated ed. New York: Twayne Publishers.

Frogtown Action Alliance (FAA) 1994. *Comprehensive neighborhood action plan: Summary*. December. St. Paul, MN: FAA.

———. 1995a. November advertisement. *The Frogtown Times* 1 (5): 16.

———. 1995b. December advertisement. *The Frogtown Times* 1 (6): 16.

———. 1996a. January advertisement. *The Frogtown Times* 1 (7): 16.

———. 1996b. "Frogtown Action Alliance History and Structure." Document handed out in an Economic Development Task Force meeting, St. Paul, MN, 28 August. Excerpted from the *Neighborhood Plan*, 6–8.

———. 1997. November advertisement: Our business is building business for the Frogtown neighborhood. *The Frogtown Times* 3 (5): 12.

Gamson, William A. 1990. *The strategy of social protest*. 2nd ed. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

Giddens, Anthony. 1976. *New rules of sociological method*. London: Hutchinson.

Gilbert, Melissa R. 1999. Place, politics, and the production of urban space: A feminist critique of the growth machine thesis. In *The urban growth machine: Critical perspectives, two decades later*, ed. Andrew E. G. Jonas and David Wilson, 95–108. Albany: State University of New York.

Goffman, Erving. 1974. *Frame analysis: An essay on the organization of experience*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Greater Frogtown Community Development Corporation (GFCDC). 1995. *Greater Frogtown Community Development Corporation plans for 1995–1997*, 30 January. St. Paul, MN: GFCDC.

———. 1996a. 462 Thomas Avenue, St. Paul. Information delivered at a meeting to residents affected by new home construction. St. Paul, MN.

———. 1996b. January advertisement: Learn how to buy a home. *The Frogtown Times* 1 (7): 15.

———. 1996c. June advertisement: We need your help! *The Frogtown Times* 1 (12): 14.

———. 1996d. July advertisement: Vacant lots: expensive eyesores. *The Frogtown Times* 2 (1): 7.

———. 1996e. August advertisement: Five top reasons to rehab. *The Frogtown Times* 2 (2): 13.

Habermas, Jurgen. 1981. New social movements. *Telos* 49: 33–37.

Haeberle, Steven H. 1988. People or place: Variations in community leaders' subjective definitions of neighborhood. *Urban Affairs Quarterly* 23 (4): 616–34.

Harvey, David. 1989. *The urban experience*. Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

———. 1996. *Justice, nature, and the geography of difference*. Cambridge MA: Blackwell.

Haughton, Graham, and Aidan While. 1999. From corporate city to citizens' city? *Urban Affairs Review* 35 (1): 3–24.

Herod, Andrew. 1991. Local political practice in response to a manufacturing plant closure: How geography complicates class analysis. *Antipode* 23 (4): 385–402.

Howard, Johnny. 1994. How my life got changed: Executive Director Johnny Howard looks back on TDBC's history. In *Annual Report 1994*, Thomas-Dale Block Clubs, 7. St. Paul, MN: TDBC.

———. 1996. Executive Director's letter. In *Annual Report 1996*, Thomas-Dale Block Clubs, 5. St. Paul, MN: TDBC.

Hunt, Scott A., Robert D. Benford, and David A. Snow. 1994. Identity fields: framing processes and the social construction of movement identities. In *New social movements: From ideology to identity*, ed. Enrique Laraña, Hank Johnston, and Joseph R. Gusfield. Philadelphia: Temple University Press 185–208.

Jenkins, J. Craig. 1983. Resource mobilization theory and the study of social movements. *Annual Review of Sociology* 9: 527–53.

Johnston, Hank. 1995. A methodology for frame analysis: From discourse to cognitive schemata. In *Social movements and culture*, ed. Hank Johnston and Bert. Klandermans, 217–46. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Johnston, R. J. 1994. Neighborhood. In *The dictionary of human geography*, 3rd ed., ed. R. J. Johnston, Derek Gregory, and David M. Smith, 409. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.

Jonas, Andrew E. G. 1998. Investigating the local-global paradox: Corporate strategy, union local autonomy, and community action in Chicago. In *Organizing the landscape: Geographical perspectives on labor unionism*, ed. Andrew. Herod, 325–50. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Jonas, Andrew E. G., and David Wilson, eds. 1999. *The urban growth machine: Critical perspectives, two decades later*. Albany: State University of New York.

Keith, Michael, and Steve Pile, eds. 1997. *Geographies of resistance*. London: Routledge.

Kitschelt, Herbert. 1986. Political opportunity structures and political protest: Antinuclear movements in four democracies. *British Journal of Political Science* 16:57–85.

Klandermans, Bert, Hanspeter Kriesi, and Sidney Tarrow, eds. 1988. *International social movement research*. Vol. 1, *From structure to action: Comparing social movement research across cultures*. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.

Laclau, Ernesto, and Chantal Mouffe. 1987. Post-Marxism without apologies. *New Left Review* 166 (November/December): 79–106.

Lammers, Barb. 1994. You can start in your backyard: A message from TDBC Chair Barb Lammers. In *Annual Report 1994*, ed. Thomas-Dale Block Clubs, 3. St. Paul, MN: TDBC.

Laraña, Enrique, Hank Johnston, and Joseph R. Gusfield. 1994. *New social movements: From ideology to identity*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.

Lefebvre, Henri. 1991. *The production of space*, Translated by Donald Nicholson-Smith. Cambridge MA: Blackwell.

Logan, John R., and Harvey L. Molotch. 1987. *Urban fortunes: The political economy of place*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Lyon, Larry. 1989. *The community in urban society*. Toronto: Lexington Books.

Martin, Deborah G. 2000. Constructing place: Cultural hegemonies and media images of an inner-city neighborhood. *Urban Geography* 21 (5): 380–405.

Marullo, Sam, Ron Pagnucco, and Jackie Smith. 1996. Frame changes and social movement contraction: U.S. peace movement framing after the Cold War. *Sociological Inquiry* 66 (1): 1–28.

Massey, Doreen. 1991. A global sense of place. *Marxism Today* 35 (6): 24–29.

———. 1994. *Space, place, and gender*. Oxford: Polity Press.

———. 1998. Identity: Some parallels between feminist debate and the identity of place. *Berichte zur Deutschen Landeskunde*, (Reports on German Regional Studies) 72 (1): 53–59.

McAdam, Doug, Sidney Tarrow, and Charles Tilly. 2001. *Dynamics of contention*. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press.

McCarthy, John D., and Mayer N. Zald. 1973. *The trend of social movements*. Morristown, NJ: General Learning.

———. 1977. Resource mobilization and social movements. *American Journal of Sociology* 82:1212–1241.

McDowell, Linda. 1999. *Gender, identity, and place*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Melucci, Alberto. 1988. Getting involved: Identity and mobilization in social movements. In *International social movement research*. vol. 1, *From structure to action: Comparing social movement research across cultures*, ed. Bert Klandermans, Hanspeter Kriesi, and Sidney Tarrow, 329–48. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.

Menahem, Gila, and Shimon Spiro. 1989. Urban neighborhoods and the quest for community: Implications for policy and practice. *Community Development Journal* 24 (1): 29–39.

Merrifield, Andrew. 1993a. Place and space: A Lefebvrian reconciliation. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographer* 18:516–31.

———. 1993b. The struggle over place: Redeveloping American Can in Southeast Baltimore. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers N.S.* 18:102–21.

Meter, Ken. 1994. Frogtown neighborhood income statement and balance sheet: Executive summary. In *Comprehensive neighborhood action plan: Summary*. FAA. St. Paul, MN: FAA.

Mitchell, Katharyne. 1993. Multiculturalism, or the united colors of capitalism? *Antipode* 25 (4): 263–94.

Mitchell, Timothy. 1988. *Colonising Egypt*. Cambridge U.K.: Cambridge University Press.

Paige, Jeffery M. 1997. *Coffee and power: Revolution and the rise of democracy in Central America*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Paulson, Sharon. 1995. From the TDBC Board President: The future of Frogtown. In *Annual report 1995*, by Thomas-Dale Block Clubs, 5 St. Paul, MN: TDBC.

Pred, Allan. 1984. Place as historically contingent process: Structuration and the time-geography of becoming places. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 74 (2): 279–97.

———. 1986. *Place, practice, and structure*. Totowa, NJ: Barnes and Noble Books.

Purcell, Mark. 1997. Ruling Los Angeles: Neighborhood movements, urban regimes, and the production of space in southern California. *Urban Geography* 18 (8): 684–704.

———. 1998. Power in Los Angeles: Neighborhood movements, urban politics, and the production of urban space. Ph.D. diss., Department of Geography, University of California, Los Angeles.

Raco, Mike. 2000. Assessing community participation in local economic development: Lessons for the new urban policy. *Political Geography* 19:573–99.

Relph, Edward. 1976. *Place and placelessness*. London: Pion Limited.

Robertson, Roland. 1995. Glocalization: Time-space and homogeneity-heterogeneity. In *Global modernities*, ed. Mike Featherstone, Scott Lash, and Roland Robertson, 25–44. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Robinson, Andy. 2001. Framing Corkerhill: Identity agency and injustice. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 19:81–101.

Routledge, Paul. 1993. *Terrains of resistance: Nonviolent social movements and the contestation of place in India*. Westport CT: Praeger.

Roy, Beth. 1994. *Some trouble with cows: Making sense of social conflict*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Silver, Ira. 1997. Constructing "social change" through philanthropy: Boundary framing and the articulation of vocabularies of motives for social movement participation. *Sociological Inquiry* 67 (4): 488–503.

Snow, David A., and Robert D. Benford. 1988. Ideology, frame resonance, and participant mobilization. In *International social movement research*. vol. 1, *From structure to action: Comparing social movement research across cultures*, ed. Bert Klandermans, Hanspeter Kriesi, and Sidney Tarrow, 197–217. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.

———. 1992. Master frames and cycles of protest. In *Frontiers in social movement theory*, ed. Aldon Morris and Carol McClurg Mueller, 133–55. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Snow, David A., E. Burke Rochford, Jr. Steven K. Worden, and Robert D. Benford. 1986. Frame alignment processes, micromobilization, and movement participation. *American Sociological Review* 51 (4): 464–81.

Staeheli, Lynn A., and Victoria A. Lawson. 1995. Feminism praxis and human geography. *Geographical Analysis* 27 (4): 321–38.

Swyngedouw, Erik A. 1992. The Mammon quest, "glocalization," interspatial competition, and the monetary order: The construction of new scales. In *Cities and regions in the New Europe*, ed. Mick Dunford and Grigoris Kafkalas, 39–67. London: Belhaven Press.

Thomas-Dale Block Clubs (TDBC), Inc. 1995. *Annual report*. St. Paul, MN: TDBC.

———. 1996a. Flyer announcing 24 July neighbors' meeting. St. Paul, MN.

———. 1996b. *TDBC member neighborhood manual, 1996–97*. St. Paul, MN: TDBC.

———. 1996c. No more . . . Flyer announcing 25 June meeting. St. Paul, MN.

Thomas-Dale Block Clubs Reporter (Reporter) 1995. October advertisement: It's your home. *The Frogtown Times* 1 (4): 14.

———. 1996a. January advertisement: Time to dream. *The Frogtown Times* 1 (7): 10.

———. 1996b. June advertisement: Win great prizes in TDBCs first bright and beautiful block contest. *The Frogtown Times* 1 (12): 13.

———. 1996c. August advertisement: Start cleaning or start oinking. *The Frogtown Times* 2 (2): 7.

———. 1996d. December advertisement: A question for the year's end. *The Frogtown Times* 2 (6): 11.

———. 1997. May advertisement: 31 days of hope! *The Frogtown Times* 2 (11): 20.

Thomas-Dale/District Seven Planning Council (TDD7PC). 1995. Bylaws. Adopted 10 April, 1976; amended 24 April 1986, 27 April 1987, 23 February 1995. St. Paul, MN.

———. 1996a. January advertisement. *The Frogtown Times* 1 (7): 7.

———. 1996b. February advertisement. *The Frogtown Times* 1 (8): 10.

———. 1996c. May advertisement. *The Frogtown Times* 1 (11): 16.

———. 1996d. July advertisement. *The Frogtown Times* 2 (1): 17.

———. 1996e. September advertisement: Here's our people's plan for Thomas Dale! *The Frogtown Times* 2 (3): 12–13.

———. 1996f. November advertisement. *The Frogtown Times* 2 (5): 17.

———. 1996g. Agenda and notes for board meeting. 21 November. St. Paul, MN.

———. 1996h. This is the Thomas Dale District 7 Community Council. Flyer handed out at meetings sponsored or cosponsored by District Seven. Available in the D7 office, St. Paul, MN.

———. 1996i. Welcome to the Thomas-Dale Neighborhood! Flyer handed out at meetings sponsored or cosponsored by District Seven. Available in the D7 office, St. Paul, MN.

Tuan, Yi-Fu. 1974. *Topophilia*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

———. 1977. *Space and place*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Ward, Kevin G. 2000. A critique in search of a corpus: Revisiting governance and reinterpreting urban politics. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 25:169–85.

Wilder Research Center. 2002. *Summary: Thomas-Dale Neighborhood*. St. Paul, MN: Wilder Research Center, Wilder Foundation http://www.communitydataworks.org/data/stpaul/nhood/dist7/7-Thomasdale.pdf (last accessed 13 May 2003).

Wilson, David. 1993. Everyday life, spatiality, and inner-city disinvestment in a U.S. city. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 17 (4): 578–94.

Wilson, David, and Dennis Grammenos. 2000. Spatiality and urban redevelopment movements. *Urban Geography* 21 (4): 361–70.

Young, Iris Marion. 1990. *Justice and the politics of difference*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Correspondence: Department of Geography, University of Georgia, Athens, GA 30602; e-mail: dgmartin@uga.edu.