

# 35<sup>TH</sup> UAA ANNUAL MEETING---ABSTRACTS

10:30am – Noon                      Concurrent Panels

## 1. Housing Affordability I        (Parleys I)

Moderator: Jack I. Dustin, Wright State University

*Housing Affordability after a decade of prosperity: Trends from the 100 largest MSAs*

Jerry Anthony, University of Iowa  
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Economists have hailed the 1990s as the miracle decade of economic growth. The economic expansion of the 1990s lowered unemployment rates to the lowest level since mid-1960s, increased real personal incomes and reduced the percentage of the population living in high poverty areas. This prosperity was accompanied by significant increase in homeownership. But did all of this make housing more affordable? This paper examines changes in the percentage of cost-burdened households between 1990-2000 in the nations 100 largest MSAs. Using census data and simple statistical techniques, the study finds that the percentage of cost-burdened households remained unchanged in spite of the economic prosperity of the 1990s. What did change was the increase in the percentage of cost-burdened homeowners. Race, income and housing market conditions were significant predictors of higher cost-burdens as was change in income.

*Is Using the Tax System the Best US Housing Policy? Lessons from Here and Abroad*

Karen A. Danielsen, Virginia Tech

*Tracking neighborhood housing change in struggling urban communities*

Michael Barndt, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee  
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Understanding the dynamics of neighborhood change is easier than ever before. Analysis rooted in U.S. Census data has provided a very incomplete picture. Now in some cities it is possible to organize local data to provide a detailed series of trends in housing, crime, population and other changes. This presentation will model assessment of housing changes in one part of Milwaukee's west side. The area is the subject of a comprehensive initiative - Making Connections - sponsored by the Annie E. Casey Foundation. Although the two square mile area is often stereotyped, seven distinct neighborhoods are clear within the data. Patterns of housing sales, assessed value, home ownership, tax delinquency, foreclosures, board ups, property investment, block level organization and other elements allow a complex picture to emerge. Although Milwaukee is a "weak market" community by comparison to housing markets in other cities, each neighborhood must seek to avoid too cool a market – leading to disinvestment - or too hot a market – leading to gentrification. The presentation will review trends and maps examining these neighborhoods over a 10-year history, discuss the diverse public and nonprofit interventions in the community and suggest the best ways to structure data to effectively monitor change. Ultimately, the easy to measure items – such as home ownership and assessed value – would be better enhanced by more complete concepts such as wealth building through ownership, investment by residents in their neighborhood and perceptions of neighborhood value that often drive markets. Some of these concepts will require additional data development work.

*Low-Income Housing Tax Credit Program: What Do We Know About Its Impact?*  
Jack I. Dustin, Wright State University

This paper reviews the history of LIHTC and reviews studies and reports that have attempted to evaluate its impact. Between 1987 and 2000, the LIHTC program produced 19,676 projects that built or rehabilitated 933,223 units of housing across the USA. The paper describes how the LIHTC program has been evaluated, provides an analysis of the strengths and weaknesses of these studies, and recommends how to improve future evaluations. Author, Jack Dustin, Wright State University

*Anti-snob Land Use Laws and Suburban Exclusion*  
Spencer M. Cowan, University of North Carolina

## 2. Issues in Sustainable Development (Wasatch II)

Moderator: Douglas Rae, Yale University

*Adaptive Development Process: A Prescriptive Tool for Implementing Sustainable Development*  
Jerry Kolo, Florida Atlantic University  
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This paper prescribes what is termed “Adaptive Development Process” (ADP) for implementing Sustainable Development (SD) around the world. The contention in the paper is that, since the recommendation of SD as a development concept or philosophy by the Brundtland Report in the 1987, and its widespread and continued embracement by the global community, there is no strategic implementation process delineated for the concept. Consequently, nations, especially in the developing world, are grappling with the challenge of achieving SD, even in the face of mounting socio-political, environmental and resource problems. So central is SD to global debates about how to improve people’s quality of life (QOL) around the world, that it is the overriding rationale for the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), unanimously prescribed by the world leaders to combat global poverty and despair within some ambitious time frames. This paper will delve into the meaning and operational principles of ADP. Briefly, the ADP is both a diagnostic and prescriptive process that distills some powerful elements of several extant strategic planning and policy analysis techniques into a conceptual framework and implementation principles for adaptive planning. The ADP allows communities to adapt development plans and programs to changing and emerging conditions and realities in the political, corporate, environmental/physical, and philanthropic and grassroots sectors of society. Through the ADP, communities are able to calibrate re-calibrate their goals with their resource and institutional capacities on an ongoing and reality-dictated basis. The actionable benchmarks or thresholds of “acceptable” goals and actions in any community would fall within the broader thresholds set through global agreements, resolutions and plans, such as SD and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). At the community or implementation level, benchmarks would be more flexible and adaptive than at the global level, but the outcomes would fit within the broad goals.

*Is urban sustainable development anything but social learning?*  
Meg Holden, Simon Fraser University  
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Among the many urban policy tools being developed in the name of urban sustainable development policy, a basic dichotomy exists. The dichotomy is the classic one recognized over a century ago by the pragmatist William James – between the tough-minded empiricists and the tender-minded rationalists. In this case, urban

sustainability policy tools consist of those that employ more and better information to address sustainability challenges (Meadows 1998) and those that rest on the power of a plurality of voices (Ekstein & Throgmorton 2003). In this paper, I argue that a social learning approach can connect these two polarities of approaches to urban sustainability policy. Focusing on social learning processes and outcomes in assessing the impacts of urban sustainable development policy innovations lifts the barriers that prohibit sustainable development from acting as an integrative and fully-synthetic unifying concept in urban policy. In particular, a social learning perspective allows the social justice component of urban sustainable development to be seen as a full member of the framework, providing rationality to the common tension between environmentally- and economically-responsible policies, contrary to certain characterizations (Portney 2003). If we can work with the common understanding that it is a process of continuous learning among urban citizens that the drive for sustainable development is seeking to sustain in the city, scientific models and statistics alongside emotional, personal and public stories can be recognized as equally important.

*Indigenous African Cities: Could they be models of sustainable urban development*

Raymond Asomani-Boateng, Minnesota State University  
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Abstract As Richard Stren describes it, contemporary African cities are in crisis. Urban Africa today exhibits certain undesirable characteristics of western urbanism. Crime, unemployment, environmental degradation, inadequate infrastructural services, and poverty have become part of the contemporary African urban landscape. Most contemporary African cities are over-urbanized to the extent that their socio-economic and administrative structure can no longer sustain the rapid pace of urbanization. The need to adopt sustainable forms of urban development to minimize the crisis is critical and the need to look into Africans' past city building efforts for answers is equally important. This paper focuses on the dilemmas of building and achieving sustainable urban forms by examining and analyzing models of indigenous African cities and how these models and associated management, design, and planning principles can be adopted in contemporary African urban development in the quest to achieve sustainable urban development. Raymond Asomani-Boateng (Ph.D.) Assistant Professor of Environmental Planning Urban and Regional Studies Department 106 Morris Hall Minnesota State University Mankato MN 56001 Phone: 507-389-5030 or 507-389-1714 (V) Fax: 507-389-6377 Email: asomar@mnsu.edu

*Equity and Sustainability in Urban Governance: The Antinomies of "Third Way" Institution Building*  
Jonathan Davies, University of Warwick

The idea of 'governance' - policy networks, partnerships and urban regimes - is well established in the international urban studies literature. Arguably, it is the pre-eminent theme in urban political science at the beginning of the 21st Century. It is uncertain, however, whether the institutions of 'governance' in their many forms are a sustainable means of organizing public life in the long term. It is equally uncertain whether governance, characterized by a plurality of preferences and interests, is an institutional fix capable of delivering egalitarian goals. This paper draws on three cases of Local Strategic Partnerships (LSPs) in the UK to argue that to the extent it is sustainable 'governance' tends to entrench powerful interests. The wider the range of interests encompassed in governance structures, the less likely it is to be embedded in path-dependent institutions. Consequently, the UK government's agenda for open and inclusive networks of many 'stakeholders' does not seem to be a sustainable institutional strategy.

### 3. Place, Space, and Economic Activities

(Cottonwood II)

Moderator: David Prospero, Florida Atlantic University

*Interpreting Producer Service Suburbanization: The Public Accounting Industry in Chicago and Minneapolis-St. Paul*

Marla Nelson, University of New Orleans

Although producer services remain highly concentrated in central cities, in recent decades suburbs have increased their regional share of employment in the sector. In interpreting these spatial trends, researchers have come to starkly different conclusions. For some analysts, the growth of producer services in suburbs is a potent testament to the fact that suburbs are now home to highly advanced economic activities that were once the exclusive domain of the city. Suburbs, they argue, have matured into self-sufficient economic entities independent of an increasingly marginal urban core. Others, while acknowledging that suburbs have come to outweigh central cities in terms of total economic activity, contend that suburbs do not provide the services needed to handle the most advanced and complicated corporate demands. Only the specialized producer service complexes available in major cities are capable of meeting such needs. Suburban producer service activity is limited to routine or "back-office" functions and the activities of small firms and branch offices oriented towards local markets that do not rely on frequent inter-firm interactions and the exchange of information. Both perspectives are overly simplistic obscuring our understanding of how metropolitan economies work and the relationships between cities and suburbs. Additionally neither view has been subject to rigorous empirical tests. This paper seeks to move beyond these diametrically opposing interpretations and develop a more nuanced understanding of producer service suburbanization. Specifically, it utilizes secondary data, a telephone survey of public accounting offices and interviews with public accounting executives to investigate the intra-metropolitan location of public accounting employment, establishments and functions to determine the extent to which central city producer services are more advanced than those located in suburbs.

*Occupational Structures and Creative Economies: Measurement and Form, 2003*

David Prospero, Florida Atlantic University

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The rise of the creative class and notions of the creative economy have focused policy and empirical attention on occupations as opposed to industrial sectors. Much of the empirical work however, with notable exceptions that have examined specific occupational groupings such as high-tech or the arts (Markusen, 2003), has centered on either total aggregates of occupational class membership, laments over the lack of data on specific occupational groupings, or specific investigations of single places (Currid, 2003). The purpose of this paper is to extend the examination of occupational structures by explicitly including a much larger set of occupations. The inclusion of a larger number of occupations allows both analysis of single occupations but also analysis of the interaction among occupational titles and/or groupings. In this paper, we use the [May 2003] annual OES (Occupational Employment Statistics) survey that provides data on both the 23 major occupational groups used by the Bureau of Labor Statistics as well as on approximately 300 individual occupational titles by metropolitan area. Occupational-specific location quotients by metropolitan area for each occupational title are first calculated, following the lead of Markusen and Currid. Then, factor analysis is used to first identify co-varying groups of occupational titles and, then, via the calculation of factor scores, to identify place-specific occupational structures. A brief discussion of place-specific occupational structures will focus, illustratively, on Austin, Texas and Salt Lake City, Utah. The final section of the paper

reflects on the theoretical and policy advantages and disadvantages of conceptualizing economic structure of a place in terms of occupations, still existing data limitations, potentials for considering other regional economic models (such as shift-share or diversity analysis) in the portrayal of regional economic structures, and plausible hypotheses regarding regional occupational structures and economic outcomes such as wealth or employment.

*The "Creative Class" and Urban Prosperity: Myth and Reality*

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Few theories of urban development have been as influential in recent years as Richard Florida's "rise of the creative class." City leaders across North America, in places as varied as Montreal, Memphis, Detroit, and Phoenix, have embraced Florida's assertion that urban economic prosperity depends on attracting and nurturing this creative class. Moreover, Florida's other propositions – that cities with large numbers of "bohemians" and a large gay population are economic winners, and that prosperous cities are "cool cities," with trendy cafés and nightclubs that attract the creative class—have gained widespread acceptance among civic leaders. In fact, however, there is almost no empirical evidence to support any part of the creative class thesis. There is no correlation between any of Florida's celebrated indices – the "gay index," "the bohemian index," or the "coolness" index—and basic indicators of urban economic performance, such as job growth or poverty rates. Moreover, contrary to the assertion that the creative class is particularly attracted to "cool" cities, the evidence suggests that people holding jobs labeled "creative class" by Florida tend to live in the decidedly "uncool" suburbs of large metropolitan areas. By focusing on the imaginary role of the creative class in urban prosperity, Florida's thesis distracts our attention from the real problems facing North American cities: suburban sprawl and regional polarization; corporate disinvestment; ongoing fiscal crises; and declining civic infrastructure.

#### 4. Growth Management I (Cottonwood I)

Moderator: Lauren Heberle, University of Louisville

*Property Rights, The American Dream, and Communist Urban Outsiders: Framing Anti-Smart Growth*

Lauren Heberle, University of Louisville

Sarah Coffin, Saint Louis University

Diane Bates, The College of New Jersey

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Land-use politics have always been contentious in this country. The discussion of how we should develop and use land in our country currently revolves around the nebulous concepts of sprawl and smart growth. In response to sprawling development, "smart growth" has arisen to promote managed development designed to alleviate the problems associated with sprawl and contribute to sustainable development. While smart-growth is not a social movement per se, it is an approach with a varying set of principles regarding land-use planning that has been embraced by many who are attached to environmental movements, advocacy organizations, and governmental entities. Opposition to smart growth initiatives comes from individuals attached to similar conservative entities. Both draw from political ideological frameworks to shape the meaning of land-use management policy. We therefore suggest that social movement collective action framing literature is a useful lens through which to view growth management debates. This paper considers how anti-smart growth entities establish frames to counter to smart-growth initiatives in three different states, New Jersey, Kentucky, and Missouri. We conclude that anti-smart growth groups rely

heavily on political and cultural ideology when creating frames that discredit smart growth initiatives. In each case, the counter frames centered on conservative/libertarian ideology regarding property rights but varied to reflect each state's land use history and political culture. Anti-smart growth forces in Kentucky and Missouri have been more successful in promoting their counter claims to smart growth by appealing to rural and frontier ethics that emphasize individual property rights. Anti-smart growth forces in New Jersey were less successful, instead relying on populist appeals about housing shortages and affordable housing. The most prominent difference we found centers around an urban/rural split. This split gets highlighted in Kentucky and Missouri where the conservative/libertarian ideology can tap into rural trigger images about land ownership and urban social problems but fails in New Jersey where the lack of rural cultural ideology does not permit the language and sentimentality surrounding identity with the land to gain leverage.

*Urban Development in the U.S. and England: A Philosophy of Difference*  
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A casual drive from the urban center to the outskirts of the city reveals the marked difference between development patterns in the United States and England. In the United States, Interstate highways, strip malls, and suburban sprawl have become the dominant pattern of life, whereas England has adopted Greenbelts in an effort to preserve centuries old towns. These differences are the result of radically different urban planning philosophies. Urban planning in the United States is decentralized with non-uniform land use controls dictated by single-use zoning, local political fragmentation, and development geared towards the needs of the automobile. Conversely, Great Britain committed to comprehensive national planning and the preservation of urban centers through the Town and Country Planning Act (TCPA) of 1947. The differences in approaches have translated into numerous divergent policies regarding transportation, housing, and numerous other policies. These widely diverging philosophies regarding land tenure and development control are currently under intense scrutiny. In the U.S. these approaches have led to a gradual but marked fraying of the social community. In the U.K. challenges to local authorities and counties to meet housing targets set by Central Government threaten longstanding planning tenets. Our paper seeks to understand the reasons for the divergent views of urban planning in Great Britain and the United States by performing an archeology of the philosophic understandings of the two communities. Great Britain and the United States share significant philosophic roots in the natural rights tradition, yet their understanding of the good community and the appropriate use of governmental power in land use regulation is quite distinct. By exploring the major philosophic writers that influenced each country we provide a richer context in which to locate current development patterns.

*Creating Fiscal Chaos Through Planning*  
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. Efforts by local planners to balance the need for sustainable economic growth with the desire of citizens to enjoy an adequate level of services while also maintaining a quality of life have consistently been challenged by economic forces influenced by market forces. No where is this tension more apparent than among the counties and towns surrounding urban centers. Concurrently, citizens are increasingly frustrated with traffic both in urban centers and in outlying communities. Local government elected officials, responding to political considerations, are faced with diminishing resources for the provision of services and new infrastructure in growing suburbs, or a lack of resources for rebuilding service delivery and deteriorating infrastructure in urban centers. Each new suburban community in the process of being transformed

from a rural and agricultural region to an urbanized suburb is experiencing its own unique response to the pressures of development. However, local land use decision making in new communities have characteristics that appear to follow a longitudinal path, initiated by citizen awareness of imminent urbanization, to policies of structured growth control, to policies supporting rapid urbanization. This paper will explore the pattern of local political vacillations in emerging suburbs that tend to result in decisions accelerating urbanization and congestion, and federal policies that affect the ability of local elected officials to make managed growth decisions. State policies affecting local decision making will also be explored, particularly “smart growth” policies that guide and determine State investments in state and local infrastructure. The paper will suggest that land-use tools available to local decision makers are inadequate to manage sustainable economic growth and those pressures for rapid development and unmanaged growth are frequently accelerated and assisted by federal policies generally oblivious to local growth management efforts.

*Smart growth and political transition in Maryland and Ontario*

Eric Champagne, University of Ottawa

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Urban sprawl is a prevailing phenomenon in nearly all North American metropolitan areas and is often considered as a key factor to explain the origins of several economic, social, political and environmental problems. The Smart Growth movement emerged in reaction to the urban sprawl phenomenon and aim at reducing the long-term negative consequences of sprawl. Since the 1990s, several states in the United States and some provinces in Canada have started to draw from the Smart Growth arguments and solutions to design growth control policies. Maryland is often considered in the United States as one of the pioneers in the implementation of the principles of Smart Growth. In the early 2000s in Canada, the Province of Ontario also used the Smart Growth principles to elaborate a series of growth policies to deal with urban sprawl. If Smart Growth in Maryland was initially designed and implemented by a democratic government under former Maryland Governor Parris Glendening’s administration, in Ontario, Smart Growth was rather implemented under the conservative government of Premier Mike Harris. In 2003, the State of Maryland and the Province of Ontario have experimented a change of government when the republican governor Robert L. Ehrlich, and liberal Premier Dalton McGuinty brought fundamental changes to the political landscape in their respective state and province. In this presentation, we look at the impact of regime change on Smart Growth policies. How sustainable are sustainable growth policies?

## 5. Perspectives on Globalization and Governance (Red Butte)

Moderator: Jill Simone Gross, Hunter College, CUNY

*A Study of Competition and Economic Development*

Roslyn K. Chavda, University of Memphis

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Using Tiebout’s theoretical framework, this study considers how globalization impacts competition between geographic areas. The purposes of this study are to 1) determine which variables impact the decision to compete, 2) determine how geographic areas compete, and 3) assess the ramifications of competition. Interviews will be conducted with members of the city council, regional and city commerce boards, and planning and development offices in Tennessee, Mississippi, North Carolina, Arkansas, and South Carolina.

*Local Governance in the Global City: Immigrants, Institutions and Access*  
Jill Simone Gross, Hunter College, CUNY  
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Local government is a central component of democratic political systems. Despite the centrality of local government in urban governance processes, few global city residents participate in shaping these structures, choosing their leaders or defining their policy agendas. In New York City, for example, aggregate voter turnout in mayoral elections since 1997 has not exceeded 39% and turnout for the city council elections since 1999 has fallen below 20%. In London, voter turnout in metropolitan elections has rarely exceeded 40%, and in some borough council elections turnouts hover round the 15% mark. The question that must be faced is what can local governments do to engage marginalized communities in the democratic process. How can cities respond to new immigrant communities, who are rapidly becoming the majority in global cities? In this paper, I discuss the impacts of local government institutional reforms in London and New York on new immigrant populations over the past decade, focusing on formal political participation in elections, informal participation in community based organizations, and consider the lessons that might be learned for policy makers in global cities. Using both qualitative and quantitative data on immigrant communities in London and New York, their local government institutions, community based organizations, local elections and community based mobilizations. I explore the question of whether different local institutional configurations generate differences in the patterns of popular political participation (both in formal and informal venues) in these communities? What lessons can be learned from these experiences, for policy makers, on both sides of the Atlantic, seeking to mitigate local democratic deficits and create more responsive local governance processes.

*The global economy and government restructuring: politics of scale in Japanese world city-regions*  
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It is often said that one of the effects of the global economy is the hollowing out of nation-states with decentralized local governments. There are a number of theoretical approaches that attempt explanations for this phenomenon, including global networks of the new market economy, neoliberal policies implemented by supra-national elites and strategic actions taken by local decision-makers. Yet, at the same time, many scholars are quick to point that the nation-state remains very resilient. This contradiction makes the central-local government relation under the global economy ambiguous to understand and troublesome to verify. The fact of the matter may be that we not yet exactly know how the decentralization effects of the global economy press the nation-states for restructuring and how national decision-makers respond to this potential crisis of the national unity. Furthermore, we probably lack empirical understanding about the ways local governments counteract against the national government policies and other competing local governments in the global marketplace. To address this uncertainty, this case study examines two Japanese world cities, Tokyo and Osaka, offering an account of the central-local government relation under globalization. Particularly, it attempts a nuanced investigation of the strategic interactions between the two Japanese world cities and the central government, factoring in the hierarchical effects of globalization on cities and government restructuring for regionalism. This study finds political decentralization under globalization as a result of the politics of scale played out by local governments while the central government redefines its roles and interests.



*Globalization and the Informalization of the Latin American City: The Case of Medellin, Colombia*  
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This paper discusses the nature and role of the informal economy in Latin American cities currently. After examining some general statistics and recent theories on the topic, I use my research on the city of Medellin to examine the extent of informalization and the specific forms it is assuming under globalization. I am arguing that, like in most cities in Latin America, informality has become the dominant form of employment in Medellin and is in fact presiding over growing poverty. Finally, I am discussing the implications of this for local regime legitimacy and economic sustainability.

*Retreating from globalization: Buenos Aires' urban planning response to the Argentinean crisis*  
Laurence Crot, London School of Economics  
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The proposed paper analyses the urban planning response of the city of Buenos Aires to Argentina's recent socioeconomic crisis. Buenos Aires' urban development over the last 15 years provides a case in point of the interplay between local and global forces and their impact on urban policymaking. Encouraged by the neoliberal reforms of the 1990s to envision Buenos Aires as a potential regional hub and bid for global city status, the city authorities relaxed planning regulations and promoted large infrastructure and urban regeneration projects financed chiefly by foreign investors. But the absence of a clear planning agenda and the unwillingness to control investors' location strategies led to substantial socio-territorial restructuring characterized by increasing territorial polarization. The superimposition of geographical imbalances over preexisting socioeconomic inequalities thus created a highly unsustainable pattern of urban development, where certain parts of the city rival with global standards of living, architecture and consumption, while the deterioration of others accelerated as a result of state disinvestment. Within this context, Argentina's dramatic economic downfall in 2001 exposed the unsustainability of the city's urban development strategy as foreign investors fled and capital dried up. In the aftermath of the crisis, a new discourse centered on local progress, sustainable human development and public participation emerged, marking a sharp turn in planning priorities away from long-term globalization strategies towards immediate local concerns. There has been a tendency in the academic literature to focus on the appeal exerted by globalization on cities. Cases of retreat from globalizing tendencies following failed or unsustainable experiences have seldom been considered. It is the aim of the present paper to examine one such case and provide a different perspective on the relationship between cities, globalization and sustainable urban development. This study is the product of extensive field research in Buenos Aires and a series of interviews with key city officials and planners.

## 6. Religion and the City (Millcreek)

Moderator: Harvey K. Newman, Georgia State University

*New Urbanism and Faith Communities*  
Dave Frenchak, Seminary Consortium for Urban Pastoral Education  
[dave@scupe.com](mailto:dave@scupe.com)

New urbanism is primarily informed and endorsed by a growing number of urban planners and architects. As a movement, the philosophy and policies of new urbanism has gained significant momentum over the past ten years and has established itself throughout the country as a viable economic, political and social alternative to the

way we structure and design urban space. Noticeably absent from the movement, however, are leaders from the nonprofit, non-government organizations and the faith communities who represent the stakeholders of urban communities. The loss for new urbanism in not having these people involved is tremendous. For instance, new urbanism created a new model community, called Seaside, in Florida. Contrary to initial expectations Seaside has proven to be a rather phenomenal economic success. A visit to Seaside, however, reveals that there is little in the way of exchange and interrelatedness that reflects healthy neighborhoods and community life among the residents. When assessed by the value of diversity in use and population promoted in the CNU Charter, Seaside is a rather dismal failure. While design of space is important in the promotion of healthy community living, implementation of healthy community life can not be done without the stakeholders of a community being involved.

*The Importance of Faith Institutions in the Urban Context*

Helene Slessarev, Wheaton College

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This paper will explore not only the role of faith institutions as important actors in the central cities, but also how the context of central cities shapes the character of religious practice. There has been a growing recognition that particularly in low income and immigrant communities, religious institutions are an important stabilizing presence. Not only do they build community through worship and other programs, they are active community based service providers. However, as primarily local institutions, American faith institutions are also highly attuned to the geographical context in which they are located. Thus, the urban context also impacts these institutions in ways that are distinct from suburban and rural contexts.

*Faith Organizations in Atlanta*

Harvey K. Newman, Georgia State University

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Using Atlanta as a case study, this proposed paper examines the role of faith organizations in the city. Its purpose is to examine two facets of this role—the impact of faith organizations on the city and the influence of the urban area on the faith organizations.

Recent literature from the sociology of religion examines the influence of faith organizations on community. While this perspective is valuable, it ignores earlier theoretical points of view by Wirth and others of the determinist school as well as the subcultural theory of urbanism developed by Claude Fischer. This paper proposes to examine the role of faith organizations in Atlanta through the lens of subcultural theory. The results may shed light on the more recent sociological theory as they apply to religious groups in cities.

*Values, Ethics, and Democracy: What do We Owe Each Other?*

Jane Grant, Indiana University-Purdue University Fort Wayne

This article will explore the often conflicting values held by Americans over key social, political, economic, and cultural issues and the religious, philosophical, and metaphysical basis of those values. The research will consider the possibility of creating a democratically-deliberated realm of civil ethics in the United States, where a set of common concerns may be considered. The article will propose four questions where an agreement about civil ethics might be pursued: (1) What obligations or responsibilities do we have to people we currently share the planet with, particularly the other citizens in our own country? (2) What responsibilities do we have to future generations? (3) What responsibilities do we have to other species? (4) What responsibilities do we have to other nations? The larger project of which this paper is a part will analyze a series of policy issues in which the above questions are central;

these include health care, the environment, the national debt, and our willingness to work within the framework of global institutions and agreements.

## 7. Patterns and Processes in Segregated Cities (Parleys II)

Moderator: David Imbroscio, University of Louisville

*All Centers Are Not Equal: Exploring Differences in U.S. Urban Polycentrism*

Royce Hanson, George Washington University

Andrea Sarzynski, George Washington University

There is now widespread recognition among urban researchers that a fundamental shift is underway in the internal structure of American urban areas. Polycentrism is increasingly supplanting monocentrism as the dominant urban form. However, the extent to which this has occurred and the implications of this change in urban form, while widely noted and discussed, have, surprisingly, not been the subject of a large body of carefully conducted and generalizable empirical research. We explore the extent of polycentrism for a sample of fifty U.S. metro areas, using an absolute threshold definition for identifying employment centers. We situate our results within the broader literature on subcenters, and compare our results to previous research on well-studied cities such as Atlanta and Los Angeles. Using factor and cluster analysis techniques, we identify broad types of metros according to the incidence and patterning of centers within our sample. Variables of interest include the number of centers, the relative concentration of jobs within centers, the relative dominance of the core center, and the dispersion of employment between major and minor centers. Finally, we explore relationships between types of polycentrism and various metro attributes, such as population size, city age, geographic region, municipal fragmentation, and economic function.

*Modeling the Interaction of Economic Segregation and Suburban Development*

Rebecca Yang, University of Texas at Dallas

Paul Jargowsky, University of Texas at Dallas

Our paper examines whether or not current suburban development patterns is a significant contributor to the changes of economic segregation. Despite decreases in segregation by race and ethnicity that have been observed in American cities, segregation by income has increased in recent decades (Jargowsky 1996). Over the same period, the United States has experienced a significant degree of suburbanization. These two phenomena are connected. Based upon 1990 and 2000 U.S. Census data, our study uses census tracts as proxies for neighborhoods to conduct analysis on all metropolitan areas across the U.S. Measuring income segregation by the Neighborhood Sorting Index (NSI) and the neighborhood level GINI coefficient, our study finds economic segregation decreased for Whites, Blacks, Hispanics, and Non-Hispanic other racial groups during the last decade. This finding is largely consistent with the decreasing trend of concentrated poverty and the rapid gentrification progress during the same period. Furthermore, our study investigates various significant indicators of suburbanization such as the urban density and density gradient, rapid growth at the periphery areas relative to the city centers, zoning regimes, homogeneity of new growth, and accessibility to jobs. We construct multiple cross-sectional analyses and fixed-effects models to test the effects of these suburbanization aspects on economic segregation. Control variables characterizing the demographic composition, metropolitan context, structural economic transformations, and political landscape of each metropolitan area are also included. Many interesting results are found. For instance, our pooled WLS models find the urban density and density gradient are both significantly associated with changes of economic segregation. The findings of our study not only contribute to the literature

on suburbanization and economic segregation at large, but also have important implications for public policies regarding urban and metropolitan policy and community redevelopment.

*Values and Urban Antipoverty Policy*  
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The evil that is spatially concentrated poverty has dominated the scholarly and policy discourse about American urban problems for almost 20 years (since the publication of William Julius Wilson's highly influential *The Truly Disadvantaged*, with its analysis of the emergence and plight of the so-called "urban underclass"). As a policy response, there is a broad consensus among urban and housing researchers that this problem should be addressed via the dispersal of the urban poor to suburban and outer-city neighborhoods, and more generally, via connecting the inner city poor and the central city economy with broader regional economy. Building on the work of Edward G. Goetz (*Clearing the Way: Deconcentrating the Poor in Urban America*, Urban Institute, 2003) and several other critical scholars, in this paper I wish to raise some critical questions regarding this consensus. Specifically, I intend to examine the source of this consensus and try to determine to what degree it is rooted in empirical evidence rather than the value choices of researchers. Further, I intend to examine the impact of the policy agenda that follows from this consensus in terms of its ability to ameliorate the conditions of the urban poverty, as well as its effects on the political empowerment of marginalized populations and the preservation of cultural patterns. I conclude with a section on the policy implications of my analysis, and sketch the elements of the kind of political mobilizations and political strategies needed to build support for a reconstituted, alternative urban policy agenda.

## 2:00pm - 3:30pm      Concurrent Panels

### 8. Faith-Based Organizations and the City    (Cedar)

Moderator: Michael Owens, Emory University

*Church Polity and White Flight: A Case Study of the Christian Reformed Church in Chicago*  
Mark T Mulder, Calvin College  
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Present patterns of residential segregation have been proven to have antecedents in the so-called white-flight of the 1950s, 1960s, and 1960s. Close scrutiny of this social phenomenon has yielded results that indicate complicated impetuses. A case study of six congregations from a denomination called the Christian Reformed Church in North America (CRC) who fled the Englewood and Roseland neighborhoods of Chicago during the juncture in question further reveals the dubious role of religious practices and arrangements in the out-migration of white evangelical Christians. An examination of these congregations betrays the fact that seemingly innocuous structures such as church polity in fact played a decisively role for some white evangelical Christians when they departed from the urban core. Though they initially defended their places in manners similar to Catholics, the CRC congregations eventually found it much easier to leave the city. The Catholic parish model functioned to inhibit the movement of parishioners. The local congregational model that became more prevalent within Protestantism during the twentieth century offered no such constraints. By utilizing church histories, council minutes, and field interviews it became readily apparent that

the departure of the members of these congregations found sanction within the hierarchical apparatus (or lack thereof) of the church. The response of these CRC congregations exemplified how the political structures and social networks of a particular denomination could allow for an almost seamless process of white flight. The CRC congregations' strategy of minimal losses and coordinated retreat resulted in almost undetected wholesale removal from the city to the suburbs. In the end, the religious background of these CRC congregations helps to explain how they left their city neighborhoods for the suburbs. Taken as a whole, these aforementioned sources have yielded new nuances to the discussion of the relationship between race, religion, and residential patterns.

*Sprawl Religion: Analysis of Mega churches: The context of mainline Protestant churches and U.S. suburban land-use planning from 19<sup>th</sup> century borderland suburbs to sprawl suburbs of the 21<sup>st</sup> century*

Margaret Killmer, Center for Community Planning Education  
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There is a rapidly growing literature describing today's "sprawling" land development as well as an interest in the historical growth of suburbs in the United States. What has not been documented is the role of religious structures in this landscape. This study will use the subset of "mainline" Protestant churches to trace the relationship between religious structures and suburban land use planning from the 19th century "borderland" suburbs through the "sprawl" suburbs of the 21st century. This subset of denominations—Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Dutch and German Reformed, Lutherans, Congregationalists and English-speaking Methodists—has been chosen since these denominations antedate the earliest suburbs and include mega churches. Also, these denominations of "public Protestantism" have theology involving caring for both individuals and the culture as a whole. Because of the relationship between religious culture and suburban land development seen over time, further insights into the culture of sprawl suburbs can be gained from the religious culture associated with mega churches. In addition, because of the variation in church culture observed over the course of suburban development, one can hypothesize the changes in religious culture which are required if we are to have communities that are both socially and politically equitable, and physically and economically sustainable.

## 9. Sustaining the American Dream of Homeownership (Parleys I)

Moderator: Shannon Van Zandt, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

*Meeting the Financial Obligations of Homeownership*

Roberto G. Quercia, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

William M Rohe, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

Shannon Van Zandt, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

A core aspect of a sustainable homeownership experience for low-income households is the receipt of the financial benefits traditionally associated with homeownership. Using data from a three-year study of renters participating in a homeownership program, we examine the experience of continuing renters and homebuyers along certain measures of economic well-being. More narrowly, we examine four measures: (1) the size of the home and its condition; (2) financial characteristics (housing costs; household income, and non-housing assets); (3) the presence and management of non-housing debt (type, repayment experience, and bankruptcy); and (4) the availability of health insurance that may ameliorate the impacts of crisis events in the life of households. Our findings suggest that buying a home may not have many of the positive influences suggested in the literature. Although we find significant relationships between home

buying and certain measures of economic well-being when considered in isolation, these significant relationships disappear after controlling for important factors such as income, education, age and other characteristics. When compared with continuing renters, home buyers experience similar changes in housing quality, housing payments, assets and income, and in the amount and type of non-housing debt carried over time.

*The Social-Psychological Effects of Affordable Homeownership*

William M Rohe, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill  
Roberto G. Quercia, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill  
Shannon Van Zandt, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

Prior research suggests that home ownership has positive impacts on several social-psychological constructs including life satisfaction, neighborhood satisfaction, self-esteem, social support networks and participation in voluntary organizations such as neighborhood associations. Yet, the research supporting these claims has largely been conducted on general samples of homeowners. Low- and moderate-income homeowners may have a different experience due to difficulties in keeping up with housing-related payments or differences in the characteristics of the neighborhoods in which they buy. This paper looks at the social-psychological impacts of affordable homeownership by presenting an analysis of surveys completed by lower-income, first time homebuyers and continuing renters at two points in time.

The results of that analysis indicate that, compared to the continuing renters, the homeowners reported higher levels of satisfaction both with their lives in general and with the neighborhoods in which they lived. The homebuyers also reported larger social support networks. The homeowners were not found, however, to have higher levels of self-esteem or to have higher rates of participation in voluntary organizations. Additional analysis suggests that homeowners who could not afford to make needed repairs and who reported lower levels of satisfaction with their neighborhoods reported significantly lower levels of life satisfaction and self-esteem. These findings suggest that those involved in the promotion of affordable home ownership make extra efforts to ensure that buyer have the funds to make repairs on their homes and buy homes in areas that are attractive and safe.

*Do First-time Home Buyers Improve their Neighborhood Quality?*

Shannon Van Zandt, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill  
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To ensure that new home buyers are able to sustain and build upon their investment, the value of their home should be stable or improving. A critical factor of house price appreciation is the quality of the neighborhood in which new home owners are buying. This study uses longitudinal primary and secondary data to compare the quality of neighborhoods of first-time home buyers both before and after they purchase a home. Questions explored include whether new home buyers are moving into neighborhoods with better social and economic conditions and whether homes in these neighborhoods are appreciating in value.

While new home owners do improve the quality of their neighborhood along a number of indicators, renters improve their neighborhoods on a much greater scale. New home buyers are better off than their fellow renters in an absolute sense, but the achievement of neighborhood quality is flat, while continuing renters substantially improve the quality of the neighborhood in which they are able to live. These findings further suggest that the neighborhoods in which buyers are locating are more stable, but that the homes themselves may be older or in decline. Further analysis will be completed to determine the direction and magnitude of house price appreciation in these neighborhoods.

*Racial Gaps in the Transition to First-Time Homeownership: The Role of Residential Segregation*  
Casey J. Dawkins, Virginia Tech  
[dawkins@vt.edu](mailto:dawkins@vt.edu)

At the recent White House Conference on Minority Homeownership, President Bush announced an aggressive goal of increasing minority homeownership by 5.5 million families by the end of the decade. To successfully meet this goal, we must first understand the factors contributing to the persistence of housing market inequalities. Existing research suggests that a substantial racial gap in homeownership rates still exists after controlling for income and a variety of other socio-economic variables. These endowment-adjusted racial gaps in homeownership rates are largest between Whites and African Americans. Explanations for the unexplained portion of the racial homeownership gap include racial differences in access to financial resources, racial differences in the intergenerational transfer of wealth, racial differences in portfolio choice, and racial differences in the expected rate of return from homeownership. Another explanation is that residential segregation by race causes racial disparities in the rate of transition into first-time homeownership. Despite recent declines in residential segregation, the average U.S. household still lives in a neighborhood where their own race is in the majority. If renters from different races initially reside in neighborhoods with different housing market characteristics, then these racial differences in residential location may contribute to racial differences in the opportunities for and perceived benefits from first-time homeownership. Of the existing empirical studies that have examined this topic, most rely on data from individual metropolitan areas, employ limited controls for location characteristics, and ignore the dynamics of the tenure choice decision. This research fills this gap in the literature and provides needed information on the extent of first-time homeownership inequalities within and across metropolitan areas over time. The proposed research relies on the Panel Study of Income Dynamics (PSID) matched to U.S. Census data and Home Mortgage Disclosure Act (HMDA) data to explain the factors contributing to homeownership transitions for a sample of renters who first left their parents' homes during the years 1978 through 1987. Continuous time duration models are used to explain first-time homeownership transitions as a function of various individual, household, and location-specific variables.

#### 10. Urbanism and the Global Perspectives (Red Butte)

Moderator: Paul Kantor, Fordham University

*The Metropolitanization of Politics: A Global Perspective*  
Jeffrey M. Sellers, University of Southern California  
Vincent Hoffmann-Martinot, CNRS-IEP Bordeaux

Within developed countries, and increasingly around the world, a growing majority of citizens live either in urban areas and in the suburban or peripheral areas linked to them. With the exception of a number of studies focused solely on single countries, there has so far been no systematic inquiry into the full dimensions of this metropolitanization or its implications for governance and political behavior. In this paper, the product of a fifteen-nation collaborative cross-national research project, we employ the most extensive database yet constructed of standardized indicators at the metropolitan and local level to scrutinize the dimensions of this shift and its implications in a total of thirteen countries. The results point to growing problems of geopolitical fragmentation and emerging, parallel patterns of political division in metropolitan areas throughout the developed world and beyond. The paper will give systematic cross-national tests of several hypotheses: The spread of metropolitanization throughout advanced industrial societies and beyond; the suburbanization of metropolitan settlement, the corresponding social and spatial polarization, and the polarization of politics across metropolitan areas.

*A Global City Hypothesis: An Empirical Assessment*

Michael Timberlake, University of Utah

Xiulian Ma, University of Utah

Matthew Sanderson, University of Utah

Jessica Winitsky, University of Utah

Scholarly discourse on cities and globalization has centered on the concepts of “global cities” and “world cities.” From the perspectives embedding these concepts, the world’s great cities are becoming increasingly interconnected through organizational ties (e.g., as sites for headquarters and regional offices for global firms) and by the flows of commodities, information, and people. Thus, many of these cities can be said to be members of a single system of cities, and like most systems the world’s city system is a hierarchical one, with some cities serving more globally important roles in these organizational and flow networks. A number of social scientists working in this vein have noted the apparent increase in social polarization within global cities, and this has led some to claim that the dominant cities in the global hierarchy are, logically (given a certain set of assumptions), more polarized than less dominant cities. Our paper will empirically assess this claim among 100 U.S. cities. Using international air traffic flows as a proxy for organizational and flow centrality, we estimate the relationship between cities’ positions (and changes therein) in the world hierarchy of cities and levels of income inequality within cities. The findings have implications for the world city literature as well as for the politics of global city boosterism.

*Neo-liberalism and Japanese cities: Critical reflection in the last two decades*

Asato Saito, National University of Singapore

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The paper will look back the experience of urban and regional development in Japan for the last twenty years in relation to the Neo-liberal ideology which swept many industrialized and newly industrialized countries in the world. The implications of this ideology upon urban planning and development policy have caught wide attention in USA and Europe, and increasingly in Asian countries. Post-war Japan is known to hold ‘Developmentalism’ as a basic national ideology to foster economic development and social cohesion. Thus the introduction of neo-liberal ideology is likely to cause serious challenge and transformation in its governance system. The paper will address three key issues. Firstly, it will trace the history of neo-liberal ideas concerning urban development in Japan. It was first introduced in the early 1980s, interpreted and applied by various public and private agencies in the field of urban planning and development. Those responses were, however, significantly altered after the recession and public finance crisis in the following decade. Current Koizumi administration seems to be keen on pressing may reforms which is in line with the ideology. Secondly, it will compare and contrast the governance mechanism in the early years of neo-liberal introduction before the recession, and its present state. Pork-barrel politics which was significant component of ‘Developmentalism’ in post-war Japan is gradually disappearing and some elements of devolution were introduced. Thirdly, it will consider the implications of Japanese experience upon the theoretical discussion of neo-liberalism and governance. Neo-liberalism is often described as monolithic mechanism of market domination and the state contraction. However, since neo-liberalism is not introduced into a vacuum, but into particular national context of cultural tradition and history, it may be reasonable to think about variations and diversity of its realization.



*The European Initiative "Urban" and its effects in Spain*

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One of the most important projects of the European Union is the Urban Initiative, whose main goal is the regeneration of the disadvantaged areas in European cities. In general terms, Urban Initiative seems to be a great success and a modernization and learning tool, and it has helped to implement new policies of Urban Regeneration in the disadvantaged neighborhoods, according to strategies oriented by specific principles: partnership between public and private actors, citizen's participation, social, economical and environmental sustainability, possibility of expanding the experiences to other areas, implementation of new technologies or methods, etc. Even more, the procedures and methods used in the municipalities when implementing Urban initiatives had helped to modernize other fields of activity of these municipalities, and also has been imitated by other municipalities not included in the Initiative. Even so, the truth is that for the EU the urban areas are not subjects in a system of intergovernmental relationships, but just the object of some European policies: it is up to the member States to decide the internal territorial organization at the regional and local level. The aim of this paper is to analyze the meaning of the Urban Initiative in the context of the policies of the European Union (is there a specific sensibility towards the Urban Affairs?), to expose the main trends of the Urban initiative and to analyze the implementation of this EU Initiative in Spain, exposing and classifying the different types of projects that have received grants from the European Union (try to analyze in which activities the Spanish Municipalities have concentrated the EU Urban grants and why) and selecting some case specific studies.

*Regionalism, Reform and Reality: A Dutch Perspective on the Failure of Regional Cooperation*

Paul Kantor, Fordham University

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Political reformers largely view regional governmental cooperation in metropolitan areas as an increasingly compelling response to the problems of economic restructuring in the industrial West. Since regional reform is uncommon, however, scholars have frequently relied on building theories based on hypothetical benefits and suppositions about where and why regional governmental cooperation can flourish. Regional theory has two faces. One face explains why greater cooperation and consolidation is desirable and increasingly attractive for adoption by citizens. Where arguments for greater regional governmental cooperation were once grounded in arguments based on equity, the new regionalists point to the economic rationality of reform. In particular, theorists suggest that growing interdependence and the need of cities and suburbs to compete as regions encourages cross-territorial cooperation on economic development. The other face of the regionalist case highlights the obstacles to cooperation. In general, it is suggested that cooperation is hampered by political systems that are fragmented and where socio-economic differences between city and suburb are salient. Opposition to regionalism is likely to be most pronounced and successful in decentralized and particularistic political orders that are polarized along territorial lines. In contrast, centralized political systems are thought to afford more promising venues for reform and cooperation. Thus, state governments are thought to play a key role in promoting—and perhaps imposing—regional solutions in the USA. The focus of this paper examines both faces of the new regionalism. I suggest that regional theorists may be vastly overestimating the political incentives for greater regional political cooperation in less politically fragmented and polarized contexts. Evidence from the politics of metropolitan areas in the Netherlands, particularly the Amsterdam region, suggest that the obstacles to regional cooperation on matters of development do not diminish in these circumstances, as regionalist hope. Further, the process of economic restructuring does not only create greater regional interdependence; it also unleashes new forms of economic fragmentation that

discourage political cooperation. The Dutch political context offers what might appear to be a regionalist paradise. Holland has a strong tradition of state planning and state intervention in urban development, one of the most centralized systems of government and fiscal relations in Europe and very limited forms of social polarization, especially between central city and suburban areas. Further, the Amsterdam region has been undergoing a process of metropolitan area economic restructuring that has stimulated economic integration. Yet a survey of regional politics in the Amsterdam region and among cities in the larger Randstad region of Western Holland since the 1970s overwhelmingly indicates limited horizontal governmental cooperation and regional institution building. Dutch politics is marked by repeated responses by local government to obstruct, water down and even dismantle efforts at consolidation in urban economic development. Amsterdam and other cities in the region veer strongly towards go-it-alone approaches to urban development rather than building regional coalitions and institutions. The explanation for this surprising finding is that regional theorists have not accurately anticipated the dilemmas of building inter-territorial political cooperation in centralized political orders or realistically portrayed the political consequences of economic change. Though less fragmented along territorial lines, centralized political systems are organized in ways that create their own incentives for regional non-cooperation. In particular, efforts to encourage regional cooperation are undermined by the ability of cities to seek assistance directly from national governmental bureaucracies, especially in the case of larger cities. For its part, the national government is organized in ways that segment decisions about urban development along bureaucratic lines that have little to do with regional economies. This makes building cross-territorial coalitions of cities and suburbs difficult. By the same token, the private sector economy is marked by organizational restructuring that has little to do with regional forms of interdependence. Although the cities and suburbs may often share similar economic orbits, many parts of the regional economy are driven and regulated by sector specific forces that have a national or even transnational character. This frustrates regional attempts to build cooperation on common economic interests. The conclusion: The regional reform model is less realistic than its proponents have admitted. The Dutch experience suggests that the new regionalism is founded on suppositions about centralized political systems and economic interdependence that are more mythical than based on real world experience. Regional reform seems unsustainable in practice even in settings that are thought to be conducive for it to flourish. This calls for more systematic comparative research to further evaluate its prospects.

## 11. Analysis of Sprawl (Wasatch II)

Moderator: Jackie Cutsinger, Wayne State University

*If Sprawl Is the Evil, Why Do We Choose Sprawl? A Cultural Perspective on the Cause of Urban Sprawl*

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Urban sprawl has long been the scapegoat of series of economic, political, and social problems (e.g., Squires, 2002). However, regardless what we know about the negative impacts generated by urban sprawl, cities are continuously growing bigger and bigger with a higher rate (Fulton, et al, 2001). If we know urban sprawl is the evil, why do we continuously choose sprawl? The question is as same as: if we all know porn industry and illegal drug market are bad, why can't we completely prevent them existing? The answer is that behind the deteriorating sprawling metropolitan landscape, sprawl is offering us strong temptation which we can not turn down. What is the underground reason of urban sprawl? This study distinguishes factors as the inducement of urban sprawl, factors causing urban sprawl and factors facilitating urban sprawl. Attractive

housing and suburban lifestyle are the inducements offered by urban sprawl, but they did not exist before sprawl. They are not causes of urban sprawl. Culture and people are what causes urban sprawl. In the whole progress of sprawl, people are the only active factor that could make sprawl possible. This article argues that it is people who want and choose sprawl. Highways, cars, cheap gas are factors facilitating urban sprawl. They have been around us for a long time and will exist regardless what is going on with sprawl. But they encourage sprawl and made sprawl easier and more accessible. They are not causes of sprawl. This study hypothesizes that individualism as a basic American culture feature is positively correlated with the extent of urban sprawl. Measurement of individualism is based on Vandello and Cohen's 1999 work that individualism can be measured by eight items with in the US: percentage of people living alone, percentage of elderly people (over 65 years) living alone, percentage of households with grandchildren in them, divorce to marriage ratio, percentage of people with no religious affiliation, average percentage voting Libertarian over the last four presidential elections, ratio of people carpooling to work to people driving alone, and percentage of self-employed workers. Measurement of urban sprawl of this study will adopt the Urban Sprawl index created Boston University School of Public Health:  $SI=50(S\%-D\%)+1$ , where S% is the percentage of total population in low density census tracts and D% is percentage of the total population in high-density census tracts. Data need to be collected based on both 2000 Census and other sources, and data should be collected based on 280 MSAs or CMSAs across the US for this paper's purpose. Regression analysis was chosen to determine the associations between individualism and urban sprawl. This study will contribute to the urban sprawl literatures by clarifying some common misconceptions about causes of urban sprawl and makes an attempt to test the hypothesis between individualism and urban sprawl. Whether the result will generate a significant correlation or not, it is an interesting topic to study and will provide us better understanding about the cause of urban sprawl.

*Thirty Years of Urban Sprawl in Metropolitan America: 1970 - 2000*

Russell P. Lopez, Boston University

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Urban sprawl is not a new phenomenon; it is part of a process of decentralization that began decades ago. Until recently, there were no historical measures of sprawl, but using the Neighborhood Change Data Base developed for the Urban Institute, we calculated sprawl values for most US metropolitan areas for 1970, 1980, 1990 and 2000. In addition, we examined the distribution of land and population in low density (200 – 3500 persons per square mile) and high density (>3500 persons per square mile) census tracts for each of these years. There have been substantial increases in sprawl over the past 30 years and the amount of land consumed by urbanization greatly outpaced metropolitan population growth. Total urbanized land increased by 96% while total urbanized population increased by 51%. Most of this new urbanized land was developed at low densities, only a small amount of land shifted from low density to high density. The overall sprawl value for metropolitan America increased by 34% during this period. High or very high levels of sprawl, increasing in magnitude, characterize most metropolitan areas. But there are great differences in the progression of sprawl between metropolitan areas. Some metropolitan areas are sprawling because of a large increase in low density, peripheral development. Others have been more affected by inner city abandonment which drained people from high density tracts while low density tracts only marginally increased their total population. Also important, approximately 10% of metropolitan areas have decreasing levels of sprawl, mostly because of natural geographic or growth boundary constraints but also in a few cases because new growth is proceeding at a relatively high density.

*Linking City Economic Development and Growth Management Policy*  
Richard Feiock, Florida State University  
Wenjue Lu, Florida State University

The literatures on local growth policies and their development consequences tend to focus either on policy to promote growth through location incentives or on efforts to restrict or manage growth through growth management/growth control policies. Extant work on both policy adoption and impact examines these two policy types in isolation. Recent work has suggested linking these arenas by locating specific development and land use policies on a continuum that reflects the price private interests pay government (or government charges business) for development (Feiock and Steinacker 2004). The 'price' that firms pay ranges from negative (generous subsidies received) to close to zero (incentives mixed with constraints) to positive (extractions and restrictions imposed). Linking regulatory and incentive policies has implications for understanding the adoption of growth management programs. Local land use and growth management regulation can only be understood in the context of the economic position and development goals of a community. To what extent do city economic development goals and programs constrain or facilitate land use regulation? To what extent are growth management programs coordinated with economic development policy? This perspective also has implications for evaluating the economic development impacts of local regulation. Only by examining the configuration of regulatory and incentive policies can we identify the development consequences of local government policy. The proposed paper will investigate these questions based upon a national survey of economic development and land use policies in all cities with populations over 75 thousand and all cities with populations over 10 thousand in 12 metropolitan areas.

*Sprawl Syndromes: Developing Typologies of Metropolitan Land Use Patterns*  
Jackie Cutsinger, Wayne State University

**SPRAWL SYNDROMES: Developing Typologies of Metropolitan Land Use Patterns**  
After operationalizing and measuring fourteen indices of sprawl related to housing and job location for a representative sample of 50 U.S. metropolitan areas, a cluster analysis was undertaken to determine whether any of these metro areas share common underlying features of sprawl and can therefore be grouped together by type. Geographic regularities in the fourteen sprawl indices within the sample suggest that metropolitan areas can be categorized by their type of sprawl, or "sprawl syndrome." We consistently find four distinct sprawl syndromes using several cluster analysis techniques. Resultant clusters by syndrome include: undifferentiated, dense metros, leapfrog metros, compact, core-dominant metros, and garden-variety metros. Cluster membership is internally and externally validated using replication and discriminant analysis. In undifferentiated, dense metros housing and jobs are situated in a relatively condensed manner with consistently intensive land use, yet there is little variation in housing or job patterns across space. Leapfrog metros tend to be characterized by development that skips around to the far-flung reaches of their metro areas, rather than being built in a continuous fashion. Compact, core-dominant metros are those in which jobs and housing are clustered near the core with a dominant share of the region's employment. Garden-variety metros score near the sample means on all of the sprawl measures. Since there are no distinguishing sprawl features of this grouping, these metro areas may be considered conventional, middle-of-the-road types. They represent the norm of metropolitan land-use patterns, American-style.

## 12. Local Government & Development Strategies (Cottonwood II)

Moderator: Rod Hissong, University of Texas at Arlington

*The City Manager's Bold Move: Restructuring Local Institutions to Diffuse Housing Innovation*

Dan Melton, University of Missouri at Kansas City  
Robyne Turner, University of Missouri at Kansas City  
Marilyn Siegel, University of Missouri at Kansas City

Recent works in institutional theory explain city structural change in terms of institutional dynamics, providing a framework to discuss diffusion of innovation (Frederickson, Johnson and Wood 2004; Frederickson et al 2004). Within this framework, the authors examine the role of the city manager as a change agent in responding to regulatory-induced crises and racial political practices through a case study of Kansas City. In the 1970s, the city council responded to political demands of the minority community by decentralizing the use of CDBG dollars. Despite its ineffectiveness, the city maintained the system for decades. In 2004, the city manager of Kansas City boldly disbanded the Housing and Community Development Department amidst poor auditor reports and critical oversight from the Housing and Urban Development Department. As the city's new and first black city manager, Wayne Cauthen responded to the growing pressure from audit and community criticisms as well as unproductive results of the housing department. He created a Kansas City Housing Task Force and invited community leaders from many disciplines to recommend new strategies that extend beyond housing production towards neighborhood revitalization. Drawing from his experience in Denver, Cauthen challenged the task force to recommend a new structure at city hall that encompassed the myriad of neighborhood development factors beyond mere housing stock. Through interviews and historical analysis, this paper interweaves the institutional concepts of political legitimacy, change agents, diffusion of innovation, and structure to explain the adoption of an innovative approach to housing and community development using the case of Kansas City.

*Local Government Autonomy and Economic Development*

Jered B. Carr, Wayne State University

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State-local fiscal relations deserve another look in the wake of the economic recession that produced the deepest state deficits in 50 years (Feldman and Marlantes, 2002). When state coffers were brimming during the 1990s, states created new programs and services (and new benefit constituencies for them) in health and social services, education and the arts. Overall, state spending increased by 28%, adjusting for inflation and population growth (Boyd, 2003). Many states cut their own taxes during the period and some cut or capped local property taxes, supplanting the revenue lost to localities with revenue from sales or income taxes (Barret, et al 2003). Long identified by taxpayers as the least fair tax (see U.S. ACIR 1972-1994), property tax relief had been a popular gubernatorial campaign pledge. The supplantation of local taxes from state revenues is problematic for a number of reasons. The first, from an intergovernmental perspective, is that the line between state taxes and local taxes becomes blurred when states pay localities for forgiven taxes (Barrett, et. al, 2003, p. 4). From a financial perspective, an adequate source of revenue at the local level has been replaced with state revenues that may or may not be adequate. The combination of new spending and tax cuts during the 1990s left many states in a structural, rather than cyclical, imbalance during the downturn that began in 2001. Savings (e.g., rainy day funds) and current revenues were insufficient to meet ongoing program demands, and will remain insufficient even after

the recession ends. Cyclical imbalances are inconvenient; structural imbalances require tax increases or cuts in existing programs and services (Forsyth, 1997). Supplanting local property taxes from state sales taxes is particularly problematic in the long term as state revenues from sales taxes continue to decline in real terms. The transition to a service-based economy leaves many transactions untaxed, states have exempted some commodities like food, drugs and utilities, and untaxable Internet sales grow. In 2002, sales taxes accounted for 33.5% of all state revenue; overtaken for the first time by income taxes at 34.7% . States that maintained structural balance during the recession had a diverse tax structure (sales, personal and corporate income) and healthy reserves (see Lauth, 2003). States that were overly reliant on sales taxes fared very poorly. When states confront structural imbalance, revenue promises they made to their local governments may lie in the path of least resistance. That is the danger of fiscal centralization, or the tendency toward an increase in combined state and local taxes to be collected by the state. When states need revenue, history demonstrates that revenue shared with localities is among the first cut, along with higher education (Gold and Ritchie, 1994). The Michigan experience with Proposition A is instructive. Michigan enacted Proposition A in 1994, which heavily restricted the growth of taxable property values, and consequently local property tax revenues, in the state. Restricting local government revenues was supposed to have been fully offset by state shared revenues. This is no longer the case, as these revenues have been cut sharply each of the last three years. This has left many of the older, inner-ring suburbs surrounding Detroit in a severe fiscal crunch. For many of these local governments, their ability to maintain basic services is now in jeopardy. The moral: fiscal centralization can handcuff the same localities it helps, even when state-local relations are healthy. The dilemma: without access to revenue alternatives and with their own tax domain constricted, local governments in Michigan and other states with structural imbalances may be practicing their own form of cutback budgeting in the near term.

*Subprime Lending: The Case of a Government Sponsored Urban Land Market Failure*  
Ray Massenburg, University of Illinois at Chicago  
[rmasse2@uic.edu](mailto:rmasse2@uic.edu)

. Introduction In this study I present a model that illustrates the where subprime lenders went when their market was initially created. My findings include both income and risk as significant predictors. However, I also found both percentage of African Americans and historically redlined areas as significant predictors. I assert that these latter two findings as evidence of government sponsored--racially based--market failure that has had some profound ramifications.

### 13. Growth Management II (Cottonwood I)

Moderator: Michael Howell-Moroney, University of Alabama at Birmingham

*Making Land-Use Tradeoffs: What Factors Shape Public Opinion on 'Smart' Growth?*  
Paul G. Lewis, Institute of California  
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Many commentators argue that typical patterns of suburban development are unsustainable, and call for governments and developers to pursue urban infill and transit-oriented growth. Others question the marketability of such concepts and the willingness of people to live in relatively dense, mixed-use environments. This paper will describe responses to several carefully worded public opinion questions that asked respondents to consider choices between the merits of a "smart" growth neighborhood environment, versus those of more traditional suburban development. For example, respondents were asked whether they would prefer "a small home with a

small backyard, if it means you have a short commute to work” or “a large home with a big backyard, even if it means you would have a long commute.” Another question asked for a choice between “a mixed-use neighborhood where you can walk to stores, schools, and services” or “a residential-only neighborhood, even if it means you have to drive a car to stores, schools, and services.” These and other questions were part of two representative surveys on land use conducted in 2001 and 2002 by the Public Policy Institute of California, each with about 2,000 Californians responding. Using multivariate models, we seek to explain respondents’ choices on these trade-off questions, using measures of their age, race, gender, income, and other characteristics, such as the presence of children in their household. Further, we are able to match most respondents to their municipality of residence. Using Census and other data, we seek to explore the influence of one’s community context (factors such as local population density, growth rate, and average commute time) on land-use opinions. Results of this study relate closely to the conference themes of urban equity and sustainability, as they will indicate the potential constituencies for land-use reforms and for denser, more citylike living.

*Operationalizing Smart Growth: Prospects and Constraints from a Baseline Study in Wisconsin*  
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This paper examines the potential for implementing Wisconsin's smart growth law (Wisconsin Act 9) against the values of residents in Wisconsin. In 1999 the State of Wisconsin passed into law Wisconsin Act 9, also referred to as the Smart Growth Law (Wisconsin State Statutes 66.1001). The law requires, but does not mandate, all communities in Wisconsin intent on managing land use to prepare and adopt comprehensive plans by 2010. Wisconsin’s law follows the basic general principles embodied in most smart growth laws around the country. They include a requirement for: i) compact growth; ii) collaboration among a community’s stakeholders in the planning process; iii) revitalization of older neighborhoods and the downtown as a means for curbing growth on the fringe of the city; iv) providing a variety of housing types within the community for residents; v) promoting transportation choice by providing opportunities for different modes of transportation; vi) fostering design that ensures a sense of place and a distinctiveness for communities; and vii) preserving farmland, among others. Washington county is one of the fastest growing counties in the state of Wisconsin and thus provides the backdrop for assessing the implementation of the state's smart's growth law. Two telephone surveys of residents in Washington County on their views of the county’s development are used to examine the requirements of the law against the values of county residents. These surveys were conducted in 1999/2000 and in the summer of 2003. While the purpose of the surveys was to ascertain residents’ sentiments toward economic development issues in the county, the surveys also asked respondents about their views on land use and thus provide important insights on planning issues in the county. The results provide us with an early benchmark test of what communities around the state should expect as they begin the preparation of their comprehensive plans to meet the requirements of the state’s smart growth law. Also, since the studies were conducted in two different economic cycles 1999/2000 – strong economic growth, 2003 – recession) we have an opportunity to determine what effects, if any, economic conditions have on resident sentiments toward smart growth principles.

*Evaluating State Growth Management Programs*  
Michael Edward Howell-Moroney, University of Alabama at Birmingham  
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This paper presents a set of empirical strategies to evaluate state growth management programs using panel data.

*Zoning Enforcement & Compliance in Growing Central Cities: Choices & Challenges for Local Government*

Laura Wolf-Powers, Pratt Institute

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Several of America's largest central cities gained or regained population and employment during the 1990s. While older manufacturing-oriented places like Philadelphia, Detroit and Baltimore continued to scale down in size, two distinct types of central cities posted notable growth: "new" southern and western cities such as Houston and Phoenix which have grown steadily since mid-century and older northern cities – Chicago and New York – where diverse economies and the attraction of new immigrant populations have helped reverse post-industrial decline (Perry and Mackun 2001). As different as growing central cities are in many ways, they are knit together by a housing crunch as demand for housing – particularly middle- and low-income units – outpaces supply. The increasing imperative to accommodate new residents in growing but land-poor central cities has often collided with separate challenges surrounding zoning regulations and their enforcement. Officials are eager to facilitate new residential development and rehabilitation, and many argue that changes in approach to zoning and building code enforcement advance this cause. But concerns about code compliance remain highly relevant (Burby, May and Paterson 1998), for both health and safety and more general economic reasons. Recent research suggests that government can simultaneously improve compliance and spur development through a combination of increased enforcement capacity and a more business-friendly or facilitative approach to regulation (see Burby et al 2000). This paper undertakes case studies of the four largest central cities (New York, Los Angeles, Chicago and Houston) to address the following questions: Have cities taken a more facilitative approach to zoning and building regulation under the imperative to produce more housing? Has this approach been successful? What challenges has it presented? Finally, have business-friendly enforcement efforts been accompanied by increases in enforcement capacity as recommended by researchers, and if not, has this led to problems of reduced compliance?

#### 14. Sustainability and Urban Development (Aspen)

Moderator: Cliff Ellis, University of Kansas

*Sustainability, the Environment, and the New Urbanism*

Cliff Ellis, University of Kansas

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Sustainability has become a critical filter for evaluating land development and the built environment. At the root of this concern is widespread recognition of the need to create buildings, communities, and regions that function in harmony with the natural environment. The role that New Urbanism can play in achieving sustainable development has not been thoroughly researched. This paper begins to fill this gap in the literature by analyzing the links between sustainability, environmental conservation, and New Urbanist design. In addition, we present a framework for evaluating the environmental impacts of the built environment across various scales. Such a framework can be used to assess existing or proposed New Urbanist projects. The paper also reviews a selection of New Urbanist projects at all scales (region, city, town, neighborhood, district, site, and building) which display important features that contribute to sustainability. Finally, the paper offers suggestions for future research.



*Housing and Sustainability: A Case Study of Sustainable Housing Policies in Australia*  
Emily W. L. Yip, University of Sydney  
Ed Blakely, University of Sydney

Being the major element in urban development, housing plays a key role in ensuring economic prosperity, social cohesion and justice as well as environmental sustainability of a nation, a city or a community. The concept of sustainability can be applied to various aspects of housing, starting from the ways in which it is planned, produced, managed and regenerated, to its effect on the consumption patterns and its impact on social and cultural life. Despite the potential, the majority of housing policies today are more directed at aspects such as the physical design of the environment or transportation issues. To date, very little studies have been done to explore how sustainability can be integrated into housing policies in a more holistic manner. Using Australia as a case study, this paper sets out to examine how far, and in what ways the concept of sustainability is being incorporated in current housing policies and programs at both the national and state levels. The paper will cover housing policies in five Australian states: New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, Western Australia and Queensland and it will focus particularly on the public and indigenous housings as well as the affordability issues. The paper will present a comparative analysis among the identified housing policies in Australia and it will draw on some other international examples of sustainable housing policies for comparison. This paper will be a contribution towards better housing policies that truly advance the sustainability agenda.

*Sustainable Communities and the Collaborative Megachurch: A Call for Megachurches to Love Thy Neighbor*  
Ron Pate, Portland State University

In *Better Together*, Robert Putnam stated that, “social networks have real value both for the people in those networks, . . . as well as for bystanders.” Putnam’s book, celebrating exemplary social entrepreneurs, includes a chapter on Saddleback Church, a mega church in Southern California. Unfortunately, mega churches have not lived up to the promise of producing value or benefits for local bystanders because they have generally been unwilling to coordinate their organizing interests with the needs of their neighbors. This paper analyzes the growing body of literature about the mega church phenomenon, and applies the insights gained to three mega church cases in Portland Oregon. I show that the development trajectory of mega churches typically conflicts with the public interests of their surrounding communities. Instead, they function as what Manuel Castells describes as, a “space of flows,” where the bulk of those attending commute from distant locations, thus forming an alternative community that is both insular and self-perpetuating. Empowered by the Religious Land Use and Institutionalized Persons Act, the advance of mega churches against the interests of communities has produced diverse ramifications such as: 1) zoning and land use problems; 2) public health and environmental hazards; and, 3) causing the further erosion of public places into private spaces. Because of the superior political and economic powers of advancing mega churches, Jonathan Weiss, director of the Center on Sustainable Growth has resolved that for communities to experience beneficial outcomes will require a process capable of producing a “consensus” solution. Thus, the final section of the paper addresses the equipping of communities with persuasive strategies that are derived from the mega church’s own theological mindset. This strategy is built on the achievable goals of converting the mega church into a sustainability ally, and facilitating collaborative development through a narrative planning process involving all stakeholders.

*Regional Policy Coordination and Sustainable Development: Fragmentation, Competition and Land-Use in U.S. Metropolitan Areas*

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During the past decade, research in the United States and Western Europe has suggested that fragmentation of policy decision-making and authority at the regional level has fostered, if not encouraged, development along the suburban fringe and disinvestment in urban core areas (Katz, 2000; Richmond, 2000; Orfield, 1997; Keating, 1997; Salet et al., 2003; Parks & Oakerson, 1989; Altshuler et al., 1999). This research has proposed that greater regional policy coordination would provide a governance framework necessary to foster sustainable, more equitable development. However, existing research has failed to provide an adequate operational definition of regional governance and lacks empirical evidence on the degree of fragmentation among regional institutions. It treats governance, and in particular the fragmentation of regional policy, as a constant as opposed to a multi-dimensional variable. This gap in the literature prevents scholars and policy makers from understanding 1) the complexity of regional policy coordination and 2) the diverse impacts that varying degrees of policy fragmentation may have on patterns of development. The purpose of my paper will be 1) to reexamine the conceptual framework on regional governance as provided by existing research; 2) to construct an operational definition of policy coordination at the regional level, with an emphasis on setting parameters on degrees of policy fragmentation; and 3) to gather empirical data from regional policy actors across U.S. metropolitan areas to assess the degree of fragmentation in regional policy decision-making and authority. The empirical data will be gathered from a survey of planning directors from municipal and regional authorities, based on a national random sample. Findings from this research will advance theoretical constructs of regional governance by reappraising the existing conceptual framework in light of new empirical data. In addition, the research will improve the teaching and practice of urban planning and development by providing empirical observations on the degree of fragmentation currently impacting regional policy-making.

15. Urban Services and Equity (Millcreek)

Moderator: Brian Coffey, University of Washington, Tacoma

*To what extent do the Cleveland police departments traffic ticketing patterns target Blacks*

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This research addresses the issue of equity in the administration of justice confronting many cities throughout the nation by analyzing racial traffic ticket data collected in the city of Cleveland between April 1999 and May 2001. There were very few empirical studies on racial profiling in a pre-9/11 context. Among those studies conducted on the subject both before and after 9/11 scholars have yet to reach a consensus on how to best define and measure the driving population against which any racial disparities in traffic tickets should be compared. This study integrated various quantitative research methods including the use of a gravity model and age and racial demographic data from the 2000 U.S. Census to provide a more precise estimate of the driving population in the city of Cleveland in order to make a relatively accurate determination of racial disparities in the distribution of traffic tickets in this, the third most racially segregated city in the country. This research also examines racial profiling from an institutional racism perspective rather than the traditional individual racism perspective in which the discussion is usually framed. The study found that blacks were disproportionately ticketed by police in the city of Cleveland, which is consistent with the findings of a study of racial profiling in four other major Ohio

cities. The findings are also consistent with conflict theory arguments that minorities are disproportionately sanctioned by the criminal justice system.

*Neighborhood Councils and the Geography of Urban Governance: A Case Study of Tacoma, Washington*

Brian Coffey, University of Washington, Tacoma  
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Neighborhood councils form an important and sometimes problematic layer in the governance system of many cities across the United States. The literature on these institutions has focused mainly on their hypothesized role in facilitating citizen participation in neighborhood and metropolitan planning. Much less work has explored the presumably diverse experiences of neighborhood councils as place-based institutions embedded within, and reflective of, the social geography of the city. In particular, we have surprisingly little research that documents the development priorities, fund raising capabilities, project achievements, and scalar tensions associated with neighborhood councils operating in different neighborhoods of the same city. Given this gap in the literature, this paper offers a geographical perspective on the neighborhood council experience in Tacoma, Washington. Through interviews and a review of documentation, variations in council interests, priorities, activities, and expenditures are examined and suggestions aimed at enhancing this form of participatory government are presented.

*Discourse between citizens and the city: Citizen governance in Houston, Texas.*

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The literature on neighborhood planning and development has consistently argued for an open, accessible and accountable approach that embraces public participation usually but not always through community-based or neighborhood organizations. This study investigates the efficacy of Super Neighborhoods (SNs) - community-based organizations that were established by the City of Houston in 1999, as a means of "bringing government closer to the people". The study focuses on Houston because traditionally, the city's political and administrative institutions are strongly aligned with pro-growth interests without any significant input from neighborhood or community-based organizations. This study noted that there were no concerted efforts to elect community representatives into the Super Neighborhood Councils (SNCs) Membership of each SNC is through self-selection and the use of informal networking - avenues that are considered inadequate and inequitable. Capacity building at both the individual and collective levels was observed to be minimal across SNs. Regarding citizen governance - the extent to which citizens have control over government actions, the SN concept does not seem to strengthen the city's traditionally weak citizen involvement in local government decision-making process. The most obvious achievement of SNs is the "task" element of both self-help and technical approaches to community development.

*St. Louis Metromorphosis: Achieving equity and sustainability in the urban core*

Mark Tranel, University of Missouri at St. Louis  
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The proposed paper will examine processes for achieving equity and sustainability in the urban environment. It will report on a study conducted for Gateway Greening, Inc., a St. Louis-based community development organization that supports the creation and maintenance of community gardens. Community gardens are purported to have a wide range of beneficial impacts on their surrounding neighborhoods. Not only developing green space and food source, but also crime reduction and increased property values. There has been scant empirical investigation of these claims, although there is a

preponderance of anecdotal evidence in the popular press. Gateway Greening, Inc. acquired private financing for the three-year Whitmire Community Garden study. The study developed a methodology for assessing change in a set of indicators for neighborhoods surrounding 54 gardens in the City of St. Louis. St. Louis has been a poster child for urban stress, experiencing substantial population and job losses, massive housing abandonment, and economic, as well as racial, segregation. The study focused on a series of variables that estimate the well being of the neighborhoods in general and Garden Impact Areas in particular. Recent work (as noted in Sawicki and Flynn, 1996) has utilized indicators at the neighborhood and below level to more clearly identify and evaluate impacts of policies and projects that are geographically specific. The study applied GIS software to collect data from the 1990 and 2000 Census for 3-block radii around the study gardens. Using difference of differences to compare the data, the finding record Garden Impact Areas had greater increases in rents and mortgage expenditures, rates of home ownership, and particularly larger increases in household income. At the same time, the percentage of low-income households was more stable as was the overall population. Assessing urban development must examine redevelopment of the core as well as development of the fringe.

*Equity, sustainability, and innovation in public power*

Catherine Horiuchi, Seattle University

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In the public mind, time has dimmed memories of the California market failure and the collapse of Enron, replaced by worries about gasoline at over fifty dollars a barrel, and whether our fossil-fuel-based economic model is sustainable over the long term. While headlines of the day vary, beneath the surface lies one question essential for an equitable and sustainable city. What is the role of municipal power to support America's cities? Public power has a century-old connection to the social fabric of communities where it is found. Most recently, urban redevelopment projects must provide infrastructure and premium quality power to support the growth of cleaner, new-era industries such as high technology and bio-medical research. Green energy initiatives and renewable portfolios seek to reduce dependence on fossil fuels and limit smokestack emissions that cloud urban skies. Environmental justice initiatives seek to remedy impacts of traditional generation in nearby low income neighborhoods. Cities as large as San Francisco have considered municipalization, the takeover of privately held electric system assets and services, as one method to gain greater control over their energy infrastructure, services and pricing. Offering utility services as a city department allows targeted rate relief to certain customer classes and capacity to promote programs ranging from urban forests to refrigerator rebates. A city's utility department adds a reliable revenue stream to the general fund as well: the City of Los Angeles Department of Water and Power contributed \$185 million to the city's reserve fund in 2003. Alternatively, restructuring of energy markets has created opportunities for cities to flex their power with traditional investor owned utilities. This paper discusses the current state of public power, its contribution to the fiscal and civic goals of urban areas, and the larger energy regulatory environment within which cities are developing their energy options.

## 16. Homelessness (Parleys II)

Moderator: Christopher Leo, University of Winnipeg

*Building the Determinants of Homelessness in Seoul Korea*

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Due to the financial default in 1997, Korean society was forced to endure predicaments such as acute economic recession and mass unemployment. Such economic conditions gave rise to serious social problems like family dissolution or street homelessness that still remains to be solved. Special attention of this study will be paid to the chronic homelessness in Seoul, Korea. Homelessness does not stem from any one cause but results from a combination of factors, including the extreme poverty and alienation of individuals who live alone or are without family and are physically, mentally, or socially disabled. The lack of jobs in a depressed economy, the insufficient welfare service programs, and a shortage of affordable housing also add to the number of unfortunate causes of homelessness. This study argues that these factors were caused by the negative externalities, which in turn were triggered by both market and governmental failures of Korea. The objectives of this study are to measure the causal determinants of homelessness in Seoul and to make suggestions for policy implications. The path analysis technique will be used for identifying the determinants of homelessness in Seoul. In short, the path analysis uses linear models to test causal relationships among a set of factors determining homelessness. The primary advantage of the path analysis is to explicitly specify the presumed causal relationships among the factors. Data will be collected from two homeless people: one residing in a shelter and the other living on the streets. In conclusion, the study will measure direct and indirect effects determining homelessness in Seoul. In this context, the study will suggest policy recommendations for reducing homelessness and for achieving stable housing for the difficult-to-serve people who routinely live in the streets in Seoul.

*Exploring Connections between Homelessness and Housing Affordability*

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The purpose of this study is to investigate whether housing affordability problem has different impact on varying types of the homeless. This study will seek the geographic distribution of prior addresses of different categories of the homeless and then analyze the distribution of prior addresses for each category of homeless with the factors related to housing affordability. Specifically, this study seeks to address the following research questions: ·Does the spatial distribution of prior addresses for each type of the homeless differ? ·Are the housing-affordability-related factors associated with the distribution of prior addresses of the homeless? ·What housing-affordability-related factors are associated with the distribution of prior addresses for each type of the homeless? Data will be collected through various agencies providing services for the homeless people in Leon County, Florida. This study will construct a database of addresses aggregated by census tract. Using ArcGIS, the data of addresses will be geo-coded in conjunction with the street file for Leon County. Then the number of prior addresses of homeless will be counted for each census tract by overlying a map of census tracts in Leon County on a map containing the prior addresses of homeless people. After having the number of prior addresses of each homeless type for each census tract, then these numbers will be transformed into the location quotient (LQ). The transformed numbers of prior addresses of each homeless type by census tract will be the dependent variables of this study. There has been no such study to have several dependent variables due to varying categories of homeless population. The independent variables of this study will be a set of variables on housing affordability

obtained from the U.S. 2000 Census data. The statistical procedures include basic descriptive statistics, analysis of variance, correlation analysis, and spatial regression analysis.

*National Policy and Local Initiative: Housing and Homelessness*  
Christopher Leo, University of Winnipeg

## 17. Urban Employment and Equity (Blue Spruce)

Moderator: Elsie L. Harper-Anderson, University of Michigan

*The Impact of Economic Boom and Bust Cycles on Racialized Employment Outcomes*  
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The economic boom period of the 1990's and subsequent bust of 2001 determined new winners and losers in urban labor markets. During the economic expansion, educated blacks along with their white counterparts, experienced tremendous gains in earnings and occupation levels. The talent-hungry firms of the knowledge-based economy proclaimed that the best man for the job would be duly rewarded. Economic activity was most concentrated in urban centers with specializations in industries most closely tied to technological advancement and knowledge. Unfortunately, the end of the decade brought the expansion period to a halt. Those regions most concentrated in "new economy" industries were hardest hit. Blacks within the most prosperous industries, as in the rest of the economy, were more likely to become unemployed and more likely to experience long-term unemployment than their white counterparts. Inequality is an inherent part of capitalism and has become more dramatic at this latest stage. This research addresses the relationship between racial equity and the structure of regional economies. The analysis shows that regions and industries which benefited most from the economic expansion were the same ones most dramatically impacted by economic decline and subsequently the reversal of racial equity gains for professional blacks. Additional findings suggest that new labor market dynamics interact with certain features of regional economic structure to create a precarious and vulnerable position for the African American professional. The research suggests that the racially mediated outcome of the latest economic shock is explained by a combination of the new rules for success in the latest stage of capitalism and regional economic factors which make progress toward racial equity less sustainable over cycles of the economy. The study utilizes quantitative and qualitative analysis to focus on five CMSAs within California, New York, and Michigan. Multivariate regression estimates the influence of regional economic factors on racial equity patterns for the period of economic expansion (1996-1999) and the period of economic decline (2000-2003). The findings imply that the strive toward stable and equitable urban metropolises must be informed by knowledge of the social consequences of urban economic growth patterns. Hence, economic development strategies must be integrated with policies that address racial equity.

*Does the Creative Economy Have a Downside?*  
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Florida's (2002) work ranks 268 U. S. metropolitan areas according to a Creativity Index. This paper explores two primary hypotheses related to whether "creative" metropolitan are in fact "better" as a result of "creativity". The hypotheses are: 1. Creativity appears important for an area's economic health in the global economy but the relationship between creativity and economic health has not been established nor has the direction of causality. 2. If creativity improves a city's economic health, does

it also improve other aspects of the city? That is, are the negative effects of poverty, homelessness, and gender discrimination as reflected by wage gaps affected by the existence or growth of "creativity" The first hypothesis will be tested via statistical regression and path analysis. The second hypothesis will be tested to determine any statistically significant differences in levels of poverty, or homelessness, or gender wage gaps in creative vs. non-creative regions. Results are unavailable at this time.

*Interlocal Cooperation and Equity: The Inclusion of Economically Challenged Communities in Regional Activity*

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This study focuses on regional cooperation and its implications for equity and inclusion for economically and ethnically isolated communities in metropolitan areas. More specifically, this study examines where intergovernmental cooperation takes place in metropolitan areas to determine whether all jurisdictions, including central cities, inner ring suburbs, low income communities, and communities of color are equally included in the cooperation that does occur. This research builds on a recent study of intrametropolitan fiscal cooperation that found large degrees of variation among metropolitan area levels of interlocal cooperation (as measured by per capita intergovernmental transfers). Among the other major findings from this study was that areas with high levels of income variation had lower levels of overall cooperation. This study also found that areas dominated by their central cities had lower level of overall cooperation. It is possible that a metropolitan area may have high levels of overall intrametropolitan areas while excluding particular types of local governments from the cooperation that does occurs. To this end, this study addresses the following questions: 1) Are there specific attributes of areas dominated by their central cities that make cooperation less attractive to the individual jurisdictions. Or, is the lower cooperation a product of the exclusion of central cities? 2) What is it about areas with high levels of income variation that leads to lower levels of overall interlocal cooperation? Is the lower overall cooperation a product of the exclusion of less economically advantaged areas? 3) Do levels of interlocal expenditures differ by central city, inner ring suburbs (declining), low-income areas, communities of color, and outer ring suburbs in metropolitan areas?; and 4) Is there a stable subsidizer/subsidizee relationship between the different types of jurisdictions, and if so, why?

*Social and Political Equity in the Classroom: Assessing Diversity Within College Programs*

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The primitive status of inclusion in the planning and architectural professions, particularly the schools of architecture are approaching extinction for many minorities. Gender inclusion has made progress within the ranks of academia but remains stagnant within the professional domain. Counter to the literature, a majority of surveyed students (white males) did not think that academia practiced racial and gender discrimination; and were satisfied with the context of their education. Although, approximately one-third of the students believed that women and 'persons of color' were treated differently than the general student population. Racial and gender issues still exist in college. This research has found that minority and female inclusion into the profession can begin at the college level with the teaching of diversity issues in core course subjects, more scholarships, gender and minority involvement in the recruitment at the middle and high school levels, and more middle and high school college prep programs.

## 4:00pm - 5:30pm Concurrent Panels

### 18. (Colloquy) HOPE VI in Portland, Oregon: Doing it Differently? (Parleys II)

Moderator: Karen J. Gibson, Portland State University

Carl Abbott, Portland State University  
Veronica King, Housing Authority of Portland

### 19. Housing Affordability II (Parleys I)

Moderator: Thomas J. Vicino, University of Maryland, Baltimore

*Filtering and the supply of low-priced housing in Canada*  
Andrejs Skaburskis, Queen's University  
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This paper examines the rent and price differences across dwellings built in Canada during different points in time. The age profiles for standardized dwellings show that the rent differences are too small to be of interest to policy makers. The differences in the ownership sector are larger and the filtering process has given more low-income households access to the homeownership market. The income and expenditure profiles also show that the aging process has helped low income owners reduce their housing expenditure burdens in a number of cities. The most important finding shows the differences across the age categories since 1981 have been getting smaller and have been eliminated in some cities. The direction of filtering has changed in all Canadian census metropolitan areas. Filtering is now a cause of the growing housing problems of low-income households, it is not a solution.

*Affordable Housing in Metropolitan Maryland*  
Thomas J. Vicino, University of Maryland, Baltimore  
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This study examined the housing market in metropolitan counties in the state of Maryland (along the Baltimore-Washington corridor) and found that the demand for affordable housing far exceeded the supply of affordable housing. We found that there is a high demand for housing in the region, which is the result of a strong economy, job growth, service institutions such as hospitals and universities, and proximity to the nation's capital. Supply did not keep up with demand and has remained limited. The result was a supply and demand problem of affordable housing units. Our analysis of Census data and market information revealed that over a third of households lack affordable housing, and nearly two-thirds of low-income households lack affordable housing. While local governments offer a variety of policies and programs to assist renters and homeowners in locating affordable housing, our analysis of housing policies found that existing county programs did not go far enough in making units affordable, and most jurisdictions did not even meet established goals to increase the number of affordable housing units. We conclude with a set of policy recommendations that are likely to boost the supply of affordable housing.



*Affordable Housing in Island Communities: An Emerging Threat to Economic Sustainability*  
Carissa Schively, University of Minnesota  
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Island communities face a number of unique challenges in providing affordable housing. On the demand side, attractive environments and jobs in the tourism industry increase the number of people seeking housing. In terms of supply, sensitive natural resources and growth management policies may restrict the number of housing units that can be constructed in these communities. Further, second-home buyers are often seen as increasing demand in already tight housing markets. In many island communities, this demand and supply imbalance has led to significantly increasing housing prices. Decreases in affordability are often particularly challenging in island communities where a large portion of the population is employed in the service industry, where incomes are concentrated at the low to moderate levels. Recognizing the growing need for affordable housing for those working in the tourism sector, as well in essential service areas such as education and government, many island communities are beginning to see the protection of housing affordability as essential to the sustainability of their tourism economies. These affordable housing challenges and sustainability concerns are exacerbated in geographically-isolated island communities where the employment market is necessarily constrained and where workers lack the option of a longer commute in exchange for cheaper housing. This paper examines housing trends and affordable housing policies in several geographically-isolated island communities. The analysis reveals a briskly increasing gap between local salaries and costs for both renter and owner-occupied housing. A number of consistent trends and challenges facing these communities are also identified. The paper concludes by discussing some of the efforts that the communities have used to address affordable housing shortages and makes additional recommendations based on the analysis.

## 20. International Perspectives on Community Development (Red Butte)

Moderator: Robert Kerstein, University of Tampa

*Community organizations in a metropolitan region: does local place matter?*  
Richard Morin, University of Quebec at Montreal  
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Research Questions: Many authors have underlined the socio-economic and functional fragmentation of the metropolitan regions. These regions attract investments, professionals and skilled workers. However, some core neighborhoods and some districts of the old suburbs are stroke by the decline of the economic activities and the growing importance of unemployment and poverty. This raises the question of equity and the supposed «trickle down effect» of the growth model of development. Therefore, many community organizations promote an alternative model development, the local development, in order to improve living conditions of people. These organizations intervene in many domains: housing, employment, education, leisure, etc. Their conception of local development and their strategies of action are different. Do these conceptions and strategies differ according to the field of intervention or according to the place (core neighborhood, old suburb, etc.) where these organizations are intervening? In other words, does local place matters in the way the community organizations of a same metropolitan region: 1) define local development; 2) elaborate their mission; 3) manage theirs resources; 4) deal with local people and other actors; 5) and provide their services? Methodology: We have raised these questions in a research project financed by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (2001-2004). We have interviewed the leaders of sixteen community organizations involved in local development process in the central city and

in the suburbs of the metropolitan region of Montréal (Québec, Canada). We have also met individuals working in associations and agencies that are linked with the community organizations we have studied. Key Findings: Results suggest: 1) that the field of intervention, which conducts each organization to deal with a specific institutional context is an important factor explaining the differences between community organizations; 2) that the way community organizations deal with this context is an important issue.

*Community-Based Poverty Alleviation in Rural and Urban Indonesia*  
Victoria A. Beard, University of California at Irvine

Community-based poverty alleviation “gives control of decisions and resources to community groups” (Alkire et al., 2001: 2). Success of this strategy depends on a community’s capacity for collective action. Policy makers assume that this strategy is easier to initiate in rural areas because of characteristics believed endemic to these areas, such as socioeconomic and ethnic homogeneity, closed and stable social relations and strong communitarian values. Yet, despite the assumed absence of these characteristics in urban areas, the World Bank’s Urban Poverty Project (UPP) in Indonesia, which uses a community-based approach, has achieved noteworthy success. UPP administers grants to communities and requires them to establish an organization to manage and distribute funds for the purpose of poverty alleviation. The main delivery mechanism for this project is community-based planning where decision-making is in the hands of local residents. Communities that receive for UPP lie on a continuum with varying degrees of rural and urban characteristics. As a result, examination of the program provides a unique opportunity to test assumptions related to the viability of community-based poverty alleviation in rural versus urban locales. The paper critically examines whether or not there are systematic differences in the quality of participation as well as program outcomes in rural and urban environments. The paper is organized into four parts. The first part reviews the literature foundational to assumptions that underlie community-based development. The second part describes the World Bank’s Urban Poverty Project in Indonesia. Third, the research strategy and data are described. Finally, the fourth part of the paper analyzes the findings from seven case studies of communities that participated in the program.

*Empowerment and Urban Poverty Alleviation in Indonesia*  
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The purpose of this study is to investigate whether housing affordability problem has different impact on varying types of the homeless. This study will seek the geographic distribution of prior addresses of different categories of the homeless and then analyze the distribution of prior addresses for each category of homeless with the factors related to housing affordability. Specifically, this study seeks to address the following research questions: -Does the spatial distribution of prior addresses for each type of the homeless differ? -Are the housing-affordability-related factors associated with the distribution of prior addresses of the homeless? -What housing-affordability-related factors are associated with the distribution of prior addresses for each type of the homeless? Data will be collected through various agencies providing services for the homeless people in Leon County, Florida. This study will construct a database of addresses aggregated by census tract. Using ArcGIS, the data of addresses will be geo-coded in conjunction with the street file for Leon County. Then the number of prior addresses of homeless will be counted for each census tract by overlying a map of census tracts in Leon County on a map containing the prior addresses of homeless people. After having the number of prior addresses of each homeless type for each census tract, then these numbers will be transformed into the location quotient (LQ). The transformed numbers of prior addresses of each homeless type by census tract

will be the dependent variables of this study. There has been no such study to have several dependent variables due to varying categories of homeless population. The independent variables of this study will be a set of variables on housing affordability obtained from the U.S. 2000 Census data. The statistical procedures include basic descriptive statistics, analysis of variance, correlation analysis, and spatial regression analysis.

*A Tale of Two Cities: Sustainable Community Development in Cali and Newark*  
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Within the community building paradigm, outside organizations and professionals are seen as important players in comprehensive community-building initiatives. However, the integration of community residents or beneficiaries into the development process is seen by many as vital to the success and sustainability of these different initiatives. This paper examines one trajectory in the evolution of this community or customer-oriented philosophy. It considers how customer-oriented business philosophies that had been successful in revitalizing the for-profit sector were applied by entrepreneurial non-profits and CDCs to achieve successful and sustainable urban renewal. This paper will consider as case-studies development initiatives of the New Community Corporation in Newark and contrast them with community development initiatives of two NGOs, CEDECUR and CINARA, in Cali, Colombia. The paper will examine the models of community development that are employed at the different non-profits and will evaluate the effect of these initiatives on the direct beneficiaries as well as the community's residents. Finally the paper will consider how to measure the integration of the neighborhood residents in the development projects and validate the success and replicability of the program. This paper contributes to an understanding of how certain players in the urban development process, such as the government, private sector, CDCs, and other non-profit organizations, contribute to, or even limit, sustainable community development. This research will address many questions including: Is there one successful model of neighborhood development that can be replicated in different communities? Is the inclusion of neighborhood residents in the development process essential to sustainable urban development? What lessons do urban development initiatives in other countries offer the United States?

Creating urban social capital: some evidence from informal traders in Nairobi, Dakar and Accra  
Michal Lyons, South Bank University

Poverty and '...dramatic alteration in geographical composition' (Riddell, 1997, p1300) of African cities have been associated with rapid urbanization, growth of the informal economy, and migration. The latter has separated individuals from long-established social and kinship networks, and familiar livelihood strategies. The Sustainable Livelihoods Approach views social capital as one of the poor's most important assets in managing their lives (Rakodi & Lloyd-Jones, 2002), while geographers have noted that the urban poor's social capital is in flux (e.g. Phillips, 2002) and some economic studies have implied that, to urbanize successfully, the poor's social capital needs to undergo radical transformation (e.g. Kumar and Matsusaka, 2004). Four questions are addressed. 1) Does the creation of new, urban forms of social capital, depend upon and deplete inherited forms? 2) Is social capital deliberately created (e.g. Coleman, 1988) or is it a by-product of sociability, as proposed by Putnam (1993, 1995)? 3) What are its functions in supporting the livelihoods of informal traders? 4) Is there a gender dimension to the strategies adopted? The paper draws on interviews with 124 traders in two Nairobi markets, and on key-informant interviews. Principal findings are that, whilst traders initially draw heavily on existing inherited social capital, they deliberately create and adapt their networks, opportunistically building relationships of trust in the market-place which enable them to survive. The pace of change is different in different economic milieux. Women and men adopt different

strategies to achieve similar ends. Conclusions are drawn for social capital theory and policy.

## 21. Universities and Cities (Cottonwood I)

Moderator: Jefferey S. Lowe, Jackson State University

*Stimulating Urban Community Involvement by University Students: Community Activists as Role Models*

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Many universities, especially those deeply engaged in their urban environment, have long histories of encouraging and rewarding student involvement in the community. However, in recent years, interest in preparing students for civic engagement has spread beyond majors traditionally associated with such involvement and has spread to universities not previously so engaged. Also, strategies for engagement have moved beyond the traditional internships and practicum's to include a range of courses and service learning experiences. Nevertheless, given the heavy time demands of work and school, and given widespread student cynicism, getting students truly engaged remains a challenge. In this paper, I propose to examine how student attitudes towards community engagement compare with those of long time community activists, in order to determine how activists' experience may serve as a source of learning for students. Data from a survey of a representative sample of University of Northern Iowa students by my Civic Education class will provide information on students' current levels of involvement and their attitudes towards civic engagement. Data from in depth interviews with 40 community activists in the surrounding community of Waterloo/Cedar Falls will provide information on their attitudes and perceptions. These individuals represent a cross section of the community and were selected on the basis of their multiple involvements in organizations ranging from traditional civic and charitable groups to neighborhood organizations and advocacy organizations. Among the topics explored in the activist interviews are: - Motivations for involvement - Sources of satisfaction with involvement - Frustrations and obstacles with continued involvement - Strategies for maintaining commitment - Ideas for engaging new people in the community. My analysis will compare the attitudes and insights of activists with those of students, in order to elucidate key differences. These differences can then provide guidance as to the targeting of students' civic engagement education and experiences in order to move their attitudes closer to those of successful community participants. In addition, the paper will suggest strategies for role modeling by community activists, to stimulate greater student engagement.

*Rigor or Rigormortis: Curricular Choice and Success Among Latino Students*

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One of the persistent questions about the well documented lag in Latino students' college matriculation, persistence, and degree completion is the degree to which curricular choices in high school and college are important factors in explaining the gap between Latino and non-Latino students. This paper reports the results of a major study of Latino access to higher education. One of the unique aspects of the study was an ambitious analysis of over 200 high school and college transcripts conducted on random samples of Latino students and non-Latino students who had matriculated to community college and university campuses in Illinois. The results indicate that the curricular choices of students do appear to be an explanatory factor in success, but that the curricular choices made by Latino students do not differ in any meaningful

adverse way from those of non-Latino students. The paper concludes with recommendations regarding appropriate steps that might be taken to increase the rate of Latino student college matriculation and degree completion, with special attention to curricular issues.

*Universities Fostering Entrepreneurship for Community and Economic Development*

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For three decades Entrepreneurship Centers (ECs) have been created at U.S. universities. ECs vary in mission, size, role, products, services, and funding sources. Some are primarily responsible for entrepreneurial education and research within the university. Others provide training and consulting services for external customers. Still others may combine these roles and add more services. This research identifies the salient features of Entrepreneurship Centers and their competencies. It assists in understanding a range of features and benefits. The research uses quantitative and qualitative methods to identify and quantify products and services offered. The paper includes analysis of data collected through a literature review, collection of program data from the public domain and via written surveys and in-depth interviews. The sample includes top-ranked programs, recently funded large scale initiatives, and Historically Black Colleges and Universities. There is a range of entrepreneurship programs and services offered by U.S. universities. Populations served include youth, undergraduate and graduate students and community learners. Top ranked programs often provide breadth and depth in their programs and services and include research. They may serve national and international markets. Other programs are more limited in scope and may be situated in business or agriculture departments. The markets are often local with entrepreneurship education serving as a community outreach effort. This range of products and services does not ensure the quality and content of business development services, nor does it necessarily foster the development of sustainable enterprises. This research provides an opportunity for benchmarking by ECs to more readily understand where in the continuum they fall and where they may wish to be positioned. It also has implications for funders and policy makers. Programs may do well to compare their offerings to newly developed standards. Policy makers may look to support programs that can produce desired outcomes.

*Sustaining Community-University Partnerships: The Case of a HBCU*

Jeffrey S. Lowe, Jackson State University

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Colleges and universities contain a variety of resources that place them in a unique position to participate in community development. Faculty, students and staff in partnership with neighborhood residents, community-based organizations, local government, and other interested parties can contribute significantly to social, physical, environmental and economic improvements in some of the most distressed and oppressed neighborhoods in the United States of America. However, in so doing, each community-university partnership must consider specific contextual factors such as town and gown relationship, neighborhood characteristics, and the mission and type of the participating higher-learning institution that may influence the approach it undertakes to sustain itself. The literature recognizes the influence of these factors on community-university partnership efforts. For example, Feld (1998) suggests that resident concerns about university expansionism and favorable access to scarce public resources are major obstacles to the overarching goal of community improvement. Cox (2000) also identifies common interests as necessary to the success of partnerships, but notes that the specific interests of the different parties are key to partnership formation and sustainability. Over the past decade, the literature about university-community partnerships has continued to grow. Rubin (2000) assorted this literature into six categories. His effort appears to be an attempt

at improving practice, enhancing understanding, and informing policy among the universe of university-community partnerships. However, the scholarship pertaining to the role of the Historically Black College and University (HBCU) in sustaining university-community partnerships is scant. This paper contributes to closing that gap by providing a descriptive case study of the first two years of interactions between Jackson State University and its community partners in a revitalization initiative. It highlights decision-making, tensions and other sentiments experienced through the planning and assessment process. The paper concludes with recommendations for practice as well as reflection upon the theory underpinning university-community partnership sustainability.

## 22. Housing and Health Policy (Emigration)

Moderator: Kirsten Kim Loutzenhiser, Barry University

*Sustainability and Social Housing for Seniors: An analysis of three different approaches*

Genevieve Locas, University of Quebec-Montreal/INRS-Urbanization

Winnie Frohn, University of Quebec-Montreal

In the context of advanced capitalism and an aging population, although different approaches to social housing for the elderly are possible, only some are compatible with sustainability. Using official documents and interviews, we analyze the housing policies for the elderly and the underlying types of governance in Denmark and in two Canadian provinces. For all three, the tendency has been to decentralize the administration of public housing to the local political level and to subsidize the elderly who stay in their own homes. In Canada, Ontario's municipalities now have almost the entire responsibility for social housing. In contrast, Quebec still funds local projects and has developed some regional redistribution of costs. Social housing may be owned by non-profit organizations; in Ontario, however, it can also be municipal whereas in Quebec, it is for the most part provincially owned. In both provinces, social housing and services for the elderly are administered and funded by different institutions. Therefore, it appears that in the Quebec model, the central State via its funding intervenes more directly than in Ontario. In the case of Denmark, the municipality has the responsibility for both social housing and services for seniors which are financed by the redistribution of municipal taxes (including income taxes). However, seniors can also receive their services from other organizations. Social housing is the property of municipalities or of non-profit organizations. Intermediate housing for less autonomous persons is much more developed in Denmark. Thus, we are looking at still another form of governance. Several questions arise: Can we apply Esping-Andersen's concepts of "welfare regimes" and of "decommodification" and Anttonen and Sipilä's concept of "personal autonomy" (1996) to social housing policies? Similarly, is the concept of the "welfare diamond" (Evers, Pijl and Ungerson, 1994) applicable? Under what conditions are the policies sustainable? How much autonomy is desirable on the municipal level in terms of sustainability?

*Can a Single Function Home Health Care Service Continue to Exist in a Market Driven Environment?*

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Home health care represents a growing and important part of the health care budget in the United States. It has been promoted as a less costly and more humane alternative to institutionalization for the elderly population. As with other components of health care, there are concerns with the costs of home health care, who is receiving service, the quality of the service and the management of the delivery of the service. These questions have been confronting New York State and New York City for some time, which has the largest Medicaid personal care program in the country with

approximately 45,000 clients and a budget of \$1.5 billion per year. Personal care includes those lower skilled home health care services in the Activities of Daily Living, such as shopping laundry, feeding and bathing of clients. The service is regulated and controlled by New York State and administered locally by New York City and funded by the three levels of government, with the share distributed approximately, 50% federal, 40% state and 10% city. The service is provided by approximately 60 single function (personal care services) nonprofit and profit organizations under contract with the city. These organizations do not provide other related home health services such as physical therapy, occupational therapy and adult day care. During the late 1980s and into the 1990s, New York State was experiencing budget difficulties, and in their efforts to control health care control costs the state established savings targets for the personal program with penalties for local governments that did not achieve the targets. In response, New York City began using different means of delivering the service to produce these savings. One initiative, Shared-Aide, enabled services such as laundry and shopping to be provided to two clients with one personal care worker. This resulted in cost savings, which helped the city meet the savings targets. This paper examines another cost savings initiative, Task Based Assessment, which was implemented in the late 1990s, and determines the degree to which it was successful and the reasons for this. The paper looks at the context in which this effort was realized, the management and organizational issues that were faced as this initiative progressed and the growing trend of delivering health care services through a managed care market driven mechanism. This single function home health care program is contrasted to a new managed care program operating in New York State, Medicaid Managed Long Term Care, which integrates the delivery of all long term care services in one program. The authors incorporate their findings into recommendations for the future of personal care services in New York State and New York City and discuss the obstacles that must be overcome in order to fully implement this new approach to personal care services. The experience of New York State and New York City will be applicable to many other government entities in their efforts to effectively deal with this growing service need under financial constraints.

*Mapping HIV: A tale of iniquity*

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This paper addresses what appears to be missing in the urban question. So much of the study of urban affairs addresses the health of our cities but what is missing is the health of the people living with it. The discussion of urban decline becomes even more serious if we map out where individuals and families living with HIV live. This paper examines one city as an example and that is the area in the St. Louis region that is eligible (EMA) for Title I Ryan White Comprehensive AIDS Resources Emergency (CARE) Act (RWCA). Words like suburban sprawl, inner ring urban like suburbs and de facto segregation in housing are common place occurrences. These phenomenons have been reviewed multiple times in urban affairs literature. What is less common is to assess what this means to public health. St. Louis City has a declining population, 42% of the 1950 total. Again, much of what has been written about has been that people are leaving the city but the people who are leaving are the healthier ones. The complicated urban structure is intense with more than 100 municipalities, unincorporated and overlapping service jurisdiction. The structure highlights disparities in services, where there are jurisdictions with low taxes and generous service bundles and also high tax municipalities with minimal services. They hyper concentration of violence, HIV/AIDS and related conditions imposes disproportionate demands on the provision of healthcare services. While the population in St. Louis is declining, the people moving out are the healthier and wealthier residents. The HIV toll has been great and increasing in the nation's cities. St. Louis is used to exemplify an urban problem and the need to build health into the equation of urban affairs. Ninety

percent of all people living with HIB live within the St. Louis city limits. Without addressing this problem in the urban equation, we are missing something.

### 23. Planning Urban Spaces (Aspen)

Moderator: Andrew Kirby, Arizona State University

*Eras of Urban Renewal: Changing Concepts of Public Space*  
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This study examines the changes in the design of public spaces within urban renewal districts between 1960 and the present by comparing the design, use and context of two public parks in downtown Portland, Oregon. The parks, constructed in distinct urban renewal eras of the 1960s and 2000, are comparable in size (small city block), feature water fountains accessible for wading and play, and were designed for districts with strong residential and commercial components. Lovejoy Fountain, a showpiece of Portland's first urban renewal district, was designed by the noted landscape architect Lawrence Halprin, and has been internationally acclaimed for its design and setting. Jamison Square, completed in 2000, has quickly become a local social center and regional attraction for the River District, a dramatically successful mixed-use district adjacent to downtown Portland. Activity observations were recorded on 18 days during two heavy-use months in the summer of 2004. Structured and unstructured interviews were conducted with 72 park users. The sometimes lengthy comments volunteered by respondents showed park users to be keen observers of park design and invaluable informants about the park, its local history and how the community of users understand and accommodate each other. Preliminary results indicate that both parks were well-designed and very popular in their initial years. The original design concept of the older space, Lovejoy Fountain, intentionally separated park space and pedestrian circulation from the street. Subsequent, incremental decisions have let new development further isolate the park. As a result, the park is primarily used by local residents and office workers. In contrast, the newer space, Jamison Square, is visibly surrounded by public right-of-way, including on-street parking and streetcar transit, and by nearby restaurant and retail uses. This park attracts more than 125 users per hour on peak weekend afternoons. Conflicts between the local residents (often households without children), and regional users (often households with children), has not materialized because of a generalized enjoyment of the diversity and activity that enlivens the park and builds on its close connection with dynamic urban life that surrounds it. These select results indicate the rich comparisons available from our study of how public space design concepts have changed over the 40 years of urban renewal in Portland and how urbanites of all classes use, understand, and relate to public spaces in their urban context.

*A reappraisal of housing enclaves and gated communities*  
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Some forty million Americans are estimated to live in housing enclaves, defined by the Census Bureau as neighborhoods that are enclosed by walls or fences, and where access is often restricted by gates. Commentators have been quick to describe these developments as racist, élitist and yet further evidence of the paranoid and dystopic nature of contemporary metropolitan life. Interestingly, recent analysis indicates that such interpretations are inconsistent with reality. Census data indicate that minorities (Hispanics and African Americans) are more likely than the majority population to live in such enclaves, and that renters are also more likely to do so than are owners. A recent survey analysis of homeowners in Phoenix, where virtually all the new



residential developments occur in privately-managed enclaves, indicates that residents in the latter are less focused on issues of exclusivity and security than their counterparts in more traditional neighborhoods. Rather, their concerns are much more for the stability of their investment in their home and its surroundings. Despite the private provision of services, the residents appear no more alienated from issues of civic governance than their counterparts in older urban neighborhoods. These findings are assessed for their implications as this form of housing and urban development continues to manifest itself globally.

*Why Do Levels of Authority Vary across Municipal Planning Agencies in Florida?*  
Amal K. Ali, Wright State University

Statewide growth management programs determine types and scope of authority given to municipal planning agencies. However, a survey of Florida's municipal planning agencies in 2002 shows that many agencies perform additional planning functions in addition to that given by Florida statutes. This observation points to the need to investigate factors enabling municipal planning agencies to exercise more authority. This research paper explores major factors affecting the extent of municipal planning agency authority for decision-making in Florida. The major research question is: why do levels of planning agency authority vary across Florida's municipalities? To address the research question, planning agencies within municipalities having 10,000 or more inhabitants were surveyed in 2002. Regression analysis was conducted to identify factors mostly influencing levels of municipal planning agency authority. Findings of the analysis suggest important implications not only to Florida, but also to other states seeking to rebuild their municipal planning agency capacity to manage urban growth. The research fills a partial gap in the planning literature. It explains conditions under which municipal planning agencies play more active roles and are capable to perform additional functions. Research findings expand our understanding of the performance of municipal planning agencies, which will enable us to design more effective programs of institutional capacity building. All of which will improve planning practices at the local levels. Examples of References: Burby, Raymond J., Peter J. May, Philip R. Berke, Linda C. Dalton, Steven P. French, and Edward J. Kaiser, 1997. *Making Governments Plan: State Experiments in Managing Land Use*, Baltimore and London, Johns Hopkins University Press. Dalton, Linda C. 1985. *Politics and Planning Agency Performance: Lessons from Seattle*. *Journal of American Planning Association*, 51(2):189-99. Patterson, Mark R. 1988. *Authority, Autonomy, and Representation in American Literature*, Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, pp. 1776-1865.

*Reluctant Cities: Planning and Running America's Unincorporated Metropolis*  
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More Americans reside on unincorporated land than live in the nation's central cities. In trying to understand how such places compare to traditional cities, the Census has devised a rather awkward sounding name for the larger unincorporated clusters—Census Designated Places (or CDPs). CDPs are an often overlooked component of the metropolitan region, and add to knowledge on metropolitan form, stretching the horizon beyond conventional cities and suburbs. CDPs are as much an attempt to capture and quantify evolving metropolitan form as they are a product of governmental and legislative quirks. Although unincorporated land has long been synonymous with rural places, as of 2000 the majority of CDPs were in metropolitan areas. Since 1950, the percentage of people living on unincorporated land has been static, but the proportion of the population living in unincorporated "places" or CDPs is rising. In other words, this population is coalescing in centers, but remaining unincorporated. CDPs are not a step along the continuum from unincorporated, rural land to suburb or cityhood, but are instead a stable form. Many CDPs, even those exceeding 50,000

residents—the minimum size needed to anchor a metropolitan area—consciously choose to remain unincorporated. These large CDPs have multiple governance and planning implications. Large unincorporated places are sustainable only with a form of governance, either public or private, that makes incorporation unnecessary. Rising numbers of both CDPs and their residents give new force to strong county governments and Master Planned Communities. CDPs challenge traditional approaches of directing growth; planners are more adept at handling traditional city development via incorporation and annexation. Depending on whether the scope of the planner is local or regional, the creation and longevity of CDPs can present either good or bad news, and sometimes both.

#### 24. Environmental Policy, Planning and Politics (Blue Spruce)

Moderator: Joyce N. Levine, Florida Atlantic University

*Citizen Participation in the Environmental Planning & Policy*

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**Research Question:** The relationship between citizens and experts in public policy decision making has been placed in the forefront of issues faced by those involved in the academic side of planning as well as the professional planner. Many environmental issues are very complex and highly scientific. These issues are also dynamic in the sense that they impact a wide array of socioeconomic aspects that may or may not have a place when making policy decisions based purely on the scientific method approach of problem solving. Therefore there should be a concerted effort between citizens, scientists, and public policy makers in order to increase social equity in the environmental policy and planning process. The question presented here is: how is the quality of current citizen participation viewed between different groups (e.g. citizens, government, and industry)? **Methodology:** The paper is based on qualitative analysis of data and information gathered through interviews with the United States Environmental Protection Agency, the Texas Commission on Environmental Quality, several citizen based environmental groups as well as individual citizens, industrial organizations, and related research literature. In this research a case study is developed that details the experiences of these groups in the Houston, Texas area. **Key Findings:** In some cases citizens are given the opportunity to have a substantial amount of input on certain issues and in the end when the final decision is made, they feel as if their input had very little impact on the outcome. On the other hand, the decision makers may have altered an entire plan based on the input of the citizens, but if the citizens were not adequately informed on all aspects of the plan, then it is probably not apparent to them that they have made a difference. This could prove to have a devastating affect on citizen participation as a whole as they may become reluctant to take advantage of future involvement opportunities because they feel their input is of little or no value. **Implications:** The research findings show that there is a varying perception of both the quality and the quantity of citizen participation in the environmental planning and policy amongst the various groups and stakeholders involved in the process. **Related Literature:** Agrawal, Arun, and Clark C. Gibson. 1999. Enchantment and disenchantment: The role of community in natural resource conservation . *World Development* 27 (4): 629-649 . Alterman, Rachel, David Harris, and M. Hill. 1984. The impact of public participation on planning . *Town Planning Review* 55 (2): 177-196 . Fischer, F.; 1990. *Technocracy and the Politics of Expertise*. Newbury Park: Sage Publications

*How can we plan to reduce air pollution? Learning from the challenging case of Houston, Texas.*

Isabelle A Maret, University of New Orleans

Lester King, Texas Southern University

Many American cities seem to be in great health regarding their growth and economic development. Take a look at Houston, Texas: between 1990 and 2004, the city has welcomed many new businesses and a booming population. These elements can be seen as signs of an attractive economic vitality. But if you look at the public health of the city, the picture begins to darken. Fourth largest city in the nation, Houston is composed of major industrial complexes. Refineries, chemical production and a colossal number of cars explain the fact that the Houston-Galveston area is in non-attainment for the National Ambient Air Quality Standard for Ozone, which is one of the 6 criteria Air pollutants. Moreover, Houston is composed of 8 counties, which have neither strong comprehensive planning coordination nor forecasting guidance. Houston will be a very unhealthy city in the future in terms of air contamination and its consequences (asthma rates...), if no concerted effort is developed to address the problem of air pollution. This research presents the strengths and weaknesses of the planning process to manage air pollution in the Houston-Galveston Metropolitan area. We focus on two elements: first, we address the question of planning coordination; second, we emphasize the role of citizen's participation in the planning process. On one hand, we produce a summary of the major air quality plans created thus far in the city of Houston and describe the process by which these plans were created. We evaluate these plans and show their value and limits. On the other hand, we use interviews to clarify the coordination or lack of coordination between the different levels of governance, as well as the weight of citizen's participation in the planning process. We will recommend realistic alternatives to improve the planning process based on the research and interviews conducted.

*The Fourth Hurricane: Haitians in Crisis*

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During the fall of 2004, the State of Florida endured direct hits from four hurricanes within only six weeks: Charley, Frances, Ivan, and Jeanne. These storms also wreaked havoc in the Caribbean: Ivan and Jeanne, between them, caused 1,603 deaths in the nations of Trinidad & Tobago, Barbados, Grenada, Dominican Republic, Haiti, and Cayman Islands, and in Puerto Rico. By far the nation hardest-hit was Haiti, where Jeanne took an estimated 1500 lives, largely due to flooding and mudslides. Haiti's neighbor, Dominican Republic, incurred only 24 deaths from the same storm. The difference in these numbers lies in the general conditions of the two countries: Haiti is the poorest country in the Western Hemisphere, has been troubled repeatedly by dictatorships and civil unrest, and is nearly devoid of tree cover due to overcutting of timber to provide fuel for the largely poverty-stricken population. These conditions of destitution have driven many Haitians to migrate to the U.S., both legally and illegally, in search of economic (and often physical) survival. Florida, as the state most accessible to them, has become home to many of these immigrants, who often cluster together to maintain cultural ties as well as to share limited resources. In some communities, such as the City of North Miami, substantial Haitian communities have sprung up. Given their impoverishment prior to migration, it is not surprising that Haitian communities in the U.S. are poor, with median incomes well below regional and national averages. Moreover, Haitians living in America are often the only means of support for families remaining behind. This became particularly evident in the aftermath of Hurricane Jeanne. Little research has been done on the U.S. Haitian community. This paper seeks to further knowledge about Haitians in the U.S. and their continued links to their native land, using the events of Hurricane Jeanne as a focusing lens. Although Miami-Dade County was not strongly affected by any of the hurricanes that crisscrossed Florida in 2004, the psychological and economic impacts

of constant preparation and storm anxiety took their toll on communities far more affluent and secure than the Haitians. Moreover, this group has also had to cope with the unfolding tragedy at home, which has strained all of its resources: psychological, economic, and social. This research will use in-depth interviews and qualitative analysis to shine light onto a group that has largely been ignored by both the media and by social scholars.

*Applying Comprehensive Planning Techniques to Mitigate the Effects of Hurricanes on Cities*  
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Hurricanes pose a major threat to U.S. cities located on or near the Atlantic and Gulf of Mexico coastlines. Each year, there is the potential to lose human lives, as well as billions of dollars in property. In spite of these facts, hurricane mitigation efforts are handled in a non-comprehensive manner which focuses on reacting to hurricanes after lives and property have been lost rather than applying sufficient resources to protect lives and property before hurricanes occur. Also, the efforts of public agencies involved in hurricane mitigation are decentralized and not coordinated in an efficient manner. The result of this policy could be seen during the 2004 Hurricane Season, which resulted in four major hurricanes causing over sixty deaths and over twenty billion dollars in insured property losses in the United States. This paper proposes the application of comprehensive planning techniques to hurricane mitigation policy which would better coordinate the efforts of public agencies. This paper also proposes the allocation of resources before hurricane season in an effort to reduce loss of life, reduce loss of property, and actually save taxpayer resources in the long run. Specific policy initiatives to protect cities from hurricane damage are also discussed and evaluated, including: Construction and maintenance of floodgates and levees, coastal restoration, building codes, flood proofing buildings, flood insurance, floodplain zoning, and mitigation of traffic problems caused by evacuation orders.

## 25. Urban Services: Do Organizations Matter? (Millcreek)

Moderator: Michelle Camou, University of Colorado

*Protecting Rights Through Contracts: How Organizations Use City Contracts to Advance Rights*  
Michelle Camou, University of Colorado

Characterized by capital mobility, globalization has altered the economic and political landscape in cities adapting to the comings and goings of their corporate bases. With economic development a main concern, city governments are seen as retreating from other important matters, especially issues related to poverty. Employing new governance methods, cities sometimes choose to address problems related to poverty through "contracting out" to nonprofit organizations that assume primary responsibility for service delivery. The new governance literature expresses concern that nonprofits can be coopted in this operating environment, forced to accept the state's interpretation of social problems and solutions that may not match their own. Yet, the literature has not considered another possibility: that nonprofits may be able to manipulate city contracts to "coopt" the state and force them to accept more progressive ideas and programs. This paper discusses the case of day labor centers in California that, through city contracts, were able to re-frame the problem of immigrant day labor in San Francisco and in Los Angeles. The two California cities opened day labor centers in the mid-1980s in response to citizen complaints about informal day labor corners. In the late 1980s, both cities decided to contract the management of these centers to several local organizations. Through interviews with 10 day labor centers and four city agencies, I trace the process through which nonprofits receiving contracts re-interpreted the day labor issue from the need to get

immigrant men off the streets to the need to protect the civil and labor rights of undocumented workers. The case suggests that unconventional governance arrangements like contracting out may, under certain conditions, be a means for achieving gains for disadvantaged groups often slighted by electoral politics. In San Francisco and Los Angeles, these conditions included overtly progressive contract holders willing to cooperate rather than compete in a political context openly hostile to immigrants.

*Workin' the System: Social Services and Their Utilization Among Low-Income Chicago Women*  
Asma Ali, University of Illinois at Chicago

According to the 2000 U.S. Census Bureau Public-Use Microdata 5% Sample (PUMS), Chicago area women in the \$10K-\$30K income category often maintain full-time employment. Yet, these women and their families often struggle to meet their basic needs. However, local service providers, policy makers and foundations working with these women may find that services and resources don't always match these women's needs or are not utilized by eligible women. This research will address current needs and service gaps for these women. Using both primary and secondary data sources, the paper will develop profiles of these women and their service needs. Using PUMS 5% data, 2000 Census data, and focus groups with Chicago women and service providers, the paper will explore several social services currently available to these women, including how or why these services may not be fully utilized by these women.

*Do Anti-Poverty Serving Nonprofit Organizations Locate Where People Need Them?*  
Laura R Peck, Arizona State University  
[Laura.Peck@asu.edu](mailto:Laura.Peck@asu.edu)

An interesting overlay to the spatial mismatch literature that few have explored is the potentially mitigating influence of the nonprofit sector with regard to cities' spatial conditions. Given rapid growth in the U.S. Southwest, especially over the past two decades, which is likely to continue into the future, it is important to begin to understand the implications of the changing distribution of income, poverty and the network of service support in this region, in which the largest city is Phoenix. The proposed project will examine the distribution of need (defined primarily as an income-based measure) across the greater Phoenix, AZ, metropolitan area and the extent to which anti-poverty serving nonprofit organizations are situated physically in the areas of greatest need. This work uses the mismatch literature as a springboard to examining the implications of nonprofit organizations' locations for low-income populations. This project's main research question is the following: To what extent does the location of anti-poverty serving nonprofit organizations mitigate Phoenix's problems regarding the spatial distribution of poverty and need? In order to answer this overarching question, I propose to examine the following related questions: - To what extent are anti-poverty serving nonprofit organizations co-located in areas of high poverty density? - Given nonprofits' geographic distribution, how accessible are they to Phoenix's poor residents? - What factors are associated with the nonprofit service provider accessibility? - What are the policy implications of the distribution of anti-poverty serving nonprofit organizations and the distribution of poverty? This work extends the spatial mismatch hypothesis's framing to include nonprofit organizations, specifically those with an anti-poverty focus. I anticipate that the research will be of interest to Urban Affairs Association members because of its focus on urban growth and meeting urban residents' needs with social services.

*Making Neighborhood Associations Viable Service Delivery Mechanisms*  
David Swindell, University of North Carolina-Charlotte  
[daswinde@email.uncc.edu](mailto:daswinde@email.uncc.edu)

Many activists, analysts and pundits have been warning of an apparent decline in citizen participation activities. Concurrently, the “reinvented government” movement uses market values that stress efficiency in service delivery. This research focuses on the nexus of these two developments by examining the role of citizens in their neighborhood organizations and the role of those organizations in the delivery of urban services as a means of encouraging citizen satisfaction with their community. Are these organizations effective at delivery and does success encourage greater participation? The answers may suggest at least one means for strengthening the civic fabric in urban communities. But in order to move in the direction of more formally involving neighborhood organizations in the delivery of urban services, one must appreciate the factors that influence their effectiveness as well as their strengths and weaknesses as potential service delivery vehicles. Building on the extensive literature in organization theory, nonprofit leadership, public administration and urban sociology, this paper uses data from 132 neighborhood organizations and examines the organizational design and leadership elements that are associated with the effectiveness of the organization at achieving the tasks they set for themselves. Such an understanding may provide a basis for designing local level enabling legislation that would facilitate experimentation in neighborhood service delivery.

## 26. Reflecting on Urban Processes (Cottonwood II)

Moderator: Daniel Joseph Monti, Boston University

*The Impact of Urbanization on a Transitional County*  
Bernadette Hanlon, University of Maryland-Baltimore  
[bhanlon1@umbc.edu](mailto:bhanlon1@umbc.edu)

In this paper, we identify demographic, economic and land use changes in Frederick County, Maryland, focusing on the years 1970 to 2000. Frederick County has experienced tremendous urban growth in the last three decades and, in this paper, we demonstrate the impact of such growth on the local rural economy. We assess the impact of urbanization on labor market activity in the County to reveal a decline in agricultural and manufacturing employment and an increase in employment in the service sector. Using property and tax assessment data and the Agricultural Census, we demonstrate the importance of property values in the transformation of agricultural land to residential and commercial development. Similarly, the expansion of major roads and expressways into the County has allowed accessibility to previously remote sites for residential and economic activities, resulting in a loss of agricultural land. We conclude by critically examining the land preservation techniques being pursued at both a county and state level.

*Lost in Boston*  
Daniel Joseph Monti, Boston University  
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Classical and contemporary researchers, writers and commentators have fretted about the social habits and civic attachments of modern urban people. Much of the time, academic writers present a pretty grim picture of how well people get along and whether we pay enough attention to what is going on around us. For all our worrying about how much people connect with each other and whether they feel obligated to each other, however, we really don't know how well people look out for each other. In

this paper, the simple question of how many people we lose every year is posed and answered for the city of Boston

*Boomburbs: The Rise of America's Accidental Cities*

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Glance down a list of the fastest growing “cities” in American and you will find a surprise: most are really overgrown suburbs. Places such as North Las Vegas, NV; Plano, TX; Gilbert, AZ and Chula Vista, CA have recently spurted to big city size with few people—including many of their residents—really noticing. Now these cities have a name: “Boomburbs,” which are large suburbs that contain more than 100,000 residents but are not the biggest municipality in their metropolitan areas. Boomburbs maintained rapid population growth in recent decades, with many doubling, tripling and even quadrupling between censuses. There are 130 Boomburbs and “Baby Boomburbs” (which contain 50,000 to 100,000 residents). They can be found throughout America and account for much of the growth in cities from 50,000 to 500,000 people. Some Boomburbs are now more populated than major cities. Mesa, AZ, the biggest Boomburb in the nation, recently passed St. Louis, Minneapolis and Atlanta in size. Boomburbs are “accidental cities.” They are accidental cities not because they lack planning. Many Boomburbs are filled with master-planned communities. But when one master-planned community runs into another they may not add up to a well-planned city. Furthermore, few Boomburbs anticipated becoming big cities and thus have accidentally arrived at their status. Many Boomburbs still lack large a large downtown, or even a decent-sized Edge City. Boomburbs are mainly low-profile places, but they often contain high-profile industries and entertainment venues. For example, over a dozen major-league sports are played in Boomburbs, but only the Anaheim Angels (baseball) and Mighty Ducks (hockey) actually carry the city name. This paper covers the complicated and often contradictory world of Boomburbs, addressing such issues as who lives in them, what drives their development, and how they are governed.

*Cities and technology: Unveiling the technological sublime in urban development*

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Many argue a no distinction between technology and the social. Since modernity and its search for progress based on science and technology have shaped society in the last decades, the notion of a society without technology is, if not an impossible notion, one difficult to conceive. The technological developments that during industrialization shaped societies, produced cities. The factory that mass produced goods, transportation technologies that moved goods from cities to the hinterland and raw material from the hinterland to the city, communication technologies that facilitated the exchange of information over long distances, were among the many technologies that gave the city its shape. The city is another good produced by technology since its infrastructure is the site where multiple and complex technological processes happen. This presentation seeks to problematize the relationship between the social and technologies by paying particular attention to the kinds of urban development that under globalization shape cities. The new technologies sustained by globalization shape the social and physical character of cities. Not is this transformation evident in the physical structures of the city and the monumental and signature architecture of urban centers only, but it is also present in the manner in which new technologies attract a specific kind of industry and labor base to cities and other urban areas. The notion of technology as an extension, aid and tools will be considered in this paper as well as the notion of technology as a form of life. Models of urban development will be examined to account for the technological component in these models and the issues raised by new technologies within the city.

## 27. Urban Government, Economic Influence and the Formation of the Metro Area (Cedar)

Moderator: Iain Deas, University of Manchester

*Metropolitan governance and bourgeois utopias: Montreal 1880-1960*

Harold Bérubé, INRS-Urbanization

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It is generally admitted that the process of globalization has or will significantly reinforce the position of large and medium metropolises around the world. One can call into question the novelty of this process and its extent but, at the dawn of the 21st century, metropolitan governance is undeniably one of the great challenges faced by Western societies. Suburbs are a central part of this challenge. Although post-suburban edge cities appear as the engines of the new economy, they shouldn't cloud the importance of pre-1945 residential suburbs in the development of metropolitan government. As I intend to demonstrate, by their very nature, these bourgeois utopias played an important – if ambiguous – part in the evolution of North-American metropolitan governments during the 20th century. For better or worse, they often acted as a well organized counter-power to the central city, preceding or slowing down reforms in such sectors as metropolitan government, infrastructure development or cultural institutions. Their actions were often rooted in a desire to persist as autonomous, locally-governed, and homogeneous enclaves, but they still had lasting effects. In short, if the relationship between city and suburb is rapidly changing today, I argue that residential suburbs and their aspirations have been and may still be an important element of metropolitan governance. I will explore this question by going over the general ideological and socio-economic character of these suburbs, and by studying, from a theoretical standpoint the construction process of these "utopias" as political and cultural spaces within the metropolitan whole. Finally, I'll present the case of Montreal and its English-speaking suburbs for the study of the role played by these communities in metropolitan governance from the 1880s to the 1960s – and beyond.

*Reinventing the Metropolitan Region: Experiences of Scalar Conflict in Manchester and North West England*

Iain Deas, University of Manchester

There is now an extensive academic literature detailing the dynamics of the 'scalar' interrelationships between institutions and policy initiatives organized at different geographical scales. Recent writings have emphasized the contingency and complexity of re-scaling, and the continuing importance (but changing territorial organization) of the state. The emergence of an array of (city-)regional institutions is significant in terms of its indeterminate nature and uncertain territorial form, as the precise ways in which it is manifested is interceded by conflict between actors allied to 'regions' configured along differing lines. It is on the dynamics of the interrelationships between and within these 'regions' that the paper focuses. The existence of parallel axes of regional institution-building, while stemming in part from the same stimuli, has prompted protracted conflict, and the experience of Manchester and North West England, on which the paper focuses, demonstrates the degree to which this has shaped (and in some cases constrained) the development of regionalism(s) to date. The paper, first, spells out the main lineaments of the changes to national policy in England on cities and regions, and second, explores the particular ways in which these have been interpreted and applied in the Manchester city-region, within the context provided by North West England. The paper concludes by considering the degree to which this experience sheds further light on the dynamics of the re-scaling of governance and the territorial restructuring of the state.



28. (Colloquy) *The Jobs-Housing Mismatch: Research, Action, and Policy Change* (Wasatch I)

Moderator: Todd Swanstrom, St. Louis University

Joel Rast, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee  
Ed Goetz, University of Minnesota  
Barbara Holmes, Region Wise at Saint Louis University  
Joe Grengs, University of Michigan  
Eric Petersen, PBQD, Illinois  
Joel Onesimo Sandoval, Northwestern University

29. (Colloquy) *Activism and Research: Tensions and Synergy* (Wasatch II)

Moderator: Kathe Newman, Rutgers University

Gregory Squires, George Washington University  
Susan Saegert, CUNY Graduate Center  
Janet Smith, University of Illinois at Chicago  
Elvin Wyly, University of British Columbia

**Friday**

**10:30am - Noon      Concurrent Sessions**

30. Housing Affordability III (Parleys I)

Moderator: Judith Martin, University of Minnesota

*A Guarded Optimism: The Viability of Inclusionary Zoning in New York City*  
Rachel M. Meltzer, New York University  
[rm550@nyu.edu](mailto:rm550@nyu.edu)

Municipalities across the country are facing housing shortages resulting from severe population growth and aging housing stocks. The need for affordable housing is increasing as more and more working-class families migrate to urban and suburban areas. In an effort to provide affordable housing at low cost, many municipalities are experimenting with inclusionary zoning ordinances. Inclusionary zoning programs, which typically require developers to set aside a certain percentage of their units for low- or middle-income families, leverage both public and private resources, while stimulating social and economic integration. New York City's housing challenges are far more acute than most jurisdictions, and are compounded by severe land shortages and a segregated population. And although New York City has yet to embrace inclusionary zoning, that may be changing. Williamsburg-Greenpoint, an emerging, diverse neighborhood in Brooklyn, contains a swathe of vacant land that will soon be rezoned from manufacturing to residential uses. Many housing advocates have argued that, in light of the "upzoning," the area is ripe for an inclusionary zoning regime. This report discusses the likely effects of inclusionary zoning in the Williamsburg-Greenpoint neighborhood. Through documentation of realized inclusionary zoning programs and extensive interviews with key players in the New York City development

arena, we outlay the benefits, pitfalls and political, economic and social implications of inclusionary zoning. Opinions and speculation abound in regards to inclusionary zoning, but actual numbers and feasibility analyses are few and far between. The heart of our analysis lies in a financial model that, through a number of controlled manipulations, attempts to gauge the importance of the factors that might contribute to the efficacy of an inclusionary zoning model in Williamsburg-Greenpoint. More importantly, by tailoring the input values to the subject neighborhood, our model serves as a tool for fashioning a workable inclusionary zoning program for any municipality.

*Attracting Private Sector Investment in Affordable and Mixed Income Housing*

Elise Bright, Texas University at Arlington

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This paper examines the current incentives for private sector affordable and mixed income housing construction and rehab, with the goal of discovering what could be modified to increase private sector involvement in these segments of the housing market. Alternatives ranging from encouraging rehab of existing single family homes to construction of innovative new living arrangements (such as mixing elderly, single parents and families in housing designed with much common space) will be considered. The paper will rely on interview research, library research, and a case study involving an affordable housing developer in the Fort Worth, Texas area.

*States and Affordable Housing: The Illinois Affordable Housing Planning and Appeals Act*

Matthew Gebhardt, Columbia University

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Affordable housing is an urgent need across metropolitan areas. However, over the past two decades, the federal government has reduced funding for affordable housing and has shifted the burden of providing affordable housing to local governments. Local affordable housing programs remain disjointed and vary significantly by municipality, with some municipalities precluding affordable housing options through exclusionary zoning and land use controls. In the current political climate, it is likely that the federal government will continue to remove itself from affordable housing provision, and current federal legislation has not accomplished an equitable distribution of affordable housing throughout metropolitan areas. While there are many advocates for metropolitan level solutions, to date metropolitan governance has proved illusive. The Illinois Affordable Housing Planning and Appeals Act, set to fully take effect in 2006, is an effort to promote affordable housing construction and an equitable distribution of affordable housing among municipalities through statewide law. This paper reviews the history of this act and assesses the mechanisms included within the act designed to promote affordable housing. The potential impacts of the act are reviewed within the context of long standing state level fair share and "anti-snob zoning" laws in New Jersey, California and Massachusetts. Based on this assessment, it is argued that while this law is unlikely to solve the need for affordable housing within the Chicago Metropolitan Area, it provides necessary additional opportunities for affordable housing development and may promote a more equitable distribution of affordable housing throughout the region.

*Localities Competing for Affordable Housing Opportunities: California's Local Housing Trust*

Victoria Basolo, University of California, Irvine

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In 2002, California voters passed Proposition 46, a \$2.1 billion bond measure for affordable housing programs. One program authorized by statute and tied to a portion of Prop 46 funds was a financial match for local housing trust funds. The set-aside for this program was exhausted quickly with about 14 cities receiving \$1 million or more

in matching funds. Urban political theory offers competing perspectives on local policy making suggesting: 1) localities will not pursue affordable housing because it is redistributive in nature; and 2) local coalitions can influence policy choices including the support for affordable housing. California's particular circumstances present an additional conflict: 1) a severe undersupply of housing in metropolitan markets; and 2) the legacy of Prop 13, a property tax cutting initiative passed in 1978, results in the widespread conclusion that affordable housing does not pay for itself (property tax covers services only when the housing is relatively expensive). This research investigates the localities that received matching funds, as well as a group of comparison localities that did not pursue/receive the funds, to better understand decision making concerning affordable housing in California cities. The data will include program documents from the State agency administering the program and interviews with state administrators, local recipients of the match, and local staff in jurisdictions that did not pursue/receive a match.

### 31. Appraisal of Hope VI (Parleys II)

Moderator: Edward Goetz, University of Minnesota

*HOPE VI: A Strategy for relocation and self-sufficiency*  
Michael Duwain Brazley, Southern Illinois University  
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This paper is the result of a three-year longitudinal case study of HUD's HOPE VI revitalization project in Newport Kentucky. This research studies how public housing authorities prepare and relocate their residents and the status of HOPE VI's self-sufficiency service program. It was found that the majority of public housing residents were aware that they were to be relocated by the HOPE VI program but they did not know when. Approximately one-half of the public housing population felt that "not knowing" when they were to be relocated was causing them stress; and when relocated they wanted to stay in public housing. The research also found that older residents and residents with higher levels of education are more aware and more likely to use self-sufficiency services. The higher the household income, the more likely residents will use self-sufficiency services. Also, since the self-sufficiency program began employment, marital status, car ownership, and income status of the public housing residents have improved significantly.

*Redeveloping public housing for the benefit of residents: Whose hopes are embodied in HOPE VI?*  
Edward G. Goetz, University of Minnesota

HOPE VI public housing redevelopment projects aim to improve the living conditions for public housing residents. Yet, in most cases very few of the original residents return to the site once redevelopment is complete. One national study indicates that only 19% of original residents return to the site after redevelopment. This raises questions about program design and objectives. This paper examines this question of why so few families return to the redeveloped HOPE VI communities. The setting for the study is the Duluth, Minnesota Harbor View project. Despite a redevelopment plan that called for phased construction, allowing residents to move directly into newly redeveloped projects, project delays have pushed back the time frame for the completion of new units while relocation has proceeded at a faster pace. An examination of the implementation of the project and interviews with residents provide the data for examining the dynamics that result in newly redeveloped public housing sites that house very few of the former residents.

*Social Sustainability in HOPE VI: Culturally-Specific Needs and Concerns of Immigrants*  
Lynne Catherine Manzo, University of Washington  
Rachel Garshick Kleit, University of Washington  
Dawn Couch, University of Washington

HOPE VI is a competitive grant program created by HUD to eradicate severely distressed public housing and to disperse pockets of poverty by creating new mixed-income communities. This means that the existing public housing is demolished and residents must relocate. A review of HOPE VI studies to date indicates that most research on relocation concerns and housing needs address racial issues among residents, but ethnicity and the effects of the redevelopment on immigrant groups is largely under-studied. Yet, many HOPE VI sites have ethnically diverse populations of immigrants. This paper will summarize research findings regarding the culturally-specific relocation concerns and housing needs of residents of a particular HOPE VI site in the Seattle area. This site, known as Park Lake Homes, is comprised of 569 extraordinarily diverse households. As many as 18 different languages are spoken by residents, although Vietnamese, Somali and Cambodian predominate along with English. Most residents are immigrants, many of whom are refugees from their home countries. This ethnic diversity, along with the fact that Park Lake Homes is a public housing development whose residents are among the poorest and most vulnerable of American households, only adds to the complexity of the dynamics within this community. This research is based on data from administrative records and a needs assessment survey of all households on site, as well as individual interviews and focus groups with a sample of residents. Findings suggest that a variety of issues - ethnicity, immigrant status, economic status, the nature and role of public housing, relocation and forced dispersal - intersect in complex ways, creating unique challenges for immigrant residents. A better understanding of the socio-culturally based experiences of HOPE VI residents can shed new light on the costs and benefits of such redevelopment programs, and can guide policy to better promote socially and politically equitable communities.

### 32. Whose City Is It Anyway? (Millcreek)

Moderator: Stacy Anne Harwood, University of Illinois

*Municipal Governance, Institutional Structure and the Creative Class*  
Richard Vengroff, University of Connecticut  
Robert Whelan, University of New Orleans  
Stephanie Lawrence, University of New Orleans

In this paper the authors examine the impact of institutional structure and the quality of governance on the ability of cities to attract and retain the "so-called" creative class. Using a comparative data set which includes structural/institutional variables based on Frederickson (2002), governance quality measures drawn from the Syracuse governance project (1999), our own measures of municipal region consolidation/fragmentation and creative class measures derived from the work of Florida (2002). The unit of analysis, municipalities and municipal regions, include several hundred cases drawn from the U.S., Canada and Europe. We hypothesize that city manager rather than mayor council type governments and area wide rather than governmentally fragmented municipal regions will be more successful in managing growth in the key components associated with the creative class and global competitiveness.

*Regulating Difference: Urban Planning and Immigrant America*  
Stacy Anne Harwood, University of Illinois  
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Today the cultural politics of difference centers on immigration, one of the most volatile issues in U.S. cities, particularly for jurisdictions in the Sunbelt, though it is also increasingly an issue in municipalities across the Midwest. Even though immigration policy is widely understood as a federal level issue, the impacts of immigration are most noticeably experienced at the local level where communities (re)negotiate the meaning of space as part of today's new politics of belonging. These struggles over difference often emerge in public discussions and debates about the control and regulation of land-use. Few studies connect land-use decisions in relation to recent immigrants. Therefore, understanding the use of land-use regulation as a response to recent immigration needs further study, with attention to the social and political context through which land-use regulations are proposed, negotiated and eventually decided upon. Other important questions remain unanswered: Does the planning process erase difference, and under what circumstances? When is difference recognized, and how does this occur? I draw from Iris Marion Young's notion of oppression as a structural concept. Here the planning processes is conceived as structuring decision making to advance economic interests of those fitting into the dominant meaning of society, rendering others as invisible, and resulting in decisions that segregate and exclude. I also balance these stories of domination by using Holston and Sandercock's concept of "insurgent practices" as those efforts to resist and assert power over dominant group claims. I examine several municipalities in Orange County, California, including: Garden Grove and the regulation of home temples and English-only business signage; Westminster and the creation of an ethnic district (Little Saigon); Anaheim and the regulation of pushcart vendors and garage conversions for residential use; Laguna Beach and regulation of curb-side hiring and day worker centers and La Habra's neighborhood improvement standards, specifically limitations on garage sales and prohibition of clothes-lines from public view. The data and analysis is multi-method, including: 1) demographic analysis of population shifts (from 1970-2000) across cities in Orange County, using Census data; 2) content analysis of published media accounts of immigration issues and controversies; 3) qualitative analysis of structured open-ended interviews with planners, city council members, community leaders and/or others close to a specific land-use issue; 4) visual examination and comparison of controversial land uses and physical spaces; and 5) an archival analysis of land-use legislation and other municipal reports and records. I have already visited each site twice, completed twenty-five interviews and obtained copies of the media and government documents. Davis, Mike. 2000. *Magical Urbanism: Latinos Reinvent the U.S. city*. London: Verso. Fong, Timothy P. 1994. *The First Suburban Chinatown: The Remaking of Monterey Park, California*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press. Holston, James. 1996. *Cities and Citizenship*. Special Issue of *Public Culture* (8):2. Sandercock, Leonie. 1998. *Making the Invisible Visible: A Multicultural Planning History*. Berkeley: University of California Press. Young, Iris Marion. 1990. *Justice and the Politics of Difference*. Princeton: University Press.

*The Struggle Over "Scapes": Bringing Identity Into Minority Incorporation Theory*  
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Since the publication of Browning, Marshall, and Tabb's (BMT) *Racial Politics in American Cities*, work on minority incorporation and coalition formation has focused primarily on the effect of minority political power on "urban economism" (Bailey 1999). A primarily economic consideration of urban space posits minority incorporation as a necessary tool in the contest between haves and have nots. From this perspective, successful multi-racial coalitions are based on class and ideological lines (African-Americans, liberal Whites, and parts of unincorporated Latino and Asian-American populations). In this work, I argue that there is a second unexplored dimension of minority incorporation that alters the nature of coalition politics. When viewed from a perspective of cultural incorporation, issues of coalition formation take on a different

posture. In this context, a potential alliance exists between "new-immigrant" groups like Latinos and Asian-Americans that assert cultural citizenship rights in the face of pressure to assimilate to traditional norms. Evidence of minority incorporation from this perspective is the extent to which racial and ethnic groups can have a role in the transformation of various "scapes" that guide their daily lives (Appaduri 1996). This presumes a more transnational understanding of citizenship and incorporation than has previously been addressed. I explore these issues by looking at recent measures and elections in California that challenge physical and discourse spaces for these groups.

*Borrowing from the Past to Sustain the Future: A Philosophical Tour of Cities from Below*  
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Urbanization and globalization processes are not just parallel to one another, but are interdependent. Some of these trends were recognized in the 19th and early 20th centuries. Rosa Luxemburg saw before many of her Marxist allies that capitalism demands the search for ever new markets; in this sense she predicted contemporary globalization trends. Georg Simmel argued in his essay "The Metropolis and the Mental Life" that cities are the seats of impersonal, large scale economic exchanges necessary for the growth of capitalism. Recent philosophical work on globalization and urbanization reveals how complex and interdependent these processes are. In this paper, I argue that recent philosophical critiques of globalization can provide us with guidance as to how to theorize cities and processes of urbanization. Eduardo Mendieta's recent work on globalization draws on Enrique Dussel's call for political theorists and activists to view globalization from "below," that is, from the vantage point of those who are most oppressed and bear the burden of the costs of globalization and urbanization. I argue that we likewise need to view cities "from below" if we are to better understand how modern Western industrialized cities are themselves colonized. Cities are microcosms of globalization in that they mask the costs of affluence from the affluent. Following this methodology of viewing cities from below, I update Friedrich Engel's 19th century tour of Manchester, England by doing a philosophical tour of some "marginal" neighborhoods in Scranton, Pennsylvania that reveal something from below. In this sense, I borrow from our philosophical past in order to shed light on our present so that we might think through issues of urban sustainability and justice.

*The Beguinage and the Sustainable City*  
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The ideal sustainable city looks remarkably like the ideal feminist city. Both promote social and political equity, cooperative use of resources, and design and planning to enhance social interaction. Public spaces that foster community life are an integral part of designs for both types of cities. While the sustainable city has yet to be fully realized, the medieval beguinage came close to being the ideal feminist city. The beguinage emerged in the 13th century as a secular alternative to the convent for unmarried women. "Beguines" acquired urban property and established cooperative living and working arrangements as centers of instruction for young girls, sites of manual labor in the textile industry, and sources of charity for the poor and ill. Hundreds of beguinages existed in Europe by the mid-16th century. The paper examines the beguinage to discover how it fit into the global economy, how it addressed poverty and unemployment, and the design of public space strengthened the sense of community among women. In other words, how well did the beguinage fulfill the goals of sustainability? I suggest that the beguinage is a suitable model for contemporary efforts to create sustainable cities.

### 33. Community organizing for power and change: critiques and alternatives (Wasatch I)

Moderator: Susan Saegert, CUNY Graduate Center

*Neighborhood Planning and the Neoliberalization of Urban Protest*

Robert Lake, Rutgers University

Kathe Newman, Georgia State University

In this paper we argue that neoliberalization has altered the focus of urban protest. The 1960's model directed protest against the (welfare) state with demands for social redistribution and political participation. But the welfare state has been dismantled and replaced by market processes. The 2000's model is about making protesters better market participants, specifically through "neighborhood planning" aimed to engage incipient protesters as participants in (market-driven) urban redevelopment processes.

Across the country, community organizations are engaging in neighborhood planning projects often with support from private foundations, state and local government, and financial intermediaries. Neighborhood planning is viewed as an empowering exercise. Community organizations shift their attention from individual projects to neighborhood needs, engage neighborhood residents, and gather data to show neighborhood conditions. Neighborhood indicator efforts feature prominently as do efforts to identify, gather and map data to show existing neighborhood conditions and create baselines to show change over time. Despite the growth of these activities and increasing dollars being devoted to these efforts, there is little critical literature that explores these processes in action, situates them within broader political and economic structural changes, or evaluates their effectiveness.

Based on a survey of neighborhood planning initiatives and our direct experience working with non profit organizations in New Jersey, we explore the variety of neighborhood planning issues, question whether they are examples of "neighborhood empowerment" or simply a concession to the power of neoliberalism, operating in the space made available by neoliberalism?

*Six types of street blocks: A test of community organizer's view of neighborhood social organization*

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Based on years of practical experience in community organizing and informal analysis, Warren and Warren (1975, 1977) identified six neighborhood types according to how "organizable" they are. The criterion variables they use are (a) resident social interaction, (b) community identity (identification, sense of community), and (c) connections and influence with larger social and political institutions. They identified the six neighborhood types as (1) integral (high interaction, identity and connections), (2) parochial (high interaction, high identity and low connections), (3) diffuse (low interaction, high identity and low connections), (4) stepping-stone (high interaction, low identity and high connections), (5) transitory (low interaction, low identity and high connections), and (6) anomic (low interaction, low identity and low connections). This study tests the empirical validity of that classic typology using quantitative cluster analysis of 1987-88 survey data from 50 Baltimore city blocks representing 50 different neighborhoods. Block types will be compared for the level of participation in community organizations and collective efficacy or empowerment. Implications for theories of social organization, for research

methods using cluster analytic techniques, and for community organizing practice will be discussed.

*Community Organizing for Power and Democracy: Lessons Learned from a Life in the Trenches*  
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Many community developers learned their trade from the life and teachings of Saul Alinsky about confrontation, identification of campaign targets, focusing on outcomes. This paper, drawn from a forthcoming book *LESSONS LEARNED: PERSPECTIVES ON COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT*, looks at other forms of organizing and explores their effectiveness under varying circumstances.

I distinguish three kinds of organizing: 1) domestication, 2) mobilization and 3) developmental organizing. Domestication trains people to be compliant and essentially little more than well behaved and programmed barnyard animals, in the context of a community-building exercise. An example of a community planning project in the South Bronx is developed to illustrate this approach. Mobilization efforts in organizing are issue-specific. Little long-term planning or deliberations regarding comprehensive structural change occur. People mobilize around an issue of concern. This approach differs from domestication because there is a specific recognizable self-interest among those who are mobilized around a specific issue. But the endless cycle of campaigns, fueled by the need for concrete results, means that organizers are not replaced by a functioning democracy in the community. Developmental organizing begins with struggling to attain a critical understanding of the circumstances that represent the source of the problem, oppression, or issue sought to be resolved, overcome or addressed. The second step toward transformation is to discover and dialogue with those who are similarly situated and to facilitate the process of their connecting to issues in their lives in ways that allow them to have the same or similar critical appreciation. Finally, the third step towards transformation is the joining of "word and deed," which is the breeding ground of power. And although this power can be exercised in a manner that is ad hoc and targeted to only a specific purpose, most often this power is manifested through formal organizational development.

*Community Building and Civic Capacity: Beyond social capital versus confrontation*  
Susan Saegert, CUNY Graduate Center  
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While community building initiatives have proliferated in recent decades, controversies have arisen as to the efficacy of such approaches. Critics often contend that this approach begs the question of structural inequality and power differentials that put communities in need of "building" in the first place. A divide has emerged between community builders, who emphasize bonding and bridging social capital, and community organizers who work with disenfranchised communities to make demands on the existing power structure through confrontational actions. Yet the overlap in the practices of both schools is considerable. Community building most often includes a community organizing component aimed at engaging residents in the political process and winning greater resources and influence for the community. Even when not intended, many community building initiatives end up promoting various levels of confrontation. Community organizing over the long haul requires the building of strong relationships of trust and mutual accountability among members. When confrontational tactics succeed, bridging ties with important economic and political stakeholders are formed, and often develop into relationships of mutual trust and accountability.

Based on an extensive review of the literature and interviews with U.S. community builders and organizers for the Aspen Institute Roundtable on Community Change, this paper presents a model of community building activities and their consequences



for kinds of civic capacity, including external social capital, ability to confront the power structure, and engagement with the political process. The model distinguishes between the generic goals of community building and the specific activities and outcomes indicative of civic capacity. Case study examples of consensus and confrontational approaches are presented. Implications for research and practice are discussed.

#### 34. Culture and Tourism in Sustainable Development (Red Butte)

Moderator: John Paul McCarthy, University of Dundee

*The Dia Effect: Art and Urban Redevelopment in Chelsea and Beacon*

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Increasingly cities use large flashy cultural projects as the catalyst for urban redevelopment. These projects potentially put places on the map, creating “buzz.” This impact is known as the “Bilbao effect” after the opening of the Guggenheim. Others argue that artists and art galleries are the shock troops of gentrification and displacement. Yet to fully understand the interplay between art and urban redevelopment, the nature of art and real estate must be explored. While flashy public sector projects may produce some urban regeneration, the art market cannot just be planted in neighborhoods. Using both primary and secondary data I explore the process of art-led urban redevelopment in case studies examining urban redevelopment surrounding two of Dia Art Foundation’s major exhibition facilities in New York City and Beacon, NY. Dia Art Foundation’s West Chelsea facility was opened in 1987 following a tumultuous period in the organization’s history. Yet, the neighborhood surrounding the museum soon blossomed into one of the centers of the New York art scene. Rather than real estate using art, the development of the West Chelsea neighborhood should be seen as a case of art using real estate. A common aesthetic connected many of the spaces at the beginning, and in many ways West Chelsea became emblematic of the nineties boom in Manhattan. Finally, government actions created the preconditions leading to art district formation and urban redevelopment. In 2003, Dia:Beacon opened in a renovated boxboard factory in an old mill town seventy miles north in a rapidly suburbanizing part of the Hudson Valley. The Dia:Beacon aesthetic creates a sharp contrast to the Bilbao effect. Government in the Beacon case was a key partner with Dia Art Foundation. Beacon’s urban redevelopment while significant, is limited by the suburban nature of the surrounding territory.

*Bottling Bohemia: the use of cultural quarters for sustainable regeneration*

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In recent decades the arts and cultural sectors have been harnessed as a potential driving force for sustainable urban regeneration, because of their potential for economic diversification, job creation and income generation, as well as for image enhancement to promote inward investment and tourism. One policy implication at city level has been the designation of ‘cultural quarters’ in areas where a ‘critical mass’ of culture-related activity is seen as providing the basis for sustainable regeneration. Such quarters typically encourage further concentration of cultural uses, cross-fertilisation of consumption- and production-oriented cultural activities and uses, and appropriate use mixing, though a range of models is available, for instance by prioritising consumption- or production-related cultural uses. However, the use of the ‘cultural quarter’ mechanism is not always underpinned by a clear rationale, and there are many criticisms of this approach. For instance, it may be argued that certain

culture-related schemes may increase social polarisation within cities by further excluding lower-income groups, and residents may be 'priced out' of the areas affected because of broader forces of gentrification arising from encouragement of cultural concentration. In addition, it may be argued that the requirements of 'image-building' to meet the demands of investors may override wider objectives. Hence resulting projects may have limited potential to bring about self-sustaining, long-term solutions to fundamental and entrenched urban problems. In addition, 'cultural quarter' concepts seem in some cases to have been transferred between contexts with limited justification. This case study-based comparison of policy application between selected cities in Europe and North America illuminates these issues. It highlights both the opportunities and limitations and of the 'cultural quarter' policy mechanism. Such a comparison can contribute to a broader understanding of policy application and knowledge of good practice, and can help to enable the achievement of more effective and sustainable regeneration.

*Downtown Redevelopment, Image and the Arts: The Roles and Impacts of Flagship Cultural Projects*  
Carl Grodach, University of California- Los Angeles

In recent years there has been a resurgence of urban revitalization strategies that involve flagship cultural projects-- large-scale, high-profile museums and performing arts centers that anchor a larger cultural or entertainment district. Municipal governments have developed cultural flagships such as the Disney Concert Hall in Los Angeles, the Milwaukee Art Museum, or the New Jersey Center for the Performing Arts to attract more visitors, improve the city image, and catalyze other redevelopment activities. Despite critiques that such projects are expensive public undertakings that offer a poor return on the investment and realize little in the way of public benefits, flagship cultural projects continue to mushroom. This study provides comparative analysis of the roles and impacts of flagship cultural projects in three California cities- the Grand Avenue Cultural Corridor in Los Angeles, the Yerba Buena Center in San Francisco, and the redevelopment of downtown San Jose. The primary objective is to analyze how effective the projects are in generating local economic development and how the project benefits and costs are spread across city populations and neighborhoods. In particular, the study focuses on the relationship of the flagship projects to changes in land use and the built environment of the surrounding area as well as their impact on the image of the city at large.

*Culture and Urban Development*  
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Culture and Urban Development Post-industrial Sweden is characterized by increased mobility. Most work places are no longer tied to specific locations, while in parallel settlement patterns of individuals have changed. Improved means of transportation means that we no longer have to live and work in the same location. Also our preferences when making locational decisions concerning settlement have changed. Many factors contribute to explain the developments of a city or region. One observation made in Sweden, which coincides with observations made in other European countries, is that culture plays a significant role in this respect. In most of cities which have experienced growth and development, explicit cultural policies have been recognized as vital ingredients in the urban development strategy. In an ongoing research project we are studying three cultural attractions in Stockholm; the main sports and event arena (the Globe Arena), the major amusement park (Grona Lund) and a private opera house (the Peoples' Opera) The objective of the research is to analyze and discuss how and to what extent these attractions contribute to the growth and development of Stockholm. In the paper the positive impacts of culture, as a contributor to urban development, will be discussed from four perspectives: - Economic impacts in terms of consumption - Economic impacts in terms of production

and employment · Improved city image, and attraction for businesses and new residents · Social, economic and image impacts on areas/districts adjacent to the cultural attraction. The results of these analyses of impacts will be followed by a discussion on factors which have contributed to the to the positive development achieved by cultural activities. The concluding part of the paper discusses how cultural planning more systematically can be integrated in urban planning and development.

### 35. Dilemmas and Alternatives in Urban Schools (Wasatch II)

Moderator: Mickey Lauria, Clemson University

*The Politics of State Takeovers of Urban Education*

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State takeovers represent one of the most recent attempts to reform public education. In a takeover, state government removes authority from local school boards. It either directly operates education systems or authorizes other officials, such as the mayor, to manage the school district. Why and how do states take over local school systems? The research on state takeovers overlooks how politics affects this policy. Education reform in general, and state takeovers in particular, produces winners and losers but previous works concentrate on the structural conditions associated with this policy. What are state government's political motivations for taking over school districts? Which interests benefit from the ways in which state takeovers occur and which actors lose power as a result of this policy change? Which policies do states pursue and why? To answer these questions, this paper examines the state takeover of the school system in Compton, California. To provide a more complete account of the causes of state takeovers, I ask the following important, but largely unanswered, questions about this type of education reform. Why does state government care about urban education? How do states take a more direct role in urban education? Which branch of government leads the process of state intervention and why? How does state government relate to other local actors during takeovers of education and why? Which local interests, if any, does state government ally with when it assumes a direct role in urban education and why? Who benefits from the choices state government makes during takeovers of local education and why? Who criticizes state takeovers and why? How do racial and ethnic minorities view takeovers and why? How do teachers view takeovers and why? Which policies does the state-led educational system pursue and why? How effective are state takeovers?

*Where do "bad kids" go? Alternative education and School Exclusions*

Gordana Rabrenovic, Northeastern University

Despite the ambitious intentions of "No Child Left Behind" act, many children still fall through society's cracks and find themselves left behind in the education foot race. Although many factors contribute students' their lack of educational success, some students may fall behind because newly established disciplinary policies and student exclusion practices are making it easier for schools to exclude them. School exclusions disproportionately affect urban minority students. For example in Massachusetts more than 55.8% of all school exclusion are concentrated in only six urban school district that account for only 15.2 % of the school age population in Massachusetts. In this paper we will examine options available to urban students who are expelled from schools. Little research exists at the national level regarding alternative educational programs. The research that does exist, suggest that districts with high minority enrollments, and districts with high poverty concentrations are more likely to provide alternative schools and programs for students? In this paper examine the character of alternative placements options available to urban students in Massachusetts. We will use both quantitative and qualitative data.

*Identity Construction, Student Culture, and Resistance to Schooling: Are There Preformative Patterns*  
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. Despite a vast literature on resistance theory (e.g., Gilligan 1993; Giroux 1983a, b; Everhart 1983; Fine 1989; 1990; 1992; Willis 1977), there exist few empirical studies of student culture. Perhaps more grossly overlooked, given the multiethnic student population in the inner-city, is the terrain of identity politics (Giroux 1992; Grossberg 1993). In a recent book, Lauria and Mirón (2005) describe the results of a qualitative study of four inner-city high schools located in New Orleans. Using Giroux's framework of identity politics (1992), they describe how student's ethnic identity becomes both a means of resistance and accommodation to the school's formal and hidden curriculum and instructional practices. In this paper, using the same qualitative data base, I extend this analysis by exploring preformative relationships involved in the construction of identities associated with particular patterns student resistance and accommodation to schooling. Drawing on Charles Ragin's method of comparative analysis (1987) and his qualitative comparative analysis software (CA), I use the fifty-four student interviews as cases to search for patterns of invariance in preformative relationships involved in identity construction and particular patterns of resistance and accommodation as coded in the interviews. The overall research question is: are there particular patterns of relationships bounded by school culture that are associated with particular patterns of resistance and accommodation to schooling.

*Pasadena Unified School District: The Abandonment of a Public Institution*  
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The city of Pasadena, California has most of the appearances of a healthy, economically successful Southern California community. Commercial activity thrives there, crime rates and unemployment are low, cultural institutions are numerous, and property values rise as people move to this desirable location. While the general condition of the city appears to be healthy, one of the city's main institutions, the school district, has languished. The performance of students in Pasadena's public unified school district seems surprisingly low given the economic and cultural health of the city. While poor performing school districts are frequently associated with cities facing decline or economic hardship, this is certainly not the case with Pasadena. This paper examines the school district's performance in comparison to school districts in California cities that are experiencing decline, explores the possible reasons that Pasadena's schools function at lower levels than one would expect, and discusses the possibilities for change. A government mandated school busing program in the early 1970s seems to be a significant factor in understanding the current condition of Pasadena's schools. Quantitative data from the U.S. Census Bureau and the California Department of Education, as well as interviews with individuals associated with the school district, provide the main sources of information for this study.

### 36. New Ideas about Local Economic Development (Aspen)

Moderator: Daniel Schulgasser, City of Newark, NJ

*Role & Characteristics of Local Economic Development Agencies in Two Black Immigrant Populated Count*  
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. Immigrant enterprises in the United States are growing at an unprecedented rate as recent waves of immigrants are increasingly opting for self-employment. In response,

government officials and policy advocates call for expanding efforts to harness these entrepreneurs for local economic development. Yet little direct attention has been paid to local economic development agencies (LEDAs) operating in localities with a large immigrant population, particularly a black immigrant population. In this environment, it becomes important to better understand the characteristics of LEDAs which serve as a channel for government policies that affect entrepreneurial and locality development. This paper investigates the role and characteristics of LEDAs in two counties with large and growing Afro-Caribbean immigrant populations: Kings County, NY and Miami-Dade County, FL. It identifies the service parameters offered by their minority-business development programs and looks at their role in promoting asset-building strategies and facilitating the adoption of mainstream business practices. The paper also looks at cross-ethnic considerations in LEDA programs, which most often aim to serve a variety of minority groups. It explores how these programs can be made more effective in localities with a large and growing black immigrant population. Findings raise implications for a more proactive entrepreneurial state that reconceptualizes how LEDA structures, programs and services need to adjust to new realities of large and diverse immigrant localities. In particular, government funders must look at localities for what they are missing rather than what they may already have in assets and resources. This requires them to pay direct attention to LEDAs that help identify the deeper advantages and potentials an immigrant community has to offer so that programs and investments are suitable to the locality. The study upon which the paper is based employs formal in-depth interviews, informal interviews, non-participant observation, and literature review research methods and data.

*For the public good? Expanding Eminent Domain for Urban Redevelopment in New London*  
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The United States Constitution, as well as every state constitution, recognizes the concept of eminent domain, the taking of private property for the “public good”, typically defined as for projects like roads or public buildings. In 2004, the Connecticut Supreme Court extended eminent domain’s scope to include private economic gain and the expansion of the municipal tax base in the case, *Kelo v. New London*. A former colonial New England whaling town, New London redeveloped in the early 20th century around the national defense with the U.S. Coast Guard Academy, military defense contracting, and a nuclear sub base in adjacent Groton. Faced by changes in defense spending and the emergence of major Native American gaming casinos in the 1990’s, New London officials looked for ways to increase municipal revenue. The city established the New London Development Corporation (NLDC) with powers of eminent domain. Through the Fort Trumbull redevelopment plan, NLDC lured pharmaceutical giant Pfizer’s world research headquarters across the Thames River from Groton. This \$270 million facility anchors this proposed waterfront redevelopment. NLDC sought to use eminent domain to obtain 90 adjacent acres for a new hotel and conference center, a sixteen-acre state park, a marina, U.S. Coast Guard Museum, and upscale housing. Of the 95 impacted parcels in this middle class neighborhood, fifteen property owners refused to sell. Examining the historical evolution of eminent domain, this paper explores the evolving concept of “public good” thought the *Kelo v. New London* case that is being reviewed by the U.S. Supreme Court. This case has major implications for future urban redevelopment projects as well as raises significant questions about the extent governments have to take private property.

*Institutional Investment Policies: Renewing People and Places*  
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This paper examines a comprehensive policy that combines a place-based development strategy, a human development focus, and an environmentally sensitive approach. The authors posit that a direct positive relationship exist between the creation of social capital, the redevelopment of the built environment utilizing green building methods, and community-based organizations in distressed communities. Furthermore the authors suggest that institutions of higher education can and should facilitate the rebuilding of communities by providing financial capital investment in community development financial institutions and community-based development organizations. The paper concludes by recommending that a public higher education policy supporting a community reinvestment strategy has the demonstrated capacity to provide much needed access to capital, facilitate community and civic revitalization, stimulate the physical revitalization of distressed areas, and reduce environmental stress, while simultaneously, improving the economic and social well-being of the community and the state.

### 37. Economy and Quality of Life (Cottonwood II)

Moderator: Edward (Ned) Hill, Cleveland State University

*Economic Wellbeing and Where We Live: Accounting for Geographic Cost-of-Living Differences*  
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. Regional cost-of-living differences greatly affect the quality of life that individuals and families experience in different metropolitan areas. Clearly an income of \$45,000 in Boston or San Francisco does not purchase the same amount of goods and services as an income of \$45,000 in Wichita or Milwaukee. Yet, lack of available data directly measuring these differences, as well as disagreement on how to do so, has left analysts with manifestly inaccurate measures of economic wellbeing. In this paper, we evaluate eight alternative inter-regional cost-of-living measures based on their data collection methodologies, the variables included in the measurement, their applicability to measuring cost-of-living differences for low- and moderate-income populations, and their availability and affordability for researchers. Based upon these criteria, we identify one specific measure of geographic cost-of-living differences as superior to the other measures, when the cost of obtaining the data and the performance of the index are considered. We propose a method to rectify the main shortcoming of this index, which is the limited number of metropolitan areas covered. We build a regression model to expand the measure's coverage to include metropolitan areas for which it is currently unavailable. We then apply the expanded measure to various data sets, including median household income, the number of people living in poverty, and family eligibility for Title X Family Planning Services and for the Head Start program to illustrate some of the impacts of adjusting economic indicators for geographic cost-of-living differentials. We find that the impacts are substantial

*The Median-Score and Index Creation*  
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The Median-Score and Index Creation Distributions of income, population and other data of interest to most scholars of cities, urban form, and labor market outcomes are typically highly skewed to the left. Yet, most statistics used to analyze these data are

based on the assumption that the data are distributed normally. Where this assumption becomes especially onerous is when the z-transformation, or z-score, is used to take a number of variables that measure different conceptual dimensions of the same phenomenon and create an index. In these cases the transformed data and the index that is constructed from the transformed data are not efficient due to the structure of the standard deviation and to the spread of the distribution. Yet, it is difficult to abandon the z-transformation and build indexes with more sophisticated statistical techniques, such as factor scores, due to the intuitive appeal of the resulting index. We propose the median-score and median transformation as a substitute for the z-score and z-transformation. The median-score replicates the z-score for data that are distributed normally but is less susceptible to outliers than is the z-score. The paper defines the median score and discusses its statistical properties. The paper then discusses the methodological and practical issues related to index creation. Finally, the authors present a number of data vectors, transform the data using both the z and median transformations, and then analyze the results.

*Regional Economic Indicators: Business and Innovation Climate*

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Robert Sadowski, Cleveland State University

The economic indicators that comprise the theme of business and innovative climate include Small Business Innovation Research (SBIR) and Small Business Technology Transfer STTR awards, venture capital, initial public offerings (IPOs), high-tech employment share, research and development funding, patents, business incubators, corporate headquarters, and business costs. These indicators provide different ways of capturing a region's propensity to conduct research, transfer basic research to development and commercialization, innovate, promote entrepreneurship, and develop and sustain a technology-based economy.

The business and innovation climate index aggregates key microeconomic variables for each of 36 comparable metropolitan areas across the U.S. into a single operational measure (the MSAs selected for this study are comparable to the Cleveland MSA). This provides a simple way to benchmark the Cleveland area against other regions. The index is comprised of eight indicators mentioned above, each with one or more variables. First, a sub-index was calculated for each of the indicators, and then the indicators were combined to create the business and innovation climate index.

The paper includes four sections. Following the introduction, the second section describes the business and innovation climate index, which offers an aggregated measure used to benchmark northeast Ohio's metropolitan areas against comparable regions. The third section provides some observations on Northeast Ohio's strengths and weaknesses based on the index and individual indicators presented throughout the report. The final section discusses each of the nine economic indicators in detail.

*Regional Economic Indications: Quality of Life*

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A pleasant physical and social environment is important for attracting and retaining qualified workers. To create more appealing regions, metropolitan areas need to assess their strength and weaknesses in factors often considered as a components of quality of life.

In our study the quality of life variables are combined within four indicators. (1) The affordability of living indicator includes affordable housing and cost of living variables. (2) The environment and lifestyle indicator includes air and water quality, travel mobility, crime, and the cluster of recreation and leisure variables. (3) The health and education indicator assesses quality of schools and healthcare accessibility. (4) The civic society and governance indicator portrays an array of characteristics of civic and

social organizations and government. These indicators provide an opportunity to assess different angles of quality of life and to compare it from geography to geography.

The overall quality of life index aggregates four indicators for 36 metropolitan areas comparable to Cleveland MSA and provides an opportunity to benchmark the area to its peers and competitors in regional development.

This study used the benchmarking methodology based on calculating the median scores of geographical distribution within the engaged sample of metro areas. The main challenge this study faced was the limited availability of reliable variables necessary for representing quality of life indicators.

*The Potomac Index: Education and Lifelong Learning*

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Hal Wolman, George Washington University

The Potomac Index is a joint project of the Potomac Conference and a research team led by the Brookings Greater Washington Research Program. It is a tool to help measure the region's progress toward becoming a world-class connected community. Its goal is to provide a clear-eyed view of the Greater Washington's assets and challenges.

The region has one of the most highly educated populations in the country, with 42 percent of residents holding at least a bachelor's degree in 2000. This figure has increased from 36 percent in 1991.

Despite the region's significant educational assets and high educational attainment, uneven high school dropout rates and plans for college attendance indicate that some residents are disconnected from economic opportunity.

### 38. Environmental Policy I (Blue Spruce)

Moderator: Lyke Thompson, Wayne State University

*Implementation of lead poisoning prevention and abatement programs in the 50 largest U.S. Cities*

Lyke Thompson, Wayne State University

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Lead poisoning injures millions of children in the U.S. each year. Most of these live in major cities, and most live within the older, inner core of those cities where housing built prior to 1978 predominates. Most of the children are lead poisoned by paint chips and dust that erodes from the walls, doors and floors of these older houses. These children lose cognitive and motor capacity as their lead poisoning increases, limiting their life chances and their health. Even so, only a few cities have comprehensive programs to eliminate lead poisoning of their children. Many have partial programs or elements of programs that exist in name only. Why is it that cities have not attacked this problem more vigorously? This article is based upon a survey of the various departments responsible for preventing and eliminating lead poisoning in each of the 50 largest cities in the U.S. It seeks to identify the extent of implementation of lead prevention and abatement programs and the impediments to implementation of those programs. This article will assess those programs using the predominant theories of implementation, seeking to explain patterns of implementation and to identify where the theories do and do not provide leverage in the explanation of lead poisoning prevention and abatement programs.



*City Building, Water Privatization, and American Political Development*  
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I argue in this paper that control over water supply in the United States was determined by the development of the city from a commercial association to a public, municipal corporation. As a public corporation, the city became a sub-unit of the state and thus a territorial unit, anchored in space. As cities took on the responsibilities and functions of public entities, they laid the groundwork for suburban autonomy and resistance to central city annexation, principally because central city infrastructural development facilitated suburban infrastructural development, and thus suburban autonomy. As a territorial unit hemmed in by autonomous suburbs, the growth potential of the city was constrained. By contrast, private corporations, conceived of as individuals, were not constrained by territorial borders. Since cities were the first governmental units to take responsibility for public water supplies, the development of public water systems has been shaped by the geographic constraints of cities. By contrast, private water suppliers, whose business was primarily in the suburbs, were not constrained by geographic boundaries. Suburbanization, which was at once facilitated by cities at the same time that it constrained the power of cities, also empowered private water companies, setting the stage for their consolidation and growth from regional, to national, to international organizations.

*Creating sustainable urban futures: The slow city movement*  
Heike Mayer, Virginia Tech  
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Paul Knox, Virginia Tech

This paper examines the Slow City (CittaSlow) movement as a way to achieve sustainable urban development through programs that address concerns for environmental protection, economic development, and social equity. The Slow City movement was founded by four Italian towns in 1999 and comprises more than 50 cities in Italy, Germany, Norway, Great Britain, Japan, Brasil, Greece, and Switzerland. These towns are committed to enhancing and preserving local traditions and cultures, a relaxed pace of life, and conviviality. Cities that want to become members of the movement have to be certified and demonstrate that they comply with the movement's 54-point charter. The charter addresses environmental sustainability, inviting urban design, quality of life, the promotion of local products and foods, organic agriculture, hospitality, and public awareness. In the paper we analyze two of the Slow cities in Germany (Waldkirch and Hersbruck). We argue that the two German cities successfully apply the ideas of CittaSlow to achieve sustainable urban development and to balance environmental protection with local endogenous economic development and social equity. Both cities focus in particular on programs that create sustainable local economic cycles and self-reliance while protecting local cultural and environmental landscapes. In doing so, the two German towns seem to go beyond traditional community economic development programs such as import substitution (Shuman, 1998) to embrace the complex connections between their unique environmental ecologies, local economic heritage, and social equity. For example, Hersbruck created a nonprofit organization that certifies local restaurants for using local produce. The local produce is advertised by the restaurants in special menus. This in turn contributes to the vitality of local farming which then keeps the environmental landscape (traditional pastures that are also home to heirloom fruit trees) intact. In Waldkirch, the local public utility company has built an extensive wood heating system for which the waste wood is bought from local forest farmers who in turn receive an economic incentive from this to keep farming the local forests. The Slow City movement represents a promising vision towards sustainable urban development. We employ the conceptual framework of the three E's (Campbell, 1996) to the Slow City movement and show how small towns in Germany can build more

sustainable futures. The key to success in both towns seems to be a strong core of key actors that spans elected officials, bureaucrats, and business leaders. The result is a dense and collaborative network that forms a sustainable regional economic growth machine. References Campbell, S. (1996). Green cities, growing cities, just cities? Urban planning and the contradictions of sustainable development. *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 3, 296-312. Shuman, M. (1998). *Going local: Creating self-reliant communities in a global age*. New York: The Free Press.

### 39. Housing and Community Development in a Changing Urban Context (Cottonwood I)

Moderator: Miguel Garcia, Ford Foundation

*Are Capacity-Building Programs Effective?*

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Corianne Scalley, Rutgers University

Nonprofit organizations do many things in the community revitalization process, bearing an increasingly heavy burden in community revitalization. They are asked to build housing, train workers, finance businesses, and organize and empower neighbors. More of these organizations are failing to keep up with the heavy demands placed on them. Simply put: they sometimes lack the capacity to successfully do the many tasks requested of them by funders and the communities in which they live. Thin capitalization and capacity sometimes force overburdened nonprofits to close. This creates a void in critical services within already vulnerable communities. Growing concern over such negative trends have led to a call for increased capacity building measures as an important means of combating this trend.

Considerable effort and resources have been devoted to increasing the capacity of community based organizations (CBOs). Foundations and governments have invested substantial funds in training and technical assistance.

There have been many attempts to define and measure the capacity of community-based organizations. Less work has been done analyzing the effectiveness of programs designed to build such capacity. Training and technical assistance is commonly given through different institutions and organizations: national intermediaries, regional intermediaries, local intermediaries, universities and affiliated centers, foundations, and private consulting groups. The most readily available evaluations have been conducted by foundations to measure the success of the programs that they have funded. Training programs conducted through other providers, however, rarely publicize participant feedback.

We have two purposes in writing this paper. First, we will bring together the strands of research and action about capacity building. We will critically review some of recent attempts at large-scale capacity building, including the National Community Development Initiative and the Human Capital Development Initiative.

Second, we will report on a survey of the practices of a sample of CDCs that have built capacity through training and technical assistance. The survey looks at the training history of some CDCs (why they undertake training, the types of training that they do, who funds training, and so forth). Next, the survey asks a series of questions about training preferences: we examine the main past and future training needs of the organizations, obstacles to getting training, and the methods of training that CDCs find most (and least) useful. Our goal is to define the parameters of what is effective training across a spectrum of community building activities so that resource providers and communities can make competent choices regarding training and technical assistance needs.

*Neighborhood Versus Regional Housing Production: Does Specialization Make a Difference for Community*

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The main objective of this paper is to provide an overall assessment of non-profit, community-based urban development organizations' specialization in neighborhood or regional production of housing. We will examine whether and how non-profit, community-based urban development organizations specialize within the broad range of housing development activities in the field. One important distinction concerns whether they focus on one neighborhood or target area versus working in multiple markets. In particular, we will examine the questions: How are organizations that engage primarily in regional housing development different from organizations that engage in housing development and other activities (e.g., commercial development, economic development)? And, can these differences in capacity, management styles and experience, and resources be translated into greater efficiency and higher production?

We hypothesize that organizations that work in multiple markets operate differently than those that work in a single market, and that the advantages multi-market organizations gain from working in multiple markets makes up for the "local knowledge" that single-market organizations gain. We are particularly interested in understanding how these organizations differ in terms of their capacity, and whether the advantage of targeting a broad market area actually leads to better, more efficient performance. One of the most important concepts to be analyzed is that of "multi-market" or "regional" non-profit, urban development organizations. The prevailing assumption in the field is that non-profit, community-based urban development organizations are for the most part neighborhood focused organizations. We intend to categorize the various types of non-profit, community-based urban development organizations engaged in housing and economic development activities at the neighborhood or "multi-market" level, and then use the operational concept of "regional" producers to organize and analyze the data. This study will be based on CDRC's recent survey of urban, community-based development organizations. The key data for the targeted areas comes from two questions in a survey of 409 community-based development organizations conducted by CDRC in 2003. The first question asks organizations about the postal zip codes targeted for activities; the second question asks the interviewee to provide the names of the neighborhoods, cities, towns, counties, metropolitan areas or regions where they operate. We will codify these two variables to operationalize a definition of "multi-market" or "regional" producers. The survey also ask in depth questions about the operational and organizational capacity of these organizations, as well as the types of activities, budgets and outputs of their operations.

*Beyond Year 15: Responses to the Expiration of Housing Tax-Credits*

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Edwin Melendez, New School University

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The Low Income Housing Tax Credit (LIHTC) has helped finance the development of more than 1.1 million affordable housing units since its inception in 1986. Tax-credit developments now house almost as many low-income families as public housing and project-based Section 8. Moreover, unlike these older federal programs, which have not produced new housing in many years, the LIHTC is still active and it is by far the most important source of subsidy for low-income multifamily rental housing. The Tax

Reform Act of 1986, which created the LIHTC, specified that tax-credit units must remain affordable to low-income renters for a minimum of 15 years. Subsequent legislation in 1989 imposed an extended affordability period of 15 additional years, but gave owners the ability of opting out under certain conditions. The affordability restrictions for the earliest tax-credit developments expired in 2002. Thousands more tax-credit units face the expiration of their affordability restrictions in the next few years. Even though projects completed after 1989 enjoy additional affordability protections, their preservation as low-income housing is not assured. Additional resources will be required to buy out owners who choose to opt out, plus tax-credit housing will require increasing amounts of capital investment as the stock ages. The proposed paper will examine the key challenges facing the preservation of tax-credit housing for low-income households. The paper will report on interviews with experts on tax credit housing to identify and evaluate alternative preservation strategies. These experts on the Year 15 issue include nonprofit and for-profit syndicators of tax credit developments, officials from housing finance agencies and other organizations that have produced reports on the subject, principals who have already responded to the expiration of the tax credit, and developers who are concerned with sustaining affordability and low-income occupancy into the future. We will also report on an exhaustive review of the literature available on this topic.

*Talking about Affordable Housing: Making the Case for Social Benefits from Existing Evidence*

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Jenna (Rosie) Tighe, University of Texas at Austin

In recent years, high profile battles over the siting of affordable housing in Texas have raised attention to the issue among state and local elected officials. Recent comparative research on the views of civic leaders around the country found Texas civic leaders to be comparatively “hostile” to affordable housing, in the words of one funder. In this context, neighborhood veterans of siting battles are gaining support for legislative proposals to make blocking future developments easier. They not only ask for ways to block projects required to obtain local approval or evidence of public buy-in, they also seek to stop those requiring no changes in zoning or existing regulations. In essence, these proposals rest on the assumption that these developments do not bring net benefits to the community. In this context, interest has been growing in what evidence exists to justify locating affordable housing in middle class communities (beyond the good it does for those housed.) This paper provides an overview of existing academic research, using the broad frame provided by this public discussion, where opponents are challenging not only threats to neighborhood quality of life but also underlying assumptions about the broader community interest in the issue. While a growing body of research documents the impacts on proximate property values, discussion in these battles in Texas as often focuses on impacts on schools, on city service costs and the local tax base. What does existing literature tell us about the relationship between providing low and moderate income households with housing they can afford and these factors? Where is support strongest (or weakest) for such claims? And where do we need more or more rigorous research in order to gauge the impacts? The review draws upon research in public health, education policy and public finance as well as community development to address these issues. It concludes with a summary of what we know, a discussion of unresolved methodological issues and a proposal for future research.

2:00pm - 3:30pm	Concurrent Sessions
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#### 40. New Patterns of Socioeconomic Diversity in Metropolitan America (Parleys II)

Moderator: Donald F. Norris, University of Maryland, Baltimore

*Pulling Apart: The Rise of Economic Segregation Among Cities and Suburbs, 1980-2000*

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Colleen Casey, St. Louis University

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Using census data this paper examines the degree to which people of different economic classes live in separate municipalities in 50 large metropolitan areas. Using a relative definition of "poor places," as those with per capita incomes less than 75 percent of the per capita income for the region, the paper concludes that the number and proportion people living in poor places increased rapidly in the 1980s and much more slowly in the 1990s. During that same period, the number and proportion of people living in middle class places fell at the same time that the number and proportion of people living in affluent places, those making over 125 percent of the regional mean, increased. The paper also examines the income gap between central cities and suburbs. The authors conclude by discussing the implications, policy and otherwise, of rising levels of economic segregation organized by municipal boundaries.

*The Fate of First-Tier Suburbs: Evidence from Metropolitan Baltimore*

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Thomas J. Vicino, University of Maryland, Baltimore

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Many first-tier suburbs of rustbelt cities in the Northeast and Midwest are experiencing economic and social problems normally associated with central cities. In this paper, we assess evidence of first-tier suburban decline in the Baltimore metropolitan area, and evaluate the current local governmental policy responses to this decline. Our primary source of data to measure suburban decline is Census data at the place and tract level, which enabled us to spatially analyze the first-tier suburbs of Baltimore over three decades.

We found that poverty increased in recent decades in all suburbs of the inner ring of the Baltimore region. In some suburbs, increases in poverty became more pronounced in the 1990s, with the most dramatic occurring in the suburb of Lansdowne where the poverty rate jumped from 9% in 1989 to nearly 14% in 1999. Many first-tier suburbs of Baltimore are aging and possess a housing stock that homebuyers no longer desire. The local infrastructure is decaying, and first-tier suburban residents are older and passing away without a younger generation to replace them.

To revitalize suburbs, Baltimore County government created the Office of Community Conservation and programs such as the Renaissance Redevelopment Pilot Program and commercial revitalization districts. Unlike fragmented metropolitan areas, Baltimore County has no incorporated municipalities and therefore has jurisdiction over its first-tier suburbs. Consequently the county government can leverage the sufficient resources necessary to deal with decline. Also, it has the ability to redistribute public funds to alleviate social and economic problems in these declining areas. While a thorough assessment of the impacts of the county's efforts is

forthcoming, we hypothesize that revitalization is most problematic in those first-tier suburbs where the housing stock is unmarketable.

*Megalopolis Revisited: Neighborhoods in a Giant Urban Region*

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This paper provides an update of Jean Gottmann's seminal work on Megalopolis. After redefining the region and showing major aggregate trends since 1950, we use place level census data for 2,321 places to outline a more detailed neighborhood grouping of the region based on a factor analysis and subsequent grouping of factor scores. Case studies of each neighborhood group are provided to further examine the intricate nature of suburban places. Our results indicate that there is a complex socioeconomic pattern among suburban places within Megalopolis. This pattern is based on factors of class, education, housing tenure, housing age, and race and ethnicity. This paper calls for further examination and development of new models of metropolitan structure.

#### 41. (Colloquy) *Urban Research: The Personal, the Professional, and the Political* (Wasatch II)

Moderator: Kathe Newman, Georgia State University

Carolyn T. Adams, Temple University

Robert Lake, Rutgers University

Robert Beauregard, New School University

Robyne Turner, Univ. Missouri-Kansas City

The proposed colloquy diverges from the traditional sort of academic discussion. It includes a diverse group of experienced researchers who will tell their personal, political, and professional stories about how they developed their research agendas. The proposed colloquy builds on the success of the first colloquy of its type held at the UAA Conference in 2001. The first colloquy brought together six experienced women researchers who told their personal stories about how they developed their urban research agendas. The premise behind the colloquy is that we are not the neutral scientists that Weber imagined; the way in which we view the world is inextricably connected to our personal experiences. Who we are, our race, gender, ethnicity, and our experiences, directly influence how we study cities. It shapes our research agendas, the questions we choose to ask, the methodologies we use, and the way in which we interpret the data we collect. This colloquy brings together a diverse group of researchers including women and men, and researchers who utilize a range of methodologies. They will explain how they developed their research agendas, what they study, how they study, and why they chose to study these things. Their presentations will stimulate our thinking about cities, provide guidance to younger researchers, and help to underscore the importance of how who we are shapes how we view the world.

## 42. Gentrification and Neighborhood Change (Parleys I)

Moderator: Daphne Spain, University of Virginia

*The Relationship Between Gentrification and Local Business Bankruptcy*

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Many case studies of gentrifying urban neighborhoods have described the changed character of local commercial strips that occurs as wealthier residents move in. Recent press accounts of New York and Chicago neighborhoods have described business owners' concerns about gentrification (Avis, 2003; Watson, 2003). While some local businesses may successfully adapt to a new environment, others may go bankrupt or may be forced to relocate. Local business displacement may be due to reasons other than market competition, however, as economic development programs may support incoming national chains (Hughes, 2000) or they may be forced out by eminent domain (Eastwood, 2002). To investigate whether gentrification is associated with bankruptcy of local businesses in Chicago, this paper presents a spatial analysis of recent business bankruptcy data. The addresses of businesses that filed bankruptcy have been geocoded to determine whether a correlation exists between the type of demographic change that occurred in that neighborhood between 1990 and 2000 and the rate of bankruptcy of local businesses. Neighborhoods that experienced gentrification are identified by changes in a composite index of Census factors. The communities that demonstrate the most significant relationship between business bankruptcy and gentrification will be presented as case studies. The in-depth analysis focuses on the characteristics of failed businesses, which new stores have located on the commercial strips, and whether there are other local, changed conditions that have affected the neighborhood businesses. The paper concludes with a discussion of the findings' implications for economic and community development. References: Avis. 2003. "Ethnic biz owners say, 'Bring it on,'" *Crains Chicago Business*, Feb. 10. Eastwood. 2002. *Near West Side Stories: Struggles for Community in Chicago's Maxwell Street Neighborhood*. Chicago: Lake Claremont Press. Hughes. 2000. *Wake Up and Smell the Dollars! Whose Inner City is This Anyway!* Phoenix: Amber Books. Watson. 2003. "Gentrification Squeezes Harlem Businesses," *The Sacramento Observer*. Aug 25.

*From Sow's Ear to Silk Purse: The Reconstruction of Community Identity in Gentrifying Neighborhoods*

Barrett A. Lee, Pennsylvania State University

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Two theoretical models dominate the study of neighborhood change. Proponents of the succession model argue that residential preferences and market forces underlie a predictable process of change. Other scholars favor a "pinball" model in which neighborhoods are buffeted by external institutions and events. Both models largely remove the fate of an area from the hands of its inhabitants, and they ignore the potential importance of the subjective and symbolic aspects of place. In the present paper, we bring these omitted variables back into the analysis, examining why and how persons living in gentrifying neighborhoods try to shape the identity of their communities. Our inquiry rests on the assumption that the decisions of homeseekers and incumbent residents to move in, move out, or stay put cumulatively determine what happens to an area. We focus on the role that the neighborhood association plays in influencing such decisions. Because inner-city areas experiencing gentrification are frequently saddled with lingering negative reputations produced by decades of decline, these areas constitute valuable settings in which to investigate the identity management activities of neighborhood associations. Five gentrifying neighborhoods in Nashville, Tennessee, serve as our cases. Utilizing field

observations, organizational documents, survey data, and related materials collected over a 20-year span, we show that the associations in all five areas employ some combination of two basic strategies to mold community identity in a manner conducive to middle-class reinvestment: image manipulation and environmental intervention. Much of the paper is devoted to (1) assessing the costs and benefits of each strategy, (2) illustrating how each is implemented, and (3) placing the two strategies in the context of neighborhood and organizational development. We also consider whether the strategies have had the intended demographic and housing impacts. Our results suggest that concepts like community identity can provide a useful bridge between the succession and pinball models of neighborhood change.

*Barbershop 2: An African-American Perspective on Redevelopment and Gentrification in Urban America*

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This presentation is based on a paper that uses the movie *Barbershop 2* as the backdrop against which to discuss and dissect the generalized attitudes of African-American and other people of color towards urban inner-city redevelopment and gentrification as depicted in the movie. The presentation will discuss the myths and truth in the movie as well as the need to better educate the public about the public policy decision-making process. Also to be discussed is how to blame redevelopment with protecting current lower income residents living in urban inner-city neighborhoods from being displaced as a result of gentrification. This presentation will not be an artistic critique of the movie. *Barbershop 2* is a must see movie for Urban Planning Professionals, Public Administrators and all who care about the future of urban America.

*Talking about a Revolution: Rhetoric and Collective Action Frames in Gentrifying Communities*

Leslie Martin, Boise State University

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Neighborhood mobilization is shaped in part by how organizations and leaders sell themselves and their issues to potential supporters, challengers, and the general public. These collective action frames help explain the goals and targets of neighborhood organizing, and may shed light on the success or failure of such organizing. This emphasis, in turn, helps illuminate how urban areas experience and respond to the process of gentrification. Neighborhood residents, leaders, and business owners in four gentrifying neighborhoods in Atlanta used remarkably consistent language when talking about the impacts of recent neighborhood changes. In one dramatic incident, long-time residents directly critiqued the process of gentrification and the gentrifiers themselves, to their detriment. Far more commonly, long-time residents use a "displacement" frame, emphasizing the negative impacts they and their neighbors have experienced as a result of gentrification. In contrast, new residents adopt frames about "rule-following," leveling charges that long-time residents do not follow rules, and therefore should not be accorded respect or power in neighborhood organizations and decision-making. In this way new residents echo the charges of middle-class urban reformers from earlier in the Twentieth Century, calling for a change in political power on the basis of the corruption of current leadership. Both collective action frames arise from the structural positions of those advocating them. This paper is based on a study of the four communities in 2001-2003, and draws on interviews with 42 neighborhood stakeholders, observations of neighborhood meetings, and content analysis of newspaper articles and neighborhood organization newsletters. In this paper I explore the substance of these collective action frames, how they are selected by neighborhood leaders and organizations, and assess the relative effectiveness of both of these frames in advancing the agendas of those who use them.



*Tourism and Gentrification in US Cities: Evidence from New Orleans*  
David Gladstone, University of New Orleans  
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Deindustrialization, reductions in federal aid to cities, and the worldwide growth of tourism and other service industries have had a marked effect on metropolitan areas in the United States. Cities are losing blue-collar employment and tax rates at the same time as the number of poor people living in them is increasing. With the federal government retreating from the social service arena and reducing its financial commitment to cities in need, and with state budgets under severe fiscal stress, city officials have increasingly turned to tourism as a viable economic development option, competing for tourist dollars by shaping and re-shaping central cities in ways they believe will attract visitors. Although tourism-led redevelopment often provides city residents with increased opportunities for employment, leisure and cultural enrichment, it can also have dramatic and unpredictable effects on their lives. One effect involves the repercussions of redevelopment activities that transform working-class neighborhoods into middle- or upper-class areas catering to tourists and often lead to displacement of long-term residents. The purpose of this paper is to explore the connections between tourism and gentrification in US metropolitan areas, using New Orleans as a case study. We will first discuss the growth of tourism in the City of New Orleans, paying particular attention to its geographic scope. Next, we will pinpoint the "who," "what," "when," and "where" of gentrification in New Orleans since the 1970s. We will then consider the ways in which gentrification and tourism are connected in New Orleans, and what their relationship adds to theories of both tourism development and urban revitalization. Finally, we will provide a more in-depth look at Tremé, one of the nation's oldest African-American neighborhoods and one in which both tourism and the non-African-American population have been increasing in recent years.

#### 43. Art, Culture, and Preception in Urban Revitalization (Aspen)

Moderator: Michael Frisch, University of Missouri-Kansas City

*City Planning and Regeneration Implications of the EXPO'98 in Lisbon, Portugal*  
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In the last decade, Lisbon was transformed from a backwater city into one of Europe's most vibrant capitals. In part, this was caused by the urban redevelopment and visibility associated with the World Exposition EXPO'98. The EXPO'98 celebrated the most important phase of Portuguese history: the discoveries period and the exploration of the oceans. The EXPO regenerated a riverfront area of the capital and endowed the city with new cultural and transportation facilities. The purpose of this paper is to analyze the city planning and regeneration implications of the EXPO'98. The argument is that the EXPO'98 in Lisbon was not only a mega event at the end of the twentieth century, but also a unique opportunity to plan and regenerate a run-down industrial dockland area of the city. Moreover, it helped to better integrate the eastern part of the city in the metropolitan area, as well as to give a positive contribution to the city's and country's international marketing strategy. This paper combines an eclectic array of qualitative and quantitative analyses. The research methods involve mainly specialized literature and popular press reviews, official document analysis, semi-structured interviews with planners, developers and managers of the EXPO site. My presentation will include a rich assortment of pictures depicting the expo site before and after the event, as well as maps and charts of the

proposed and implemented city planning options. One of the findings is that there are few doubts that the expo promoted Lisbon as a major tourism destination. From an urban redevelopment perspective, the legacy of the EXPO'98 is directly linked not only to the new facilities but also to the new urban fabric built after the event. The EXPO'98 was probably one of the most important urban redevelopments taking place in southern Europe at the eve of the millennium. The EXPO'98 can be considered not just an event but also a catalyst for urban restructuring. And above all it is a valuable lesson of what a small country such as Portugal can do to promote its culture and history, regenerate its urban areas, and modernize its facilities, while gaining international visibility and recognition at the beginning of the twenty first century.

*Space to Remember: Inscribing Collective Memory in Union Square after September 11th*  
Brian James McCabe, London School of Economics  
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The tragedy of September 11th 2001 caused a widespread reengagement with public spaces throughout New York City. New Yorkers descended upon parks and squares to construct memorials, hang posters and remember the victims. Focusing specifically on Union Square, one of the most widely used spaces after September 11th, this paper explores how the construction of temporary street memorials introduced collective memory into the public arena. Most of the literature on public space after September 11th explores issues of militarization and privatization. In contrast, this paper explores the relationship between space, identity and collective memory in the aftermath of tragedy. Through newspaper reports and interviews with local actors, it examines the role of street memorials in transforming the symbolic geography of public space into a site of collective memory. Through the rescaling of urban space, it demonstrates how local public spaces participate in the construction and negotiation of non-local identities.

*Speaking for the Public: The Role of Civic Coalitions in the Rebuilding of the World Trade Center*  
Arielle Goldberg, CUNY Graduate Center

#### 44. International Urban Regimes and Governance (Red Butte)

Moderator: Karl Besel, Indiana University Kokomo

*Governing Stockholm: Growth machines, Growth regimes and Political Leadership*  
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. In the report of the Urban Commission of Inquiry set up by Government, it was observed that, social exclusion on the labour market is increasing in distressed areas, including Stockholm, despite the current economic overheating. Following the recommendations of the Urban Commission, "a new urban policy" was launched in 1998 by the Swedish Government. Local agreements were signed in 1999 with the concerned municipalities, to create conditions for a "sustainable development (growth) and bring about more equality in life opportunities for the urban population irrespective of their origin and sex" (stop social and ethnic segregation). However, the developmental tasks conducted between 1999 and 2004 were essentially more concentrated on anti-segregation measures and "job-preparedness" (education, training) than on growth related ones. Following so called "Growth talks" at the beginning of 2004 between the Swedish Government, members of the trade-unions and the business community, talks to which no opposition party was invited, a conference was organized in May 2004 in Stockholm under the theme: "Stockholm in Sweden, Stockholm in the World". The aim of the conference was to discuss ways and means through which Stockholm can develop to become the "leading development

(growth) region in North Europe". The conference was organized and co-sponsored by the Stockholm Office for Industry, the Center for Business and Policies Studies, The Regional Office for Planning and Communication, the Association of Landlords and the Stockholm Chamber of Commerce. The aim of the study is to assess the local developmental policies carried out in Stockholm City, to find out which actors (public, private or civil society) were involved in the process of the formulation (initiation) and implementation of the policies directed toward socio-economic development in the area. The focus of the paper is on the connection between urban governance and socio-economic development in Stockholm. The role of the public, private and civil sectors in the economic and social development in this urban area will be scrutinized. Our theoretical frameworks or organizing perspectives are urban governance and development whereby hypotheses drawn from the theories of "growth machines" and regime will be tested in the framing and interpretation of our data. Methodologically, the paper is a case-study, drawing upon both quantitative and qualitative methods for data collection and interpretation and drawing inferences.

*The Reform of Public Administration in Northern Ireland - From Principles to Practice*  
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"The choice for Ulster has always been limited democracy with stability or unlimited democracy without stability" (NI civil servant, anon.) Throughout 'the Troubles' in Northern Ireland, beyond the imposition of Direct Rule to replace the devolved parliament and government in 1972, the structure and operation of the Province's wider system of public administration were accorded a lowly priority by the British Government. With murder and mayhem threatening to engulf them, Northern Ireland Office ministers were preoccupied with managing the most intractable and wearisome corner of the UK's territorial estate. While the fate of the Belfast (Good Friday) Agreement remains uncertain and its implementation incomplete, a 30 year moratorium on long overdue administrative reform has been lifted. In breaking the impasse, the subsequent launch of a 'Review of Public Administration' – and the determination to continue and conclude it before then implementing its recommendations - offers the prospect of improvement in the provision of public services, local public accountability and value for money. Despite a fitful experience of devolution, the devolved government's decision (before its suspension) to launch a Review of Public Administration in the Province to consider all aspects of sub-regional governance offers every prospect of substantial reform. If, as a result, the local protagonists can work together cooperatively where hitherto they have proved incapable of so doing, there may yet be hope for political progress on the broader future of Northern Ireland. This paper outlines some of the key issues, values and concepts that inform the development of principles for an objective reappraisal of the continuing viability of any system of public administration. Then, it outlines the particular context obtaining within Northern Ireland and the associated impediments to overhauling the present arrangements, speculating on the revised configuration of public administration that is likely to result from the Review.

*Results of the 1996 Referendum of Divorce in Dublin, Ireland: The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly*  
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In 1996 the ban on divorce in Ireland was lifted and presumably substantial changes transpired with regard to the roles played by public servants such as judges, attorneys, and social workers. This study employs focus groups to examine preconceived notions these public servants possessed about the impact of 1995 referendum on divorce, and what barriers needed to overcome to develop new court and human service systems for managing divorce filings within the largest

metropolitan area in Ireland. Lastly, this study seeks to determine if Irish citizens seeking divorce actually benefit from the new divorce policy, or if they select to use other avenues to dissolve marriages, such as nullity or filing for divorce in another country. Examination of the evolution of Ireland public policy related to marriage and divorce is viewed through the lenses of family court systems in the US (especially Kentucky) and Western Europe.

#### 45. Alternative Paths to Economic Development (Cottonwood II)

Moderator: Joel Rast, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

*Marketing Minorities as Development Policy: Multiculturalism and the Reproduction of Underprivilege*  
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The marketing of cultural identity has been increasingly forwarded as a strategy to improve the social and material circumstances of minority groups who have traditionally been excluded from full political and economic participation in society. But what this paper will illuminate in San Antonio, Texas – the largest city in the United States with a municipal economy resting on this strategy – is the emergence of an urban multicultural landscape that is culturally inclusive but materially exclusive – thus producing a celebration of cultural diversity that maintains the existing disparities in material wealth. This process is but a mere fraction of the greater commodification of culture occurring globally. The contention that minority development can be achieved through the marketing of cultural identity is disproved. In the process, this paper will illustrate that multiculturalism and the doctrine of racial hierarchy are not necessarily contradictory doctrines, but are operationalized as a singular process effective at integrating both doctrines as a coherent expression of cultural power.

*Black Mayors and the Dilemma of the Corporate Center Strategy*  
Kimberly James, Georgia State University

This paper examines the research on black mayors and their economic development strategies. On the one hand, black mayors have been portrayed as more liberal--and in some policy areas--as more progressive than their white counterparts, particularly their greater sensitivity to the needs of lower-income residents. Yet, others suggest that black mayors have been in the forefront to adopting "corporate center" economic strategies that negatively impact low-income, minority communities. This paper examines this debate within the black mayors' literature. It suggests how findings from the black mayors' literature on economic development can contribute to the ongoing Stone-Imbroscio debate, specifically Imbroscio's suggestion for more systematic and detailed case studies of the impact of "corporate center" strategy.

*Second Lines and Bottom Lines: Examining a Neighborhood Tourism Initiative in New Orleans*  
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. In 2003, the University of New Orleans' International Project for Non-Profit Leadership (IPNL) initiated a year-long project aimed at combining the efforts of community members and university employees to map out a heritage plan for Tremé, a predominantly African-American community that has long served as a major New Orleans' cultural center but that has suffered in recent decades from economic disinvestment and is now in the early stages of gentrification. Tremé's compelling history and contemporary cultural traditions, including those associated with vibrant "Second Lines" and Mardi Gras Indians, provide a solid basis for the creation of a tourist experience that will entertain and educate visitors while creating employment opportunities for community residents. Although the IPNL project participants have

sought to sensitively address issues pertinent to the neighborhood's unique history while seeking to create economic opportunities for current residents, the process of translating that heritage into a viable tourism initiative has been marked by a number of misunderstandings and logistical difficulties that underline a need for additional resources and consideration of issues that fall outside purview of traditional heritage planning. The purpose of this paper is to explore the possibilities of heritage tourism as a community development strategy for inner city neighborhoods, particularly those characterized by economic disinvestment and incipient gentrification. After examining similar initiatives in other cities and regions, the authors examine the University of New Orleans' recent Urban Routes Tremé initiative as a case study that illuminates many of the opportunities and obstacles facing communities and activists considering the promotion of heritage tourism in US metropolitan areas. Key words: University-community partnerships, community development, tourism, heritage, central city, gentrification

*National Policy and City Politics: A Comparative Exploration of the Empowerment Zone Initiative*  
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Do local political institutions matter for the implementation of federally driven economic development initiatives? Such a question continues to be a hotly debated topic in the urban politics literature. Some scholars view internal political structures as irrelevant to policy formation and implementation. However, others contend that the structure of city politics is critical for explaining policy outcomes at the local level. I attempt to bring clarity to this debate by comparing how New York City (NYC) and Chicago, which have vastly different political landscapes, execute the Empowerment Zone Act of 1993. Since this initiative targets inner city areas, I focus on the delivery of these policies in the redeveloping, African-American communities of Harlem in NYC and Bronzeville in Chicago. My results show that this federal policy is being carried out quite differently in these two communities. In Chicago the empowerment zone is targeting social service provision, leading to limited job creation in Bronzeville, while it creates many, albeit low-wage, employment opportunities in Harlem. In this paper I argue that these distinct policy outcomes are largely, but not exclusively, the result of the legacy of unique political structures. In Chicago the hegemonic Democratic political machine has complete control over the EZ funds and uses it to garner political support, while the two-party political system in NYC prevents the Democrats from funding their patronage system. My findings challenge Paul Peterson's notion of "city limits," and suggest that the structural arrangement of city politics is essential for understanding how national community economic development strategies are implemented.

*The Politics of Alternative Economic Development: Revisiting the Stone-Imbroscio Debate*  
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. Research Question: Recent published exchanges between Clarence Stone and David Imbroscio have focused on the transformative potential of urban regime theory. At issue is whether or not regime theory should be reformulated to facilitate more attention to alternatives to corporate-centered development strategies. Imbroscio believes it should; Stone is unconvinced. This paper seeks to further this debate through a case study of an alternative economic development strategy in Chicago, the Local Industrial Retention Initiative (LIRI). LIRI is a partnership among CBOs, neighborhood manufacturers, and city officials that focuses around industrial retention. For a time, CBOs participating in the LIRI program were incorporated into the governing coalition as junior partners. This paper asks both how it was that a

coalition of CBOs came to be part of the governing coalition and how their participation in the governing coalition changed economic development in Chicago. Methodology: Twenty semi-structured interviews were conducted with individuals participating in or knowledgeable about the LIRI program. Other data sources include archival collections, city planning documents, reports and plans of LIRI organizations, newspaper articles, and other secondary sources. Key Findings: The experience of the LIRI program partially supports Imbroscio's optimism about the regime altering potential of alternative economic development strategies and ideas. However, it also suggests that regime theory's lessons about coalition building are crucial in moving such alternatives forward. I explore in particular the underlying tensions and contradictions of a regime that was temporarily expanded to include a significant role for CBOs pursuing alternative economic development strategies. While the LIRI program did increase the circle of participants in Chicago's governing coalition, the broadening of the regime produced contradictions that were not successfully resolved. CBOs played a role in expanding economic development policy beyond the corporate-center strategy, but they did not secure a lasting position in the governing coalition.

#### 46. Neighborhood and Metropolitan Analysis (Cottonwood I)

Moderator: Sidney Wong, University of Pennsylvania

*Re-visit Neighborhood Thresholds: Use Improved Methods to Validate Previously Identified Thresholds*

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. Galster, Quercia and Cortes (2000) used a linear spline model to explore how predicting variables (residential mobility, occupational skill, car ownership, vacancy, and renter occupancy) exert an exodynamic influence on quality of life indicators of a neighborhood. Building upon their seminal paper, I examine neighborhood thresholds for 46,171 MSA census tracts between 1980 and 2000. The primary goal is to adopt refined methods to test the validity of neighborhood thresholds. This paper also examines the long-term effects of these thresholds once they are identified and verified. Since the chance of any MSA census tract of having another tract is almost certain, spatial autocorrelation imposes biases to the spline models conducted by Galster's team. To reduce these biases, I propose using sub-samples to ensure no tracts in the sample is close with one another. My preliminary findings show that for a random sample of 2,000 tracts, the probability of having a tract within one mile falls to less than five percent and it is easy to reduce that probability to zero. The second improvement to the model is to use multiple sub-samples (about 50) so that the distribution of the position of each knot can be established. In this way, I can statistically test the validity of these knots. In the original paper, Galster's team used a linear spline model. In my paper, I will use both the linear and the non-linear specification because the trajectory of neighborhood changes is seldom linear. Another improvement is to use classifying variables to compare sub-samples. In this way, I can be more specific in the thresholds for different types of neighborhoods. For example, the thresholds in inner cities should differ from those in distressed suburb, so the spline model should distinguish their differences

*Changing Patterns of Neighborhood Income Diversity, 1970-2000*

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The purpose of this paper is to investigate how neighborhood income diversity in U.S. metropolitan areas has changed over the last three decades and to examine what higher-income groups are typically present in neighborhoods occupied by lower-

income families. Over the last decade, there has been increasing concern over the importance of neighborhood socio-economic mix in shaping the life-chances of individual residents and there have been several studies that have examined the extent, nature, and trends of concentrated poverty neighborhoods. However, there has been little concern about the degree to which lower-income families have a mix of incomes in their neighborhoods beyond other poor households. This study addresses the following research questions: (i) what is a mixed-income neighborhood and which groups constitute the mix?, (ii) what is the average degree of income mixture in the neighborhoods where lower-income families reside?, and (iii) what higher-income groups are typically present in neighborhoods occupied by lower-income families? The data source used in this study is Neighborhood Change Database, which contains census tract data from the 1970, 1980, 1990, and 2000 censuses, with adjustments made for changing tract boundaries. We use HUD's method for defining six family income and six neighborhood income classifications. This study provides a portrait of the income profile of neighborhoods inhabited by lower-income families by estimating the entropy index and their exposure index to particular higher-income groups in census tracts in the 100 largest metropolitan areas (in 2000), for each census year 1970-2000. The preliminary results show that very low-income families have increased their share across all neighborhood types and neighborhood income diversity has increased in both low-income neighborhoods and high-income neighborhoods, while it has decreased in moderate-income neighborhoods. The exposure of very low-income families to both low- and very high-income families has risen, but for moderate-income families it has fallen. We discuss implications for social and urban policies.

*A Typology of Metropolitan Communities: The Metropolitan Philadelphia Indicators Project Experience*

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This paper presents a typology of municipalities in the Philadelphia metropolitan area developed for the Metropolitan Philadelphia Indicators Project (MPIP). Funded by a 3-year grant from the William Penn Foundation, MPIP combines two types of information to illuminate conditions and trends in the Philadelphia 9-county metropolitan region (defined as the central cities of Philadelphia and Camden along with the Pennsylvania counties of Bucks, Chester, Delaware and Montgomery, and the New Jersey counties of Burlington, Camden, Gloucester and Salem). The first is a set of social, environmental and economic indicators that portray the quality of life in the region's communities. The second type of information comes from an annual household survey conducted by Temple University's Institute for Survey Research, asking respondents across the region how they assess the quality of life in their communities. Both the social indicators developed by the project and the survey results were organized by community type. This presentation focuses on the development of a five category typology of the region's 353 municipalities (or 364 communities, including subdivisions of the city of Philadelphia) from 13 census variables. We believe that this approach may have wide applicability for the characterization of communities in other metropolitan areas. It has proven to be an important tool for understanding the results of our analyses of both the indicators and the survey data. The conference presentation will summarize the methodology for developing the typology, a procedure for assessing its robustness, and the application of the typology to measures of community well-being.

*What's the 'Hood Got to Do with It?: Resident Perceptions about Neighborhood Effects*

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During the past decade, a rapidly expanding body of empirical research has emerged assessing the ways in which neighborhood environments purportedly affect the social and economic outcomes low-income families and children (see Jencks and Mayer, 1990; Haverman and Wolfe, 1994; Aber et al., 1997; Ellen and Turner, 1997; Rosebaum and Rubinowitz, 2000; Levanthal and Brooks-Gunn, 2000; Ludwig et al., 2000, 2001; Sampson et al., 2002; Fauth et al., 2003; McLanahan et al., 2003). Although research findings to date have been mixed, these studies suggest that children living in segregated inner city neighborhoods characterized by high levels of poverty and social disorganization have poorer physical and mental health outcomes, lower levels of academic achievement, fewer employment opportunities, increased vulnerability to gang recruitment, and heightened exposure to violence relative to children living in low-poverty, ethnically diverse neighborhoods. Nonetheless, the mechanisms by which neighborhoods affect child outcomes remain poorly understood. Further, we have limited understanding of the perceptions that low-income individuals hold regarding how neighborhood of residence might affect their children's development and life chances. In this paper, we use quantitative and qualitative data about neighborhood impacts gathered from 290 public housing residents participating in the Denver Housing Study, a longitudinal study tracking the ways in which participation in homeownership counseling programs foster the acquisition of human, financial and social capital assets of adults and children living in low-income households. These data are supplemented with information obtained through a series of focus group interviews with a subset of study participants in order to assess how the linkages between neighborhood of residence and child outcomes are understood by public housing residents. Our findings suggest that public housing residents perceive a range of both positive and negative impacts associated with neighborhood of residence. Nearly one third of the respondents reported positive impacts, citing good neighborhood or environment, area is safe for children to play outside, accessibility to and quality of resources such as schools and community centers, and enhanced opportunities for children to develop friendship networks. Approximately one quarter of the respondents identified negative impacts such as the clustering of negative peer influences, exposure to unsafe or violent situations, the presence of drugs and alcohol, and neighborhoods that were too dangerous for children to play outdoors. Of interest, four out of ten respondents felt that their neighborhood of residence had no influence at all on their children, stating that their "children were too young" or that they "kept to themselves and therefore had little interaction with their neighbors." We also found that these perceptions of neighborhood effects varied by respondent and location of public housing residence.

#### 47. Economic Development Strategies

(Wasatch I)

Moderator: Jonathan Justice, University of Delaware

*The Competitiveness and Innovation in Economic Development Strategies by Small and Mid-sized Cities.*

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During the past decade, small and mid-sized cities in the United States have become increasingly active in promoting economic development programs – programs developed by city/county governments that provide assistance to new and existing



business enterprises in order to increase local jobs, alleviate local unemployment, enhance the local revenue base, improve public and private capital investments and promote business and community capacity-building. Examples of successful economic development plans include: downtown or industrial estate redevelopment to attract new enterprise investments; tax subsidies to businesses such as property tax abatements; government loans, subsidies and grants to encourage start-up businesses; small business incubation programs to provide assistance for small enterprises; and promotion of information technology based enterprises. While devising and implementing various economic development plans have become a normal practice for these cities, the innovativeness in devising new economic plans have become complex due to the extreme competitions they face from one another. This paper examines the innovativeness of new generation economic development plans by looking at the cases of one small city and one mid-sized city. Various organizational and strategic planning processes that went into developing such plans by these cities to carve a niche for themselves will be examined to highlight their success. This paper will also document new sets of problems faced by small and mid sized cities in sustaining their attractive economic development plans.

*Business Improvement Districts and the Co-production of Place*

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This paper reports on the use of business improvement districts (BIDs) to create public-private partnerships that mobilize a variety of resources toward the physical and social construction of successful business districts. In the twenty years since they first appeared in the U.S., BIDs have been both praised and condemned. Advocates describe BIDs as bringing valuable business-sector expertise and financial resources to bear on public problems, and cite both their ability to employ coercive finance and decentralized, bottom-up decision governance as the sources of distinctive organizational efficacy. Opponents see them as unduly benefiting business interests and helping them to privatize public space – or alternatively as unfairly exploiting businesses by forcing them to pay special assessments in addition to the taxes they already pay for services. My research found that successful BIDs are in fact genuine public-private partnerships that produce mutual benefits for the public and private organizations involved, and it identified the social processes through which BIDs create and sustain communities of interest and cooperative practice among public and private stakeholders. Based on a comparative examination of small-city BIDs in the New York metropolitan area, I found that the distinctive relationships and interactions associated with self-governing BIDs lead participating stakeholders to understand that the creation of a viable business district requires extensive and sustained affirmative cooperation between private actors and public institutions, and to act on that understanding. This tendency to stimulate cooperation was most pronounced in BIDs with self-governing management structures, because such structures led to (1) more deliberative interactions among participants and (2) the active participation in those interactions of a greater number of stakeholders. These findings provide a conceptual basis for understanding BID practitioners' observations about the characteristics of successful revitalization institutions which can help to inform strategies for downtown revitalization and other problems of public-private cooperation.

*Rebuilding Older Industrial Cities: Opportunities for Private Investment*

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The Center for Urban and Regional Policy at Northeastern University (CURP) and the National Association of Industrial and Office Properties (NAIOP) have collaborated to investigate new approaches municipal officials and state agencies can employ to help attract new development to inner city communities. We identified the key “deal

breakers” that act as barriers to urban development and potential public and private sector strategies aimed at overcoming these obstacles to inner city corporate investment. These barriers are real, but they can be overcome if city leaders take a proactive, aggressive stance to meeting the complex needs of firms looking to start up operations, relocate, or add new facilities. Firms are willing to consider older industrial sites and abandoned “greyfield” commercial districts if municipal leaders and state agency personnel can work with them as a team to expeditiously solve problems related to zoning regulations, brownfield remediation, permitting, and an array of related factors that can be barriers to investment in a fast-changing globally competitive economy. Indeed, a number of emerging urban entrepreneurs who are choosing inner-city locations as cost effective places to do business. The research focused on sites identified by officials in Boston, Chelsea, Holyoke, Lawrence, and New Bedford, and on six key industrial sectors, all identified as strategic by the state government: health care/life sciences; biotechnology; information technology; financial services; traditional manufacturing, and travel and tourism. More than 50 business leaders and commercial real estate professionals were interviewed in order to determine the factors most important in location decisions. We focused in particular on firms that had an existing or recently established urban presence in one of the study cities to determine what factors contributed to the decision to locate, expand, or remain in these urban locations.

#### 48. Environmental Policy II (Blue Spruce)

Moderator: Beverly McLean, University of Buffalo

*A Case Study of Public Involvement and Participatory Planning in Environmental Justice Policy Issues*

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**Key Words:** environmental justice, participatory planning, meaningful public involvement  
**Abstract:** Problems of environmental justice, where one group of people pays a higher price due to environmental issues, are an increasing focus of urban policies, planning, and management. Increased attention is being paid to human health issues related to urban environmental degradation. Often, the initial impetus for this focus and attention is an outcry from the affected community. This paper presents a case study of the public process for a predominantly African-American, lower socio-economic area in Louisville, Kentucky, which is adversely affected by air pollution. The process was initiated by members of the community but has grown over the past 8 years to involve participation by the media, the university, the city/county government, EPA, industry representatives, and a variety of community groups. Community members feel strongly that they have been disenfranchised in terms of participation in decision-making and that their health is directly and adversely affected. Review of the evolution of decision-making to address this issue is useful in highlighting differences between token and meaningful involvement of involved stake-holders, as well as how the public can influence regulatory enforcement and policies. Decision-making is especially problematic when public health, environmental, and government agencies function separately rather than collaboratively. Community members have expressed frustration with studies that have been done in the past, resulting in little or no change in regulations or in practices by either the government agencies or the industries that are located in the area. This paper examines the public participation process in the environmental justice issue of air pollution for a particular portion of the population in Louisville, Kentucky, and traces its evolution from an adversarial relationship to token involvement to, finally, something more closely aligned with the concept of participatory planning.

*Obstacles to Democratizing Environmental Decision-Making: Issues of Popular Epidemiology and Trust*

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This research focuses on obstacles of using popular epidemiology to democratize environmental decision-making. Specifically, the research explores the mismatch between the rhetoric of the United States Environmental Protection Agency's calls for strong participation and the agency's unwillingness to legitimize community-based findings regarding environmental risk. In order to illustrate the discrepancy, I use case study research of one community's attempt to enable lay citizens to participate in decision-making through the use of popular epidemiology. As I will show in the case, the EPA and others agencies' rhetoric does not match their actions – where across the board, they continuously raise obstacles to make meaningful participation almost impossible. The research involves extensive document review and interviewing of key stakeholders (residents, public officials, etc.). I will explore how the local residents organized and attempted, through the use of popular epidemiology, to address the issue of living on contaminated land. I show how the public agencies involved put up numerous roadblocks to the community's efforts, despite the agencies' claims of wanting to include the residents in the decision-making. Finally, I explain how the community became disenfranchised during the participation process. This will be a single-case study – of the Kennedy Heights, located in Houston, TX -- a predominately African-American community whose affordable single-family housing sits upon 132 acres of contaminated land. The research calls attention to the potentially detrimental impacts of meaningless rhetoric – of how agency “talk” can produce community distrust. The research provides information that can help promote a meaningful democratic scientific process, where lay citizens are not hoodwinked into believing that the participatory process is meaningful when it is not.

*Planning for healthy housing: Targeted Interventions for neighborhood blight*

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Environmental hazards have been found to harm thousands of children each year living in inner-city neighborhoods. Exposure to elevated levels of lead affects children of all socioeconomic levels, but children living in poverty tend to be at greater risk. Older homes— especially homes built prior to 1950—present the greatest risk to children because these homes are most likely to contain lead-based paint. Year 2000 Census Data indicate that over one third (37%) of homes in New York State (NYS), excluding New York City, were built prior to 1950. NYS has a higher percentage of pre-1950 built housing units available for occupancy than any other state, Promoting Lead Free Children in New York State: A Report of Lead Exposure Status Among New York Children, 2000-2001. Inner-city neighborhoods in which children are most at risk have limited public resources available for housing intervention. The City of Buffalo, particularly, is facing significant fiscal pressures. In July 2003, the Buffalo Fiscal Stability Authority (BFSA), a NYS Public Benefit Corporation was established by the NYS Buffalo Stability Authority Act. NYS, through the BFSA, is currently controlling and supervising the financial affairs of the City and certain Covered Organizations. This provides a unique opportunity for the city and its residents to start focusing on ways to concentrate efforts on the most pressing needs for a healthy, vibrant city. The objective of this paper is to examine lessons learned from neighborhood intervention strategies to reverse neighborhood blight through targeted public health interventions. Our case analysis is the City of Buffalo, however, our goal was to develop a needs assessment model for targeting limited housing resources to areas in most need of intervention that could be applied to other municipalities facing health-related housing hazards. The methodological approach is a suitability model. Suitability modeling utilizing spatial and network analysis tools provides a straight-forward method to

prioritize area needs intervention, making use of readily available secondary data. The data assumptions for this model were that areas in most need of housing intervention were those with limited community resources, physical environments with greater environmental risk, and limited investment in housing upkeep. The intent of the paper is to demonstrate the applications of geographic information systems (GIS) to inform policy makers of the multitude of neighborhood housing conditions that pose health risks for children.

#### 49. Improving Community Service Delivery (Millcreek)

Moderator: Royce Hutson, Wayne State University

*Development of Neighborhood Networks for Service Provision: Inherent Dilemmas*

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In 1996 New York City Administration for Children's Services initiated a neighborhood-based service strategy designed to restructure this highly centralized, frequently criticized bureaucracy. The goal was to reduce child maltreatment and promote permanency for children at risk of entering foster care. This paper will describe the methodology and results of a study conducted in 2004 to examine policy implementation and analyze the variables that contribute to effective neighborhood functioning. Special attention will be given to the development of community leadership among women and minorities and the tensions that arise when a centralized public agency mandates collaboration among community-based organizations.

*Perceptions of Neighborhood and Community Center Effectiveness*

Royce Hutson, Wayne State University

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Though much has been written about the effectiveness of individual programs housed within neighborhood and community centers, little has been written about the overall effectiveness of these centers in helping create viable urban neighborhoods on whole. This paper examines the results of a survey of citizens in Madison, Wisconsin that asked respondents their perceptions of neighborhood center effectiveness on a series of outcomes. Outcomes included delinquency and crime prevention, awareness of center services, satisfaction with service delivery, indicators of neighborhood cohesion and social capital development, and overall satisfaction with the centers. This paper, utilizing fixed effects modeling, includes variables for respondent demographic characteristics, U.S. Census data on neighborhood economic conditions, and individual center characteristics. Though preliminary results indicate that center use was limited, results indicate that citizens viewed neighborhood centers as a valuable asset to their communities on a variety of outcomes. Additionally, it was found that lower income families, households with multiple children, and persons of color were more likely to access neighborhood center services.

*Do Urban Parks In Houston Comply To ADA? An Assessment Of Accessibility For The Disabled.*

Ponmile O. Olonilua, Texas Southern University

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The disabled are a marginalized group and are therefore excluded from participation in activities in public spaces. This paper will look at the issue of accessibility to public space for the disabled to explore barriers to accessibility and also to find out how this

population can be included in order to enhance their participation in public spheres using some parks in Houston as specific case studies. The research questions are: do the disabled visit urban parks? If they do, what are their perspectives and if they do not, what are the barriers? A survey of the disabled group and focus group approach will be utilized for data collection and reports will be recorded in matrix. This study will contribute to the on going application of collaborative planning theory to the affected community.

## 4:00pm - 5:30pm Concurrent Panels

50. Revisiting urban renewal: a cross-national study of neighborhood revitalization in Paris, Boston, and Montreal (Aspen)

Moderator: Claire Poitras, INRS-UCS

From Disinvestment To Reinvestment: Neighborhood Revitalization In Southwest Montréal

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Considered to be the birthplace of heavy industry in Canada in the 1850s, Southwest Montréal is a large area incorporating several former working-class neighborhoods (Pointe-Saint-Charles, Saint-Henri, Little Burgundy, Côte-Saint-Paul, Émard) located on both sides of the Lachine Canal. Up until the early 1960s, the area remained Montréal's main manufacturing district. In the 1960s and 1970s, several events and urban renewal programs affected severely the vitality of the area: the closing-down of the Lachine Canal, industrial decentralization, extensive housing demolition and land clearance for public housing and expressways. Between 1961 and 1991, the area lost almost half of its population. Since the late 1990s, specific areas of the inner-city borough of Southwest Montréal underwent a process of reinvestment due to several economic and social factors, notably a thriving real estate market and the development of lifestyles favoring a certain type of urban setting that combines leisure, culture and proximity to services. Southwest Montréal is now being transformed by revitalization efforts based on housing developed by both the private and public sectors and the improvement of public space. The experience of this neighborhood shows that recent shifts in urban regeneration have triggered a debate on processes and discourses of city-building.

The Goutte d'Or in Paris. From confrontation to collaboration

Yankel Fijalkow, Université Paris

Béatrice Mariolle, Ecole d'architecture de Belleville IPRAUS

The Goutte d'Or is one of the only remaining working-class neighborhoods in Paris. In the 1980s, the city initiated a revitalization process in this specific neighborhood. Since that period, the aim and methods of this process have been modified due to the transformation of the urban culture and by the integration of the dissatisfactions expressed by urban movements. The paper examines this evolution and considers the ideas and values that support the regeneration process. The first urban regeneration program had major impacts on the neighborhood: it led to the demolition of 1,985 houses, the building of 620 new homes and the renovation of 1,625 housing units. The objective behind the initiative was to demolish slums and old buildings. But in more obscure and implicit way, it was also to replace the population of this run down, working-class and multi-ethnic neighborhood. Rapidly, an important mobilization against this operation emerged. The opponents of the revitalization scheme developed several arguments, especially the significance of the neighborhood as urban heritage

and the necessity of maintaining the households in the neighborhood. In addition, the movement also condemned the centralized and authoritarian methods used by the city. These claims were partly heard. At the beginning of the 1990s, a second stage of the revitalization process was engaged. It favored the construction and refurbishing of small buildings in order to preserve urban heritage. Associations and community groups have now become key actors in the urban and social development process. However, in this process, these actors have changed, becoming more professional. New associations have emerged, defending the interests of property-owners and reclaiming quietness and tranquility in the neighborhood. A consensus exists now around the idea of building a socially diversified neighborhood while changing the working-class and multi-ethnic character of the area.

Boston's South End. Community Empowerment And Private-Public Partnership  
Marie-Hélène Bacqué, Centre de recherches sur l'habitat

The South End is located in the city of Boston, next to the central business district. In the 1950s, it was a working-class and multi-ethnic neighborhood. Since then, it has gone through different stages of public and private urban interventions and social change. The paper examines these stages by comparing the methods, partnerships and urban values that sustain the revitalization process. The first and foremost public intervention in the South End was the urban renewal process that led to the building of a few public housing projects and the demolition of several blocks of row houses. In reaction to urban renewal and to the emergence of a gentrification process, community organizations mobilized residents and negotiated the construction of several programs of affordable housing with city officials. In the 1980s, the South End Neighborhood Housing Initiative led to the construction of 307 apartments by community development corporations in dialogue with community groups. This second stage was characterized by a partnership approach but it didn't stop the gentrification of the neighborhood. Today, the third stage of the revitalization process is based on private initiatives, even if community groups are still influent. The municipality requires that private developers reserve 10% of affordable housing in their projects.

## 51. The New Face of Welfare Reform (Wasatch I)

Moderator: Kristine B. Miranne, Wayne State University

*Welfare Reauthorization: All the Wrong Solutions*  
Ivory Copeland, University of Delaware  
[icopelan@udel.edu](mailto:icopelan@udel.edu)

**Research Question:** Most politicians as well as the media have declared the 1996 welfare reform an unequaled success. However, there has been much less attention to its failures. This research explores how welfare recipients, nonprofit staff, and advocates construct welfare reauthorization and the alternatives they propose.

**Methodology:** This paper is based on qualitative analysis of interviews with welfare recipients, advocates and representatives from grassroots and nonprofit organizations in Delaware.

**Key Findings:** Findings suggest that the current welfare reauthorization discussion is out of sync with the realities of those who have personal experience with the welfare system as well as those who work with welfare clients. The reality is that the goal of self-sufficiency remains out of reach for many women on welfare and that the solutions being proposed will likely do little to improve their lives. One of most salient examples of this discussion can be found in the focus on promoting marriage rather than promoting policy solutions that are proven to improve the lives of poor women

such as education and advanced training opportunities.

Implications: Welfare policy solutions that focus on the reality of recipients' lives rather than rhetoric are necessary - such as increasing access to education and training, increasing wage levels, as well as addressing obstacles to securing and sustaining employment.

*Work, Marriage and Welfare Reform: What IS the Connection?*

Kristine B. Miranne, Wayne State University

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Included in President Bush's proposal for welfare reform reauthorization is a plan for promoting marriage with \$600 million allocated for the implementation of new initiatives. The rationale is that marriage-education programs targeting low-income couples will encourage them to marry if they have not done so already, or not to divorce. At the same time that the administration is announcing marriage incentives, the plan is cutting resources available to recipients while mandating that single parents now participate in 40 hour a week work-related activities in order to be eligible for assistance. This paper examines the issues of marriage, relationships and work from the perspective of women participating in a pilot program designed to address the barriers of welfare recipients unable to attain employment and who were reaching the end of their five-year limit on benefits. Focus groups conducted at three different sites in southeastern Michigan examined issues of work programs, support services, education, and relationships with men and their families. In addition, interviews were conducted with various social service providers. Findings indicate that the complexities of women's economic and social lives require a multi-faceted approach to bringing families off of welfare assistance and out of poverty one that does not focus primarily on marriage. The women themselves were able to evaluate and promote strategies and interventions that would assist them in their efforts to better their lives and that of their children.

*Education and Vocational Training for Low-Income Women: Issues of Labor Supply and Demand*

Marcia Bok, University of Connecticut

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There is a strong research support for education and vocational training as poverty-reducing goals for poor women. Even recognizing mediating factors, such as race, ethnicity, gender and labor market conditions, the correlations between education, income, economic mobility, job security and favorable working conditions are consistent and strong. The need for education and vocational training seem even more compelling in the context of welfare reform and "work first" which is the cornerstone of the welfare reform legislation of 1996. Poverty reduction is not an explicit goal of the legislation, education and vocational training are not readily available, and there is evidence that unemployment often does not lead to economic mobility and self-sufficiency for poorer women.

But labor market conditions have become so complicated that writers on the right and left are now challenging the efficacy of education and vocational training as poverty-reducing strategies. There are progressive writers who believe that there is not a shortage of skills, but rather a shortage of good jobs. It is argued that attention to education and training diverts attention away from the demand side of the labor market. Other progressive writers, however, continue to support the effectiveness of education and training as poverty-reducing goals for poor women. Thus, it appears that the situation is more complicated than simply a lack of jobs and this paper argues for the importance of both supply and demand in meeting workers needs.

The paper starts with a brief review of the education and training provisions of 1996

welfare reform. It then discusses some of the arguments, on the right and left, for education and training having fallen into disfavor as solutions to labor market conditions, including issues of labor demand. The paper concludes by citing examples of programs that have been successful, as well as proposals for what is needed in labor market supply and demand policy in order to assist low-income women achieve economic mobility and a better quality of life.

*The Impact of Restructured Welfare States on Nonprofit Organizations in the U.S. and Canada*  
Karen Curtis, University of Delaware  
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**Research Question:** The welfare states in the U.S. and Canada, like welfare states elsewhere, have undergone significant reform and restructuring. This paper assesses the extent to which these changes have affected the ability of nonprofits in the U.S. and Canada to respond effectively to client needs and the nature of changes in nonprofit organizational structures, administrative processes, and inter-organizational relationships.

**Methodology:** Primary data collection has been completed in Delaware (Curtis & Copeland, 2003) and other parts of the U.S. (Abramovitz, 2002, Bischoff & Reisch, 2000; McConnell, Burwick, Perez-Johnson & Winston, 2003; Reisch & Sommerfeld, 2001; Sanger, 2001). Comparable data collection will be undertaken in Vancouver, BC, Edmonton, AB, and Toronto, ON.

**Key Findings:** Research in the U.S. shows that welfare reform has produced unforeseen consequences for nonprofit sector capacity and inter-organizational relationships. These policy changes have intensified economic and social problems for residents of low-income neighborhoods and created increased demand for services. Despite significant welfare state restructuring, the antipoverty effectiveness of Canada's welfare state remains higher than in the U.S. Therefore, similar, although less severe, impacts on the voluntary sector are expected in Canada.

**Implications:** Growing recognition of the importance of voluntary organizations in Canada is generating interest in understanding these organizations and their relationship to government, in contrast to the U.S., where there is significant literature on nonprofit/government relationships. However, examination of the specific impacts of welfare reform on the nonprofit sector is at an early stage in the U.S. and virtually nonexistent in Canada.

*National Policy and Local Initiative: Welfare-to-Work*  
Christopher Leo, University of Winnipeg  
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. This paper builds on *The Work of Cities*, by Clarke and Gaile, as well as on Barnes and Ledebur's injunction that federal government policies should be "opened up to voices that speak for and about" urban-centered regions. The study investigates an attempt to provide national government support for programmes to alleviate homelessness while avoiding central-government dictation of community priorities. Such ambitions are implicit in the organization of the Canadian Federal government's 1999 National Homelessness Initiative, in which the federal government sets a broad policy objective, to alleviate homelessness, and makes funding available in pursuit of it, but allows substantial scope for local determination of how the goal is best met in each community. One component of the National Homelessness Initiative, the Supporting Communities Partnership Initiative (SCPI), appears, at first glance, to offer a particularly promising example of this approach. A community-written plan guides funding priorities and programme goals are allegedly derived from a consultation process. The paper shows that the programme in Winnipeg has fallen short of its



promise. The mandate of the SCPI is too narrow, precluding the types of solutions that are most likely actually to alleviate homelessness in Winnipeg. The priorities identified by community members and stakeholders have been largely ignored, first in the creation of the Community Plan, and then in deciding which programmes would receive funding. We conclude that the federal government recognizes the importance of local initiative in theory, but has in practice been reluctant to relinquish power.

## 52. How are HOPE VI Families Faring? New Evidence from the HOPE VI Panel Study (Parleys II)

Moderator: Elizabeth Cove, The Urban Institute

*An Improved Living Environment? Relocation Outcomes for HOPE VI Relocates*

Larry Buron, Abt Associates

Mary Cunningham, The Urban Institute

Jennifer Comey, The Urban Institute

*HOPE VI, Relocation, and Health Barriers*

Laura E. Harris, The Urban Institute

Deborah R. Kaye, The Urban Institute

*How Are HOPE VI Families Faring?*

Susan Popkin, The Urban Institute

Michael Eiseman, The Urban Institute

Elizabeth Cove, The Urban Institute

## 53. (Colloquy) *The University, the City and Land Policy: A Colloquy & Report on the University as Developer Project* (Cottonwood I)

Moderator: David Perry, University of Illinois at Chicago

Anne Haila, University of Helsinki

Wim Wiewel, University of Baltimore

Rosalind Greenstein, Lincoln Institute of Land Policy

## 54. Housing Policy (Parleys I)

Moderator: Marilyn Bruin, University of Minnesota

*The Landscape of Metropolitan Homeless Services: A spatial survey of Detroit area homeless services*

Stephen J. Sills, Wayne State University

*Determinants of Moving Plans in Helsinki Public Housing*

David Varady, University of Cincinnati

*Hear Our Voices: Mixed-Income Living in Chicago*

Monique M. Chism, Michigan State University

*Participants in Tenant Education: Helping Us Understand Low-Income Renters*

Marilyn J. Bruin, University of Minnesota

Joyce McGee Brown, University of Minnesota

The overall purpose of the project is to evaluate a tenant education program as an invention strategy for vulnerable rental tenants. Primary survey data measures individual, family, and housing

characteristics from participants completing the education and a control group without education. Analyses of the psychosocial characteristics and demographics help program planners understand the goals, histories, and behaviors of individuals often described as “hard to house” and “hard to serve.” The study was conducted in the three metropolitan counties, Hennepin County which includes Minneapolis, Ramsey County which includes St Paul, and Dakota County, described as one third suburban and two thirds rural, is a prosperous, fast-growing county contiguous with Hennepin and Ramsey Counties. Participants who have previously been denied rental housing for reasons other than criminal history or excessive willful damage to a rental unit were recruited from housing and social service programs. Members of the treatment group (N=62) completed a nine-hour tenant education program; occasionally two members of a household completed the tenant education program, however only one member was surveyed. Members of the control group (N=22) received housing and support programs similar to treatment group members however they did not participate in the tenant education program. In this paper I focus on the demographic and psychosocial characteristics of individuals who have barriers to accessing rental housing in the market. I also report initial explorations into the relationships between tenant education and goals, attitudes, and housing situations among hard-to-house individuals.

## 55. Images of Cities (Red Butte)

Moderator: Danilo Yanich, University of Delaware

*The Light on the Horizon: Imagining the Death of American Cities*  
Carl Abbott, Portland State University

*The Full Monty: Exposing Images of the British City in Movies*  
Douglas Alexander Muzzio, Baruch College, CUNY

In March 1998, *The Full Monty* received four Academy Award nominations, including Best Picture and Best Director. It was the top grossing film in Britain in 1997 and was ranked 25<sup>th</sup> on the British Film Institute's Top 100 British films of all time. *The Full Monty* was one of many British movies of the last quarter century which trained their lenses on the British city as a landscape of the imagination. “The Full Monty” is an examination of the images of the British city in movies from their inception, with a focus on the city of Thatcher, Major and Blair (1979-2004). It examines the content, context and contested nature of these cinematic images; consumers’ – both critics’ and general audiences’ -- reaction to them; the changes in the dominant and subordinate narratives and discourses over the decades; and the congruence of the reel and “real” British city as portrayed by scholars, civic boosters and others. “The Full Monty” is organized around several topics: the history and role of movies in British society, the place of the city in the British psyche, and the history and role of the city in British movies. The focus will be the construction of the representations of the British city in movies since 1980 and, then, the presentation of a number of complementary and competing images of the British city found in British movies over the last century. Images of the British and American city will be compared. “Full Monty” draws from cultural studies, semiotics, and traditional critical analysis and employs the insights of film theorists. The assumption underlying “Full Monty,” as in my earlier work on US cities, is that British movies are cultural texts which not only “reflect” British town life but also actively affect the way in which the British urban world is perceived and understood.

*Graphic Dissent: The Imagery of Urban Conflict 1992-2001*  
Kristen Osborne, University of Delaware

This critical analysis of a collection of cartoon art exposes the relationships between humor and conflict, art and politics, and the media and cities. While cities are cultural and artistic hubs, centers of political activism and academic attention, and while editorial cartoons have been recognized as a force in American politics and critical commentary, only a tenuous bridge has been made between them. In many

ways, editorial cartoons are better suited than the news media to address complex social issues in cities because of their ability to layer sophisticated themes and images. Cartoons are social documents, representations of events, interpretations of issues, and artificial historical documents. As visual media that incorporate words and images, political cartoons are driven by and intimately connected to their political context. They have little meaning without their time and place and progressively lose meaning as they move away from their context. They have a long colorful history, which can be seen as a record of historical and political contexts, barometers of public opinion, styles, and trends.

Issues that are specifically urban in nature are rarely seen as such in the mainstream news media. On the other hand, issues like crime, poverty, and unemployment, which are not only urban, are symbolically associated with cities, especially in the mainstream media. Riots, protests, and terrorist attacks are most effective in well-populated areas such as cities; however, these events are often portrayed in the media in their symbolic and de-localized forms. Because conflicts garner tremendous citizen mobilization and violence, media attention, and the activation of local and national military forces, they are rich topics for study. All three of these influences – citizen, media, and military – interact to magnify and escalate the event. In each case, the urban center emerges from comic obscurity during the conflict, and its geography and character informs how each of the parties is able to carry out activities, achieve goals, and promote change. The three events being studied are the 1992 riots in Los Angeles, California, the 1999 World Trade Organization protests in Seattle, Washington, and the attacks on the World Trade Centers in New York City in 2001. These incidents were tracked in four different types of editorial cartoons: local staff cartoons, syndicated cartoons, “week in review” style collections of cartoons, and independent cartoons published on the internet. Cartoon imagery and subject frequency regarding modern urban unrest are examined in terms of the size and demographics of the city and metropolitan region, the nature and cause of the conflict, the size of the conflict, and indicators of the cartoonists’ editorial freedom. This paper demonstrates the critical historical and editorial role political cartoons have played in American politics and explores the context of uniquely urban riots, protests and attacks. Cartoons are social artifacts documenting a period or an event, recording social and political trends, economic climates, and changes in taste and “appropriateness”. This analysis views the cartoons both as disembodied images for their content, but also as products and producers of meaning. This postmodernist photomontage perspective of the cartoons allows us to view the art in its context, which is vital to its meaning. They can be seen as historical documents, ethnographies, a record of resistance, or a body of satirical art. They represent both the views of the individual artists, or when viewed collectively, the perspectives of a generation of satirists and social critics.

*Citizens, Consumers & the Media: Who's Selling What to Whom?*

Danilo Yanich, University of Delaware

The news is constructed and presented in such a way as to make the exercise of citizenship difficult to achieve. In countries, particularly the United States, in which media institutions are private firms, the public is treated only as consumers. More accurately, the public is treated as a commodity and it is “sold” to advertisers who purchase commercial space or time to acquire access to it. In countries where the media are controlled by the state, the audience is treated as subjects and there is no pretense to citizenship. In either case, the constructed reality of the city is reflected in images that are often pejorative (crime, poverty, pollution, overcrowding). They suggest that this reality is being delivered to the public by forces that are beyond their control. What does this representation mean for citizenship? For policy? Are there any remedies?

*Satellite Television and the Construction of a Pan Arab Identity among Immigrants in the United States*

Abeer Etefa, II, Portland State University

## 56. Environmental Issues in Urban Development (Blue Spruce)

Moderator: Ward Thomas, California State Northridge

*Industrial Adjustment to Environmental Regulations: The Dry Cleaning Industry in Los Angeles*

Ward Thomas, California State Northridge

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This paper examines the effects of environmental regulations on the dry cleaning industry in the Los Angeles region. Since the early 1990s, the South Coast Air Quality Management District (SCAQMD) has required the dry cleaning industry in the Los Angeles region to reduce their use of perchlorethylene, a chemical that is believed to pose a high cancer risk. Air quality officials estimate that 850 tons of perchlorethylene are released into the air in the Los Angeles region annually. By 2007, dry-cleaners must outfit their perchlorethylene using machines with controls that cut emissions by 80 percent. After 2020, all dry-cleaners are required to replace their perchlorethylene equipment with machines that use other chemicals. The dry cleaning industry has strong objected to the regulation of its business practices. According to the California Dry Cleaners Association, hundreds of businesses will have to close in the next few years as a result of AQMD regulations. The study assesses how dry-cleaning establishments in Los Angeles have responded to the AQMD regulations and how they intend to comply with future regulatory deadlines. Did (and will) dry-cleaning firms in Los Angeles go out of business as a result of AQMD regulations? Did (and will) firms relocate to areas outside of Los Angeles that are not subject to environmental regulations? Did (and will) dry-cleaning firms adjust to the regulations by adopting new process technologies? If so, how were these technologies discovered, how were they implemented, and what effect did they have on the industry? Do firms plan to adopt new process technologies in the future? If so, how? These questions will be explored through an analysis of the structure of the industry, employer surveys, and interviews with key stakeholders.

*Brownfields outside the box: Off-site impacts and the returns to local remediation subsidies*

Carol Norton, University of Louisville

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The focus of a brownfield cleanup and redevelopment project often is the direct economic development impact of the site. The real issue in the sustainability of the project, however, should be whether or not the particular redevelopment project can act as a catalyst to create a ripple effect of economic development activities on the surrounding properties, both contiguous and second tier. Some brownfield redevelopment may be so site specific that they generate minimal economic impact on the surrounding area in which case subsidies may not pay off. In other instances, off-site economic benefits may warrant a project subsidy even if the on-site returns are zero, or even negative. This paper investigates the off-site impacts of several completed brownfield projects in Louisville, Kentucky and how these developments may have influenced subsequent new developments that led to an increase of property values and therefore an increase of revenue for the municipality. Several factors will be examined such as the whether there is a proportional relationship between the size of the brownfield redevelopment project and the extent of the off-site impact area, and the economic benefits of simultaneously remediating a cluster of small (under ½ acre) noncontiguous brownfield sites in a neighborhood. Of particular note is the reshaping of the city's Ohio River shoreline from former industrial sites to the 50+-acre

Louisville Waterfront Park. Even though no tax revenue is generated from green and open spaces, an amenity such as a park and open recreation facility can attract business and residential developments along the periphery. After a review of the basic considerations on off-site impacts, the paper will look at the Louisville cases in order to derive planning principles or considerations that could – or should – guide brownfield project subsidy decisions by local governments.

*Public-Private Partnership Problems: Reconciling brownfield redevelopment policy perceptions*

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Peter Meyer, University of Louisville

Remediation and redevelopment of brownfields, properties perceived to be contaminated, are important elements of urban land development planning that contribute to sustainable development practices. Efficient public private relationships in brownfield redevelopment are crucial to successful projects. Public participation in land recycling can play an important role by providing private investors with incentives that reduce financial and liability risks, reduce regulatory requirements, provide financial assistance, and increase community support. Public participants do not, however, always understand private investors' motivations for entering into a redevelopment project and perhaps under estimate the importance of non-cash based incentives. Any mismatch of perceptions of the brownfield redevelopment process, or of the development process as a whole, can be very costly to local governments. Such misunderstanding has the potential to lead public officials to offer too many or too few incentives or even the wrong kind of incentives to entice private investment. The wrong incentives can reinforce perceptions that may even deter private investment. This paper compares survey responses to questions about brownfield development practices and policies elicited from members of Urban Land Institute who identified themselves as developers to those of public officials who have been involved with US EPA Brownfield Pilot Projects. The results indicate that public officials do not always prioritize incentives in the same manner as developers and thus may not offer the best incentive to developers, that being liability and risk reduction. We examine these differences and discuss the policy distortions and cost-inefficiencies that the misperceptions can cause for local government redevelopment efforts.

*An Environmental Justice Analysis of the Community Impacts of Brownfields Redevelopment*

Laura Solitare, Texas Southern University

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This research measures the community impacts of policy regulations and public investments for contaminated land redevelopment. In particular, the research explores how brownfields redevelopment supports environmental justice by favorably affecting neighborhoods and their residents. Focusing on cities receiving federal aid for brownfields redevelopment, this study measures the environmental justice impacts of environmental and economic policy by documenting the conditions of cities and neighborhoods surrounding brownfields sites. According to the concept of distributive justice (Rawls 1971), I posit there are two conditions that must be met for there to be environmental justice. First, externalities, such as contaminated land, must not be unevenly distributed to low-income or minority communities. Instead, they must be equitably distributed across different neighborhoods. Second, low-income and/or minority communities must also receive benefits from programs aimed at ameliorating the unjust distribution of externalities. For brownfields redevelopment, this means that as brownfields sites are removed from low-income minority communities, that those communities also receive other beneficial impacts. This is case-study research involving twelve cases in four different cities (Houston, Portland, OR, St. Louis, and Lowell, MA). For each case, I will document empirical impacts and conduct interviews to place the impacts in the context of causation and distribution. I am using

quantitative and qualitative methods for data analysis. The findings of this research should provide a preliminary answer to the research question of whether or not brownfields redevelopment provides measurable environmental justice outcomes for local communities. If this research does find that there are measurable community impacts of brownfields redevelopment, then it may encourage those people currently working in brownfields redevelopment to continue as is. However, if this research does not find such impacts, then it may encourage those people to rethink current approaches. Rawls, John. 1971. *A Theory of Justice*. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

## 57. Thinking Anew about Federal, Metropolitan, and Local Government (Cottonwood II)

Moderator: E. Terrence Jones, University of Missouri-St. Louis

### *Does City Government Still Matter?*

Carolyn T. Adams, Temple University  
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The last decade has witnessed significant shifts in the levels and types of agencies carrying responsibility for addressing urban problems and issues. Using Philadelphia as a case study, this paper will examine the changing geographical scales at which public authority is being exercised. For some problems, particularly those involving economic development of the city's physical and social capital, responsibility is shifting upward to state and regional bodies, while the quality of daily life in urban districts seems to depend increasingly on the work of community-based nonprofit organizations. Is city government losing its authority, as its traditional functions leak upward and outward to these other geographical levels? Does this re-configuration of roles and responsibilities call for new models of urban politics?

### *"Contentious Federalism: Local Government in the Homeland Security Partnership"*

Peter Eisinger, Wayne State University  
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In the immediate aftermath of the terrorist attacks of September 11, local public officials expected Washington to take the lead in the creation of a cooperative federal partnership to guide and underwrite the critical frontline local functions in the war on terror. Instead, Congress was slow to appropriate adequate funds to defray the high local costs of new security responsibilities, and the new Homeland Security Department was persistently lax in providing guidance for local governments as they sought to craft appropriate roles. Moreover, as federal aid programs were finally put in place, Washington chose to channel most of it to localities through the states, which most cities regarded as unsympathetic to their needs. Deep local discontent with sluggish state and federal responsiveness have produced an unusually contentious and disappointing partnership. This paper explores the emergence and contours of this federal partnership, discusses its causes, and explores some of the security implications in the age of terror.

### *Why Do Metropolitan Reorganizations Fail? A Framework for Cross-National Analysis*

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. In most industrial democracies outside the United States, the structures of urban government in large cities have been subject to periodic reorganization by higher levels of government. The goals that have motivated such reorganization differ widely, ranging from functional integration of metropolitan areas to cost savings to support for local democracy. Whatever the stated goals, reorganization has often failed to achieve them (Lefevre 1998). Drawing together historical institutionalist theory and case

examples from Europe and North America, this paper proposes an analytical framework that can help us to understand the common failure of urban government reorganization, as well as identifying some necessary conditions for its success. Building upon the work of Karen Orren and Stephen Skowronek (1994), the paper argues that urban government reorganization typically overlays, but does not displace, prior institutional arrangements in cities. As a result, the initial period after reorganization is typically marked by conflict among differing institutionally embedded visions of urban politics, a condition that I call "institutional incoherence". Drawing upon case examples, I argue that institutional incoherence often creates a complex and confusing decision environment for urban political leaders, and that political leaders thus tend to focus on short-term crisis management at precisely the time when strategic action is necessary in order to complete the transition to a new institutional order. However, the experience of cases such as Toronto in the 1950s and Barcelona in the 1980s suggests that this catch-22 can be overcome if urban political leaders enter the post-reorganization period with a clear political agenda. The paper concludes that in order to maximize the chances that the goals of reorganization will be met, higher levels of government must try to ensure that reorganization is supported by a pre-existing local political coalition that will have access to strong institutional resources during the transition period. References: Lefevre, Christian. 1998. "Metropolitan Government and Governance in Western Countries: A Critical Review". *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*: 9-25. Orren, Karen and Stephen Skowronek. 1994. "Beyond the iconography of order: notes for a 'new institutionalism.'" In *The Dynamics of American Politics*, edited by Lawrence Dodd and Calvin Jillson. Boulder: Westview Press.

*The Metropolitan Geography of the 2004 Presidential Election: Detroit and Beyond*  
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Increasingly, scholars and members of the press and political communities have been discussing the geographic structure of American presidential elections. This fact is particularly manifest in the phenomenon of the "red states" versus the "blue states." Certainly, it does make some sense to consider regional variations in partisan election preferences as a meaningful dimension of the American political structure, with potentially significant causes and consequences. However, as numerous scholars and others are quick to point out, these regional variations and trends may distract us from more significant structures of electoral participation and preference at the local level. Since most Americans now live in larger metropolitan regions, understanding the political structure of these areas, and the places that make them up, is especially critical. This paper will present and analyze 2004 national election returns for the more than 80 municipalities that comprise the Detroit metropolitan region, within the context of historical trends in the region, and in several other metropolitan regions critical which have been historically critical to national election outcomes. As this paper will illustrate some basic facts about relationships between a variety of metropolitan places and political preferences in national elections, it will also explore the means by which specific places, and place more generally, may work to structure and impact participation and preferences in national elections.

## 58. Immigrants and Cities (Millcreek)

Moderator: Ali Modarres, California State University-Los Angeles

*Between Poverty and Homeownership: Multiple Images of Immigrant Communities in Los Angeles*  
Ali Modarres, California State University-Los Angeles  
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. This paper explores the multiple dimensions of immigration and immigrant communities in Los Angeles. While presenting a longitudinal view of immigration to Los Angeles County, I will argue that the changing nature of homeownership patterns warrants a reassessment of immigrants' social and economic integration, as well as their importance to the housing market, where over 40% of the population is foreign-born. The necessity for a new understanding of immigrants' socioeconomic status is embedded in a larger view that policies affecting immigrants must be sensitive to issues of gender, area of settlement (i.e., local context), and time of arrival in the U.S. The paper juxtaposes poverty against homeownership in order to debunk assumptions regarding how poverty is created and the degree to which controlling immigration can be a reasonable proxy for reducing poverty in the region.

*Multicultural Democracy in the City: Comparing Municipal Responsiveness to Immigration in Canada*  
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Immigrants comprise more than 50 percent of some urban and suburban municipalities in Canada's largest city-regions. In addition, changes in the source countries of immigrants have resulted in municipal populations that are increasingly both ethnically and racially diverse with "visible minorities" now constituting close to 60 percent of some suburban municipalities. However, since immigration is outside their jurisdiction, and because many have viewed Canadian municipalities as mere administrative arms of provincial governments, the way in which municipal governance structures adapt to these dramatic social changes has received little academic attention. Nevertheless, this paper demonstrates that municipalities are not simply carrying out policy decisions made at the provincial level. Rather, they are democratic governments that are variably responsive to changes in constituent needs and preferences. The paper compares eight highly diverse cities in Canada's two most significant immigrant-receiving city regions. Given the newness of the empirical terrain, it begins by describing and evaluating the ways in which Canadian municipalities vary in their responsiveness to immigrants and ethno-racial minorities. Second, the paper presents an explanation of municipal responsiveness to immigrants and ethno-cultural minorities that draws upon the insights of the urban regime literature and the "social diversity perspective" (Hero, 1998). Understanding why and how effectively municipalities respond to immigration and ethno-cultural diversity is an important step toward reconstituting the city in a more "socially sustainable" form. [Methodology: The paper is based on qualitative analysis of data collected on municipal websites, in public documents and through interviews with more than 100 key policy actors at the municipal level including Mayors, councillors, municipal civil servants, and leaders of immigrant serving organizations. It compares responsiveness to immigration within and across two city regions: Vancouver, Richmond, Surrey and Coquitlam in the Greater Vancouver Regional District and Toronto, Mississauga, Brampton and Markham in the Greater Toronto Area].

*Immigration As A Renewal Strategy For Shrinking Us Cities*  
Jordan Yin, Western Michigan University  
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. Over the past decade, immigration has emerged as a major demographic force influencing the growth and development of many US cities and their regions. Indeed, immigration accounted for nearly half of the overall growth in the US population during the 1990s. However, a number of cities and regions have continued to experience population decline, in large part due to a relative inability to attract immigrant populations. In response to these trends, several cities and regions – including Pittsburgh, Baltimore, and Cleveland - have recently proposed and implemented programmatic efforts to reverse population loss and stimulate redevelopment through



programs and policies intended to attract immigrant populations. This paper will examine the experiments taking place in a number of US cities and regions by reviewing the various programs that have been proposed or implemented, as well as the underlying rationales for the introduction of these efforts. To what urban context are these programs responding? What policies and programs are being proposed? Lastly, the paper will discuss the likely strengths and limitations of these new renewal strategies, including how well such strategies correspond with theoretical insights regarding the location choices of immigrants, as well as the potential political and social pitfalls of these strategies given the urban context to which they are intended to respond.

#### 59. Community-Based Organizations and Sustainable Social Change (Cedar)

Moderator: Michael Owens, Emory University

*Limits on Sustainable Individual, Organizational, and Community Change*

Doug Perkins, Community Research & Action

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In a 2004 UAA symposium on "The Organizational Context of Community Power and Social Capital," we presented a framework for multi-level transformative vs. ameliorative change. The model is based on a mixed-method study of community organizations as vehicles of learning, development, and empowerment at the individual, organizational, and community network levels. Change was monitored through participant observation, retrospective interviews with organizational leaders and members/volunteers, and student reflection. The organizational contexts of the larger study included virtually all types of nonprofit and voluntary organization, but the present in-depth case study is of a local, faith-based advocacy and social action coalition. I will explore what organizational structures and processes led to, or more often limited "2nd-order" (transformative) change at each level. Learning that can potentially lead to political, economic, environmental, and social change must help organizational staff and volunteers to engage in critical analysis of (a) the organization's demonstrated goals and values (not just its mission statement), (b) of the power relationships implicit in decision-making practices, (c) the interdependent role of participant stakeholders and organizations as part of a complex, community-wide (or larger) system, and (d) how to work toward fundamental change of all the above.

*Changing Paradigms in Human Services: An Action Research Project*

Kimberly Bess, Vanderbilt University

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This presentation describes the formative stage of an action-research project with five non-profit human service organizations in partnership with United Way of Metro Nashville. Four of the five organizations are also lead agencies for neighborhood-based Family Resource Centers. We argue that most human service organizations treat symptoms of social problems rather than root causes. The challenge for human service personnel is that their training and professional identities and roles are brought into question and require redefinition. The challenge for human service organizations is to simultaneously focus on changing the system while also caring for people who are victims of the system. The goal of the project is to help move human services from ameliorative to transformative approaches with the ultimate goal of promoting social change. This requires a particular emphasis on promoting approaches that are strength-based, preventive, empowering, and focused on

changing the community conditions that lead to suffering. This project aims to promote and evaluate value-based organizational processes and outcomes designed to transform human service approaches. In our view, this requires change at the individual, team, and organizational levels. This presentation will outline our approach to action and research and discuss preliminary findings of the research as well as the theoretical and practical implications of this effort.

*From Amelioration to Transformation in Human Services: A Case Study*  
Scot Evans, Vanderbilt University  
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What should be central aim of human service nonprofits? Is the aim simply to care for affected individuals, or is it to address the social ills that lead to the human problems in the first place? Or can the aim be both?

One local human service organization has begun to realize after 35 years of working in the community that treating individuals and families alone without attempting to impact the social environment cannot make much of a difference. They are attempting to bring values of justice and equality into the foreground and are beginning to see themselves and their clients as agents of social change. They are engaged in a process of organizational change to add new transformative approaches. The new vision of the organization is twofold: 1) to care for those experiencing the negative effects on an exploitive and alienating social order; and 2) to transform the conditions that cause these negative effects (Mullaly, 1997). This organization and their process of change can teach the rest of the field a great deal about the role for human service organizations in promoting social change, and how to go about shifting the paradigm of human services. This paper presents an in-depth case study of an organizational change process, the successes and struggles experienced, facilitators and barriers to change, and implications for action.

#### 60. Political Rescaling Through Amalgamation. The Canadian Experience (Wasatch II)

Moderator: Hank V Savitch, University of Louisville

*Municipal Reorganization and the Making of Cultural Policies: A Comparison of France and Québec*  
Emmanuel Négrier, Université de Montpellier  
Sandra Breux, INRS-UCS  
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Jean-Pierre Collin, INRS-UCS

Do territories change public policies? This would appear to be a rather unusual research orientation. It is even a reversal of the most commonly accepted approaches to the study of territorial public action, which tend to look at this issue from the opposite perspective, that is, in examining how public policies affect territories. The municipal reforms that have simultaneously occurred in Québec and France since the late 1990s afford an excellent opportunity to consider this inversion of the issues. To do so, we will take as our theme culture and municipal cultural policies. We will try to define and understand to what extent there exist in Québec and France retroactive links between municipal restructuring and municipal decisions about cultural facilities and activities and, more generally, municipal cultural intervention in the urban milieu. This comparative analysis of the cases of France and Québec will focus on discourse as well as achievements. We will first look at the changes arising from institutional reforms in the supply of cultural activities, budgets devoted to culture and cultural policies. We will then consider culture as a vector in the construction of a new municipal institution and a new municipal territory, by studying the discourse on culture and on the place of the city as a new territory for cultural action.

*One Reform, Two Explanations: The Québec and Ontario Amalgamations Compared*

Laurence Bherer, Université Laval

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In the debate on the optimal size of cities, we generally find two opposing approaches to the theory of local governments. The thesis of consolidation views the merger of smaller entities as the solution in order to take advantage of economies of scale, to create a strong political and economic centre, to develop coherent regional planning and to foster fiscal equity. On the contrary, the perspective of municipal fragmentation suggests that smaller entities tend to favour local autonomy, efficient provision of municipal services, and healthy intercity competition. The opposition between the two positions seems quite clear-cut. But the reality of municipal mergers shows that the reasons given for the amalgamations stem from thinking that differs from the views generally advanced in the classic consolidation/fragmentation debate. In this regard, the Canadian example is a convincing one. Municipal amalgamations in several of the ten Canadian provinces were in fact presented as a homogeneous, “coast-to-coast” policy. But closer examination reveals significant ideological divisions, as shown by the cases of Québec and Ontario. In these two provinces, although the municipal reforms are similar, they are based on opposite premises. Municipal mergers in Ontario are in fact based on a conservative political agenda dominated by the notion of reducing the size of the state, whereas in Québec, the same type of reorganization is tied to an explicitly progressive approach. The aim of this paper is to pinpoint specific aspects of the two arguments for the Québec and Ontario mergers in focusing on three factors: 1) the view of the suburbs; 2) the conception of local autonomy; 3) the approach of metropolization.

*Montréal and Quebec City. A Three-Tier Model Between Innovation and Confusion*

Mariona Tomàs-Fornés, INRS-UCS

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Since the mid-1990s, several Canadian provinces have undertaken a reform of the municipal organization of their main urban areas. Municipal mergers (or amalgamations) have been the cornerstone of this reform policy. Thus, in the 17 largest metropolitan regions (over 200,000 people), there are now only 1.4 municipalities per 100,000 people, compared to 25 for France and 3.5 for the United States. The case of the province of Québec is interesting, in that municipal mergers occurred in almost all urban areas of more than 10,000 people. This being said, the most significant changes took place in the Montréal and Quebec City metropolitan areas. But these two cases are also noteworthy in that these two large urban areas were also the site of the setting up of a new, three-tier model. The new big cities of Montréal, Quebec City, Longueuil and Lévis are in fact organized into boroughs, which are responsible for local neighbourhood services. In a new phase of the reform, some of these boroughs will soon regain a degree of legal and fiscal autonomy. On the other hand, there was also the creation of metropolitan communities, strategic planning bodies on the scale of census metropolitan areas. In this paper, we will look at the circumstances and characteristics of this new, three-tiered local management model. We will then highlight the factors and forces behind the development and setting up—more fortuitous than actually planned—of such a governance model.

*Municipal Reform in the Ottawa Valley: Comparing Experiences Across the River*  
Caroline Andrew, University of Ottawa  
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Guy Chiasson, University of Quebec  
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The paper will compare the experiences of Ottawa and Gatineau in the period since the amalgamations in both cities. We will be looking particularly at the strategic planning processes that have emerged in both Gatineau and Ottawa. Both of these processes have led to greater public participation than in pre-amalgamation periods, participation intended to involve the full range of stakeholders and to move towards governance rather than traditional government planning. The presentation will compare the two processes and attempt to explain both the similarities and the differences between the politics of rescaling in Gatineau and Ottawa, while reflecting on the complex interactions between different scales at the metropolitan level.

## Saturday

### 8:30am - 10:00am Concurrent Sessions

61. "Urban Air Space - A Missing Dimension from Policy Analysis" (Blue Spruce)

Moderator: Robert Warren, University of Delaware

*"Wireless Communications and Urbanization: History, Interactions, and Outcomes"*  
Anthony Townsend, New York University  
[anthony.townsend@nyu.edu](mailto:anthony.townsend@nyu.edu)

This paper will investigate the historical and ongoing linkages between innovations in wireless communications technologies and patterns of human settlement and economic activity in the 20th and 21st centuries. While wireless technologies are often perceived as liberating us from fixed locations of communications, their technological form has been heavily shaped by urban geography, and their use is largely to coordinate urban functions and lifestyles. For example, the cellular telephone's evolution from analog to digital in the 1990s was largely an engineering response to the exploding growth in subscribers seeking to coordinate their daily lives on a minute-by-minute basis. This paper argues that wireless communications has the potential to reshape the spatial configuration of cities in the 21st century as much as the automobile did in the 20th century, and requires increased attention from urban scholars.

*"Urban Air Space: Utopian and Dystopian Visions and Uses of the Atmosphere"*  
Robert Warren, University of Delaware  
[rwarren@udel.edu](mailto:rwarren@udel.edu)

Science fiction authors and graphic artists and military theorists have been the most advanced in recognizing and understanding the existing and potential uses of the urban air space situated within and above cities and in the global atmosphere of which they are sub-areas. This paper will review utopian visions and the functional utilization of urban air space as they have been presented as key factors in urban progress and functionality. This will range from the modernist visions of cities in science fiction in which much of the internal travel by air, to the complete transfer of

urban life to floating/orbiting cities, to competition among terrestrial cities to be hubs for commercial air travel, and to current reports that private “flying autos” are on the verge of becoming a feasible means of mobility within cities. The second focus of the paper will be upon air space as the site for the control and domination of urban terrestrial space. The importance of air space in military theory as reflected in Military Operations on Urbanized Terrain (MOUT) doctrine will be outlined. A brief discussion will be provided of the evolution of the vulnerability of cities to airborne weaponry from artillery, to bombers, to missiles. The current rapidly expanding use of airborne technology to conduct urban warfare, carryout attempts to suppress urban-based anti-state insurgents with “precision” weapons, and the migration of military airborne technology and techniques to security and police activities directed against civilians in time of peace. Finally, the paper will consider how the discussion might contribute to urban theory and policy analysis.

*"Before WI-FI: Appropriating the Air Above Us"*  
Stacy Warren, Eastern Washington University  
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That the air above us has concrete urban implications is an increasingly important theme in urban research. The sometimes deadly cocktail of technological innovation, political mandate, and economic imperative has created an exceedingly complicated place for a zone that, after all, is just nitrogen, oxygen, and a few other gases. As the medium through which much of our digital world is defined satellite data collected, WIFI signals transmitted, helicopters flown, surveillance technologies deployed the air, like the ground below it, is a contested and historically contingent space. This paper adopts an urban historical perspective to consider two different manifestations of an 'obsolete' technology, ham and pirate radio (the original "wireless"). These technologies were initially heralded as having the capacity to produce revolutions in communication and have urban spatial effects similar to what is now ascribed to the Internet. By examining the ways in which previous technologies created opportunities for both public access to and private control of airspace, we can better understand the larger urban processes implicated as the forces of corporate capitalism and globalization continue to shape our world.

*62. The Politics of Growth and Diversity in "Deseret": Salt Lake City at the beginning of the 21st Century*  
(Wasatch II)

Moderator: Michael Timberlake, University of Utah

*Chasing the Dream: Image-building and the Olympics in Salt Lake City*  
Matthew Burbank, University of Utah  
[mburbank@poli-sci.utah.edu](mailto:mburbank@poli-sci.utah.edu)  
Greg Andranovich, California State University, Los Angeles  
Charles Heying, Portland State University

This paper examines the effort to refashion the city's image and spur tourism by attracting the 2002 Olympics. Although the 2002 games were a success, the process of bidding for and hosting the games was far more contentious and the public policy legacy far less rosy than Olympic proponents anticipated.

*Neighborhood Revitalization: Physical Strategies, Small and Large*  
Barbara B. Brown, University of Utah  
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This paper provides an environmental psychological perspective on a neighborhood revitalization intervention in the form of a new subdivision constructed on a former brownfield in an inner suburban neighborhood. This research examines how Latino residents have fueled housing demand in this aging suburb and how they bring psychological resources in the form of place attachments that may contribute to future community development.

*The Westside Leadership Institute: A University/Neighborhood Partnership Initiative*  
Nancy Basinger, University of Utah  
Sarah Munro, University/Neighborhood Partners, Salt Lake City  
Megan Breinholdt, University of Utah  
Michael Timberlake, University of Utah

### 63. Investing in Sports as Development Strategy (Aspen)

Moderator: Mark Rosentraub, University of North Carolina-Charlotte

*Nashville Rising? An Assessment of the Sports Development Strategy in Music City*  
William Tharp, Nashville Metropolitan Government  
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In the late nineties the development regime in Nashville, Tennessee attracted two major league sports franchises, the Tennessee Titans (National Football League) and Nashville Predators (National Hockey League), to the downtown area. A key consideration in the location decisions of both franchises was the public provision of first-rate playing facilities. This research assesses the local and regional impacts associated with hosting two major league sports franchises, and considers such impacts within the context of the public costs and distributional trade-offs involved in maintaining the status of a major league sports city.

*Development and Impact from Sports Investments: Can We Ever Teach Them?*  
David Swindell, University of North Carolina-Charlotte  
[daswinde@email.uncc.edu](mailto:daswinde@email.uncc.edu)  
Mark Rosentraub, Cleveland State University

One can easily understand why many people believe that the mere presence of a professional sports team in a city will lead to new and even substantial levels of economic development for a community. Teams like the Dallas Cowboys can attract in excess of 700,000 people to their games each year. The expected economic development from sports facilities and teams has encouraged community leaders across North America and Western Europe to argue for public investments to insure that teams locate within their cities and that state-of-the-art facilities are built. Understanding if and how much sports facilities and teams add to a city's economy and taxpayers' sense of economic value has become even more critical as public investments in new stadiums and arenas frequently involves several hundred million dollars. With commitments of 30 years needed to fund the hundreds of millions of dollars invested, the leaders of cities investing tax money need to know if their commitment generates a real economic return for their residents and the businesses located in their community. Using an in-depth case study of a recent initiative in Arlington, Texas to build a new facility for the Dallas Cowboys, this paper provides a primer for citizens and public officials to identify the costs and benefits of engaging in

negotiations with teams for hosting new facilities. The central theme helps distinguish between the commonly reported economic impacts associated with sports investments from economic development that may or may not materialize. The case study illustrates the magnitude of the differences between these impacts and developments. Additionally, the primer provides a methodology for assessing the claims surrounding the benefits associated with sports investment so officials and citizens have the best possible information before committing public resources that may end up being disproportionate to the returns on the investment.

#### 64. Housing Relocation (Parleys I)

Moderator: Edward G. Goetz, University of Minnesota

*Public housing redevelopment: Demolition and relocation in Duluth*

Edward G. Goetz, University of Minnesota

The federal HOPE VI program provides for the redevelopment of distressed public housing. Across the country, public housing units have been torn down and low-income residents relocated to other neighborhoods. Criticism of the program has focused on the degree to which the previous residents of these projects will be able to benefit from the redevelopments. The Duluth Housing Authority created a HOPE VI project that promised to build replacement housing in tandem with the redevelopment process, allowing families to stay on site and to move into replacement housing directly. This paper examines the implementation of this project and evaluates its successes and limitations. Various problems and delays with redevelopment have led to a situation in which relocation has proceeded well ahead of redevelopment

*Forced Relocation of Public Housing Residents: Results from Year 3*

Edith Barrett, University of Texas at Arlington  
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Between March of 2002 and October 2002, residents of a public housing development in Fort Worth, Texas, moved out. Some went to other public housing developments in the city, most moved with Section 8 vouchers to private housing complexes. Such forced relocations are happening all across the country. What is unique about this particular relocation effort is that the residents mobilized and demanded a contract with the city and the housing authority, guaranteeing that their needs for decent, affordable, and safe housing would not be overlooked. Also agreed by the residents, the city, and the housing authority was that the economic, social, and psychological effects of relocation on the residents would be assessed over a five-year period. The five-year study would also examine the support services available to relocated residents, the relocated residents' use of those services, and the effectiveness of services in meeting the needs of the residents. This paper will present the findings from the third year of the study, focusing on residents' economic and social experiences in their new neighborhood. The data to be presented in this paper come from a survey to be completed by residents in this fall (2004), for most, this will be 2 to 2 ½ years since their move. The findings from this survey will be compared with results from an initial survey and the second year survey. As housing authorities nationwide seek to dismantle their large housing developments, understanding how forced relocations impact already stressed residents – and the neighborhoods into which they move – becomes an important public policy question. The experiences of residents in this single case can perhaps provide direction to other cities facing a similar situation.

*Tending 'Home': Residents' Ambivalent Responses to Relocation from Public Housing Developments*  
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. The federal HOPE VI public housing program, begun in 1993, has led to the involuntary relocation of thousands of people from public housing developments slated for demolition and redevelopment. Policy research on program impact focuses on quantifiable issues such as changes in housing quality and health status of residents as they leave the distressed physical and social environments for new locations. Policy researchers pay less attention to the meanings people construct around home and the impact of involuntary relocation on this fundamental aspect of human experience. Such a focus leaves researchers at a loss to understand experiences that point to a more complex relationship with place, however distressed that place might have been. Drawing on 56 interviews and 450 surveys with relocatees from five HOPE VI sites across the US, this paper examines former residents' meanings and emotional ties associated with home, and how these relationships are an integral part of the relocation experience itself. We explore the ambivalence some residents' express toward relocation as they work through the loss of a home that served as a spatial anchor and marker of personal history as well as a source of stress marked by violence and disrepair. We examine implications for a number of outcomes associated with relocation, particularly mental health and child behavior, as well as considerations of the types of relocation support adults and children might need to transition successfully to their new home.

*Relocation policies and the receiving community's perceptions of race, poverty and community*  
Joanna Domenica Duke, University of Texas at Arlington  
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As policies move towards producing sustainable communities, research needs to be conducted in order to ascertain the effectiveness of these policies in strengthening communities. Policies aimed towards ameliorating the negative effects of disenfranchised residents of inner cities include deconcentrating poverty through dispersion of residents into more affluent neighborhoods. These policies are often met with resistance, perhaps impeded by an ideological mismatch when it comes to community versus the rights of individuals. The proposed paper will study affluent communities where mixed income developments have been placed in order to conceptualize the receiving communities' perceptions of poverty, race and community. Participants will consist of homeowners, renters, businesses, PTOs and public officials from communities in the Dallas/Fort Worth Metroplex where mixed income developments have been built in order to accommodate the relocation of low income families. Homeowners and renters of the receiving community will be surveyed through the mail. Focus groups will be conducted of the business community, schools (represented by PTOs) and municipal officials. This proposal differs from other studies in several important ways. Past research has been limited in its evaluation of the concerns and attitudes of the host community's residents, focusing mainly on the economic ramifications. While some past research has focused on asking how satisfied residents are in living in their communities, the current research will look at the extended community of businesses, schools and public officials and look beyond satisfaction to perceptions of race, poverty and community. Finally, the Southern venue of the study may have important implications for this policy.

## 65. Social Capital and Institution Building in the Urban Context (Millcreek)

Moderator: Richardson Dilworth, Drexel University



*Election Rituals in the Nineteenth Century and the Creation of Social Capital*

Mark Brewin, University of Tulsa

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This essay examines the role of political rituals in creating and maintaining social capital: specifically, forms of political identity, and social networks aimed at the common pursuit of political ends. I argue that Election Days in Philadelphia during the Gilded Age were moments when a vivid and emotionally resonant image of political identity—both at the local and the national level—was performed by and for a voting public. While conceding that the electoral processes of the time had undoubted deficiencies, taken as instruments for the expression of the popular will, I suggest that the experience of these rituals can nonetheless help us think about why and how modern politics often fail to provide any similar communicative forms for the expression of political community and popular power.

*Social Capital and Black Churchwomen: A Philadelphia Story of Hope and Hidden Assets*

Valeria Harvell, Penn State University, Abington College

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According to Robert Putnam, religious institutions are "the single most important repository of social capital in America" because they support virtue, involvement, norms and recruitment in civic affairs, and aid in the development of civic skills. They contribute to other forms of civic engagement as well (e.g., voting, jury service, charity giving, volunteerism), and often provide communities with a locally based leadership pool, all of which feed and fuel resources for public service and cooperation. According to Putnam, the Black church has played an especially important role in generating the kind of social capital that has sustained the civic activism of African Americans for decades.

Despite Putnam's acknowledgement—even lauding—of the Black church as a depository of social capital, he overlooks the "starting point", namely, African American churchwomen, the largest segment of the Black church's population and a decisive factor in the historical genesis of its social capital assets. Though rarely recognized as savvy social capital investors, African American women within the church soon became the primary wellspring for a swelling reservoir of social capital that overflowed in Black communities throughout the nation during the 19th century and beyond.

Utilizing survey data collected in 2002 from a sample of African American women attending predominately Black churches in the City of Philadelphia, the following presentation will assess the extent to which religion, as measured by church attendance and participation in church activities, continues its historical influence on Black women's communal and political participation. And it will examine, in brief, the extent to which Black churches in Philadelphia—and the women who attend them—are still fulfilling their traditional role in making available self-help and other services that benefit the community as a whole.

*Leveraging Social Capital: The University as Educator and Broker*

Barbara Ferman, Temple University

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Universities can significantly enrich the communities in which they are located. Through their educational role, they contribute to the well being of the community by helping to shape an enlightened citizenry and productive labor force. Through the production of musical, theatrical, and artistic activities, they enhance the cultural life of the area. As employers and purchasers of goods and services, they play a major role in local economies. One area of production that has been totally overlooked is that of social capital. As used in this paper, social capital refers to the connections individuals have that facilitate their ability to achieve desired ends. These connections

are typically part of a larger network that contains resources that can be accessed by the individual

In this paper, I suggest that universities can be engines for the creation of social capital. Operating in ways that activate the economic and civic values associated with social capital, universities can contribute to the economic enrichment of less well off constituents while brokering connections across racial, class, and cultural lines. Because of their educational mission, their vast networks within a city, region and nation, their role in the political, social, economic and civic life of the city and beyond, and their legitimacy among broad constituent bases, universities can play a major role in the creation of social capital. This paper explores how a university can contribute to developing the type of social capital that expands opportunity structures for those with few resources. It focuses particular attention on how the educational and brokering roles of the university can be leveraged to create social capital for college students and youth from the community. This theme is developed through a case study of Youth VOICES, a youth civic engagement program developed by the University Community Collaborative of Philadelphia at Temple University.

*Credit Unions and Social Capital in Philadelphia*

Michael Janson, University of Pennsylvania

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During the 20th century democratic non-profit credit unions provided financial services to hundreds of thousands of Philadelphians in a manner that relied upon and in turn fostered social capital. Each credit union was based upon a "common bond" that limited membership to a select field of people who could leverage individual reputations and collective responsibilities to build financial institutions. While credit unions themselves exemplified the kinds of "horizontal" and "mutual" organizations that Robert Putnam has found to build social capital, they most commonly occurred in conjunction with "vertical" and for profit structures. Credit unions did not emerge from civic associations in which individuals learned cooperative virtues; instead, the highly hierarchical industrial factory was a much better incubator for initial credit union development. As deindustrialization accelerated in the post-war period, credit union development continued to be based in hierarchical religious institutions rather than in democratic or fraternal organizations. When the service sector economy blossomed in the 1980s, employment again became the primary source of credit union development. Given these historical trends credit union development in Philadelphia suggests that hierarchy built the spaces in which social capital could develop; vertical organization fostered horizontal cooperation.

## 66. Urban Issues and Perceptions (Cottonwood II)

Moderator: Susan Turner Meiklejohn, Hunter College

*Creating Community in Sunnyside: Understanding Affiliative Ties between Immigrants and their Neighbors*

Susan Turner Meiklejohn, Hunter College

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In this paper I raise issues and concerns pertinent to community-building in highly multi-ethnic neighborhoods within the context of recent literature addressing immigrant assimilation, racial segregation and identity, and formal and informal political participation. Specifically, I will be presenting initial work for my new study among young adults and their parents in my own New York neighborhood: Sunnyside, Queens. Sixty percent of its residents are foreign-born, most have arrived within the last decade, and the immigrant population represents over 65 countries of origin. It

has been my observation that although adults of different racial and ethnic backgrounds appear to be largely segregated from one another in their daily activities, young people are not. Moreover, I have noted through my experiences in community development in this and other formerly-white neighborhoods in Queens that nearly all local decision-making is undertaken by what is now a clear minority of the population: native-born white residents. This exploratory and ethnographic study involves extensive face-to-face interviews with young adults and their parents to better understand how younger residents may reach across racial, ethnic and cultural divides to form relationships that may positively affect their future social and political lives. I also seek to determine how the inter-racial relationships of young people may affect their parents' willingness to become involved in local community decision-making.

*Predictors of racial and ethnic differences in self perception among public housing residents*  
Anna M. Santiago, Wayne State University

*Bridging Generations: Relocating Older Adults and Grandfamilies in Public Housing*  
Robin Smith, The Urban Institute  
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This paper explores how older adults cope with the dislocation resulting from the demolition of public housing under HOPE VI. The research is based on both the Urban Institute's HOPE VI Panel Study and additional in-depth interviews with adults 50 years of age and older who "aged-in-place" in distressed family developments in five cities. The work is particularly important as concern over housing poor seniors continues to increase. Experts forecast that the number of seniors in public housing will grow at an even faster pace than the general elderly population in the U.S. Seniors in public housing are economically and physically worse off than other low-income elders and a significant group have custody of minor children making traditional housing solutions obsolete. In addition to investigating relocation, the paper profiles the overall health and well-being of older adults in the five HOPE VI sites and compares these characteristics to both poor and non-poor adults in the National Health Interview Survey (NHIS). The authors detail the housing and service needs of these older adults and their dependent children and offer insights to those seeking to serve this vulnerable population.

## 67. Tax Policy and Economic Development (Wasatch I)

Moderator: Sarah Coffin, St. Louis University

*Split Role Property Taxation and Urban Redevelopment*  
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Economists have explored the use of land taxes as an alternative to the current system to improve the efficiency of urban development. Urban economic theory predicts that a property tax more heavily weighted towards land will result in greater density of development and more economic activity generally, although concerns remain regarding the equity of this arrangement. This paper examines the potential impact of a two-tier property tax system, or split rate property tax system, on urban redevelopment in Portland, Oregon. The paper explores the effects of split rate property tax system on five selected areas within the Portland metropolitan area where the regional government seeks to promote more economic activity. By examining the differences on residential, industrial, and commercial properties, the paper will assess the distributive effects of a split rate property tax system. The paper also compares the distributive aspects of a split rate system against the current property tax system in Oregon. Recent tax reform measures known as Measures 5 and

47, which changed the Oregon property tax system from a full value assessment system to a partial value assessment system, with limits on tax rates and annual assessment growth.

*Efficiency-Equity Challenges in City Redevelopment*

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Central cities face a challenge. They must find a balance between the need to maximize land, labor, and capital through growth and development, on one hand, and deal with equality issues, on the other hand. The challenge boils down to promoting the efficient use of their central commodity – land – without disproportionately burdening citizens. There are three explanations for the resolution of the challenge. One is Tiebout's Pareto-optimal equilibrium achieved through free migration of residents to find the most desirable match between taxes and services. Another is Peterson's argument that, although Tiebout's utopia is unattainable, it is desirable for cities to move toward the ideal match. Cities may do so by promoting economic development and eschewing redistributive programs. Finally, Stone contends the challenge is mitigated not by ignoring those who lose as Tiebout does or by transferring the equality issue to the national government as Peterson would have it, but by "social learning" which opens "up considerations that serve equity and increasing the ability to see more dimensions of a problem" (Stone, 1989: 212). Each of these explanations provides insight into the efficiency-equality challenges of urban growth and development by using the city as the unit of analysis. For example, for Tiebout (1956) and Ostrom, Tiebout, and Warren (1961), a polycentric model – more local governments in a metropolitan area – enhances choices for location advantages, thus optimizing efficiency. This would partly explain outmigration from central cities; however, the polycentric model does not consider inside-the-city responses to efficiency-equity challenges. A growing phenomenon in central cities is the use of quasi-market tools to promoting inner-city redevelopment (Baer and Marando, 2001; Feiock, 2002). Here, we focus on tax increment financing being used extensive throughout the nation (Johnson and Man, 2001). Our laboratory is Houston, Texas which has created 20 Tax Increment Reinvestment Zones since 1991. What consequences do these zones have for reconciling efficiency-equity challenges? Using geographic tools (maps, spatial correlation, and regression), we test the efficiency-equality dimensions of tax increment financing in Houston in two steps. First, with selected socio-economic and demographic data, we assess the efficacy of zone usage for city growth and development. Second, using a case study approach, we assess whether the zones allow the aggregation of interest ("voice") that is often excluded in development decisions. Following the logic of the polycentric model, zones would enhance the efficiency of service deliver by providing "mobility" for residents to move into the city or to relocate from other areas within the city thus confirming both the Tiebout and Peterson dictum that economic development is the city *raison d'état* for existing. But, what about the other equity side? Establishing zones inside-the-city provides two possible consequences for efficiency-equality issues. First, it may enhance residents' "voice" through the aggregation of interest within the zones thus giving rise to more than development considerations. Second, this interest aggregation through a sub-district within the city may enhance residents' autonomy and insulate them from city political control. In other words, this would promote Stone's notion of "social learning" not only within the zones but also within the city.

*The Use of TIF in Florida and Missouri*

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Tax increment financing (TIF) is a popular economic development tool in many states including Florida and Missouri. Its use is widespread, including suburban, rural, and

urban areas. TIF statutes have received considerable criticism, however, for financing projects that run contrary to the original intent of the law. For example, an analysis (Luce, 2003) of Missouri's TIF program identified the following three problem areas: 1. The law's vagueness creates the potential for overuse and abuse. 2. TIF is being used extensively in high-tax-base suburban areas that do not require assistance in competing for development dollars. 3. TIF is being used outside the metropolitan core rather than to revitalize a region's center city, as was the law's original intent. While these are important criticisms, they focus largely on accountability issues (e.g., failure to meet original intent of the statute). There has been no research to date examining the role of TIF in exacerbating political and economic inequities. For instance, wealthier communities could use TIF to lure development from poorer areas or simply relocate existing commercial enterprises from within the metropolitan area resulting in a zero-sum result for the region. Additionally, TIF projects could result in further displacement of poorer residents in favor of wealthier residents or revenue-generating businesses. In light of this, our proposed paper examines the extent to which TIF creates uneven fiscal distortions across the St. Louis and Miami regions, pitting affluent communities against poorer ones. These scenarios lead to the following question: Does greater revenue capacity allow a community to offer a TIF subsidy to attract development away from another community with lower per capita income and low fiscal capacity, further exacerbating existing inequalities? Another aspect of the research will look at the socio-economic characteristics of neighborhoods that have been affected by TIF in the St. Louis and Miami regions.

*Playing the TIF Balancing Game: Economic Development Boom or Bust?*

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Tax increment financing (TIF) is a legislatively driven economic development program that is commonly used to focus revitalization efforts in targeted areas where resources are commonly lacking. The state of Missouri passed its TIF-enabling legislation in 1982 and the program has since become a popular economic development tool across the state. The statute has come under increasing criticism; however, for allowing the financing of projects that appear to run contrary to the law's original intent. For example, TIF was used for the redevelopment of a commercial district in a wealthy Metropolitan St. Louis suburb where there was considerable reason to question the blight designation of existing businesses that were displaced by the proposed new development. A 2003 analysis conducted by the Brookings Institution examined the Missouri TIF program and identified the following three problem areas: 1. The law's vagueness creates the potential for overuse and abuse. 2. As a result, TIF is being used extensively in high-tax-base suburban areas that do not require assistance in competing for development dollars. 3. TIF is being used outside the metropolitan core rather than to revitalize a region's center city, as was the law's original intent. While these are important criticisms, they focus largely on accountability issues (e.g., failure to meet original intent of the statute). Fundamentally, the larger issue that needs consideration is the role of TIF in exacerbating political and economic inequities. For instance, are wealthier communities benefiting from TIF at the expense of poorer areas within the region? More to the point, are the businesses that locate within a TIF district new to the region or have they simply relocated from existing commercial districts within the metropolitan area? There is a growing concern around the country that the supposed new economic development generated by TIF is resulting in a net zero-sum result for the region. Further, TIF projects could result in further displacement of poorer residents and businesses in favor of wealthier residents or revenue-generating businesses. This paper will report on the findings of a research project that explores those inequalities, using the TIF program in State of Missouri as a case example.

## 68. Declining Suburbs and Disrupted Neighborhoods (Parleys II)

Moderator: William Dennis Keating, Cleveland State University

*Fighting Suburban Decline: Cleveland's First Suburbs Consortium*

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Some of the older suburbs in many metropolitan areas of the Northeast and Midwest are beginning to show signs of decline (e.g., in population, employment, tax base, infrastructure, housing)(Brookings Institution 2002; Hudnut 2003). Newer suburbs on the metropolitan fringe are drawing away their more affluent residents and newcomers and retail and office business. This parallels the decline long experienced by the central cities that they surround (e.g., Cleveland, Ohio). This paper traces the formation and evolution of the First Suburbs Consortium (FSC), founded in 1996 by the suburban cities of Cleveland Heights, Lakewood, and Shaker Heights. Its goals are to develop and coordinate revitalization programs and policies and to change state policy to provide for the more equitable treatment of older suburbs (e.g., the funding of the maintenance and repair of infrastructure like roads). FSC has since expanded to 15 suburbs and has tried to ally with similar suburbs bordering the cities of Cincinnati and Columbus. It has formed the First Suburbs Development Consortium ([www.fsd.org](http://www.fsd.org)) to promote economic and community development. It has joined with the Greater Ohio coalition to promote smart growth statewide. FSC is considered a model for this type of reform. This paper will analyze its activities and impact so far. References: Center on Urban and Metropolitan Policy, The Brookings Institution. 2002. Valuing America's First Suburbs: :A Policy Agenda for Older Suburbs in the Midwest. Hudnut, William. 2003. Halfway to Everywhere. Urban Land Institute.

*Life in a "Stucco Ghost Town": Displacement and Dislocation in the Century Freeway Corridor*

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The story of the Century Freeway (Interstate 105) is one of a complex and large-scale urban infrastructure project plagued by numerous delays related to legal challenges about equity issues. The freeway runs for 17.3 miles and passes through nine different cities within Los Angeles County. It displaced thousands of families living in the freeway's right-of-way. Earlier studies of the Century Freeway have focused on the legal history of the freeway, particularly the 1972 lawsuit and injunction involving equity and displacement, the subsequent 1979 consent decree lifting the injunction, and the impact of these legal challenges on the freeway and surrounding communities (1). This paper takes a different approach by focusing specifically on those residents displaced or otherwise impacted as a result of the Century Freeway construction. This alternative perspective provides a very different understanding of the Century Freeway's "costs" as those less quantifiable factors such as the disruptions in community identity, social networks, and the meaning of place. This paper uses archival data sources to explore the experiences of residents in the Los Angeles County Century Freeway corridor in an attempt to understand the ways in which residents' perceptions of the value of place and their homes differed from those of assessors and California Department of Transportation (Caltrans) right-of-way agents. Such an analysis serves to inform future megaproject endeavors and their many non-monetary impacts on people's lives. Much of the recorded details about residents' experiences during and after the construction of the Century Freeway and the consent decree are located in various archival collections. These collections include numerous periodicals which chronicled events and developments related to the Century Freeway. Another important source of information regarding the experiences of

displaces in the Century Freeway corridor is legal records and evidence. The lawsuit, *Keith v. Volpe*, dragged on for many years in federal court. As a result, a significant amount of relevant material exists as part of the legal proceedings, including letters from agencies and residents; statements from residents, local law enforcement, and state and local officials; and status reports from the office of the Corridor Advocate, an entity established to act as a liaison between residents and the government. In addition, the archival collections include a number of letters written by Esther Keith, a resident of Hawthorne and one of the original plaintiffs in the lawsuit. The history of resident experiences with the construction of the Century Freeway is also captured in the records of local governments and state agencies. These include California State Highway Commission and Division of Highways documents. This paper amasses the information on resident experiences and understandings and analyzes it in the context of the literature on the meaning of place. The review of archival data sources reveals that people's lives changed dramatically as they were uprooted from the neighborhoods they had come to know as their communities and their homes which were places imbued with great meaning and importance. The majority of residents who stayed in the Century Freeway corridor during and after the lawsuit were challenging the governmental authority to exercise eminent domain, lacking the funds to move elsewhere, or both. People living in these wastelands – what one state assemblyperson called a “stucco ghost town” – often had to contend with infestations of rats, termites, and other vermin that moved from nearby abandoned structures. The Century Freeway construction, the trauma residents suffered, and the huge sense of loss result in a story that ultimately can be of great use to planners. The role of planners is to learn from this experience and understand the limitations of cost-benefit analyses and traditional value assessments. A true evaluation of displacement impacts requires that planners recognize the non-quantifiable, emotional aspects of place and home as reflected in the story of the Century Freeway corridor residents.

(1) DiMento, J., J. Baker, R. Detlefson, D. van Hengel, D. Hestermann, B. Nordenstam. 1991. “Court Intervention, the Consent Decree, and the Century Freeway.” Caltrans sponsored study, Research Technical Agreement Number F89CN62; Zamora, Anthony N.R. 1989. “The Century Freeway Consent Decree.” *Southern California Law Review*, University of Southern California, 62 S. Cal. L. Rev. 1805, September.

*Effects of High Mobility in Schools & Communities*  
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Both residential moves and school transfers are higher in the U.S. than in any other country. The stability and promise of future communities is threatened by such a high rate of mobility. This study explores why people move and why they move their children to multiple schools, often within the same school year, when research shows a significant correlation between mobility and achievement. These three questions will be explored: Can residential or school communities reduce or control mobility? Can the negative effects of mobility be mitigated? What is the correlation between mobility and school achievement? Can a high-mobility school be effective? This study is quantitative in nature, and measures mobility against the No Child Left Behind performance indicators. Theoretical and research issues on mobility and stability will be explored, including research from the education, housing, business, and mathematic/scientific domains. The question of whether urban community development can take place in such a way as to create stability, both in neighborhoods of various income levels, and in the schools, will be explored. A model of school mobility will be presented, and the elements of a neighborhood stability model will be examined. Finally, the advantages and promise of stability in neighborhoods and schools will be described.

69. Urban Regimes and Governance (Red Butte)

Moderator: Marion Orr, Brown University

*Urban Regimes and Electoral Coalitions in Providence, RI*

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Hilary Silver, Brown University

Urban regimes are not simply reflections of strong, long-serving mayors and their relationship with private sector leaders. One value of the "regime" concept is that it refers to an enduring combination of a stable electoral majority and a governing coalition of institutions and elites. We take seriously the notion that an electoral coalition is a significant part of an urban regime. We examine regime politics in Providence from the vantage point of the electoral coalition. We ask whether a stable electoral coalition anchored the Providence regime during the tenure of long-time former mayor Vincent "Buddy" Cianci. Using extensive election return, economic and campaign finance data, we illustrate the bond between an electoral coalition and its corresponding governing coalition.

*Governing the Regimeless City: The Frank Zeidler Administration in Milwaukee, 1948-1960*

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. Research Question: This paper examines development policy in Milwaukee during the Frank Zeidler administration from 1948-1960, a period when Milwaukee was governed without a functioning regime. The governing of U.S. cities where functioning regimes are not in place is a subject that has gone largely unexamined in the regime theory literature. The period from 1948-1960 was a time when urban regimes around the country formed around urban renewal and downtown redevelopment. In Milwaukee, both Mayor Zeidler and the downtown business community were anxious to make use of newly available federal urban renewal funds. However, business leaders and administration officials clashed over redevelopment goals. Zeidler, a socialist, made public housing a priority. The business community advocated downtown revitalization. A regime failed to emerge. This paper asks how the absence of a regime affected development policy in postwar Milwaukee. Methodology: The methodology used for this paper is qualitative historical research. The principal data sources are archival collections of Zeidler administration documents and newspaper accounts of development activities in Milwaukee during the 1940s and 1950s. Key Findings: The paper finds that in place of a regime, the governing of Milwaukee during the Frank Zeidler era was carried out through a series of ad hoc alliances around downtown redevelopment, public housing, and annexation. The absence of a regime largely frustrated efforts to pursue the former two objectives. However, an alliance among city officials, builders, and realtors helped produce a highly successful annexation program through which Milwaukee doubled its size from the late 1940s to the mid 1950s. Annexation allowed Milwaukee to retain the tax base provided by middle-class residents and businesses moving outside the central city. The paper concludes that the absence of a functioning regime in postwar Milwaukee was not an absolute barrier to successful development policy.



*"Environmental Regimes": Limitations of the Urban Regime Theory model?*

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Over the last two decades, urban regime theory (URT) has gained popularity as a tool for analyzing systems of urban governance. Once seen primarily as the province of researchers trying to explain economic development policies in American cities, URT has now been applied to a wide range of issues in cities around the world. One area posited for study is environmental regimes, where business-led coalitions act on issues germane to local environmental quality. An interesting application of this model is the case of the Energy Committee of the New York Building Congress, an 80-year old coalition of business, civic, environmental, and government interests that focuses on energy issues in New York City. Energy Committee members dominated the list of appointees to a recent Task Force convened by the Mayor to explore the adequacy of New York's electricity supply, the quality of the energy delivery infrastructure, and environmental protection issues. The Task Force's report echoed many others recent studies which concluded New York City may soon suffer from a significant electricity supply gap, threatening the local economy. Their preferred solution emphasized the need for the rapid deployment of large, fossil-fuel fired power plants. Distributed power sources, including renewable power technologies such as solar power, were discussed briefly but were ultimately seen as offering little in the way of a meaningful solution to this problem. Applying URT to this situation, did the Energy Committee sway the agenda of the Task Force and its conclusions in a way that was detrimental to local environmental concerns? Ultimately, it appears not, but the analysis does show potential limitations in the URT model, particularly when dealing with situations where state level policies and regulatory mechanisms hold sway over how local policymakers perceive an issue and the policy levers they have at their disposal.

*Collaborative Community Governance: Institutional Procedures, Representation and Group Process*

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Municipal level collaborative and participatory initiatives of one form or another are emerging in myriad forms in nearly every population center in the country. Although such groups show significant promise in contributing to equitable and sustainable communities, they have encountered a range of difficulties and engendered not a small amount of frustration and resistance. This paper will explore the theoretical literature in light of research findings of two case studies, from which is revealed a set of institutional and theoretical barriers to effective collaborative governance initiatives. Specific attention will be given to two sets of difficulties. The first is the possibility, perhaps likelihood, that collaborative groups will encounter mismatches and conflicts when attempting to interact with the existing institutional processes of public agencies. Disconnects between established agency policies and procedures on the one hand and the objectives, activities and group processes of participative governance initiatives on the other, is a significant source of frustration for participants and is a limiting factor on the perceived effectiveness of such groups. A second difficulty to be explored is the practical and theoretical problems associated with members of collaborative initiatives acting as representatives of larger groups or interests. Specifically to be examined are the difficulties arising out of perceptions of legitimacy among groups represented, and philosophical limitations of a representative model in an inclusive processes. The paper will conclude with an argument that potential solutions to these difficulties may exist in the very process models, especially those grounded in place, already being utilized by some collaborative groups.

*Revisiting Edward Banfield's Chicago: Space, Coalitions and Regimes*  
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Local efforts at downtown redevelopment and revitalization have long been at the empirical heart of efforts to theorize about and explain urban politics. From Robert Dahl's case study of urban renewal in New Haven, the riposte and Clarence Stone's continuing analysis of Atlanta though more recent examinations of regimes and growth coalitions Baltimore, Detroit, and Cleveland, downtown has been a central focus for urban political scientists. Edward Banfield's case studies of development issues in Chicago in *Political Influence*, with their emphasis on the complexity and difficulty of large scale public action and the central role of coalition formation, have played a significant role in the process of explanation development. Indeed, the combination of policy success and failure in Banfield's Chicago—the realization of a new urban campus for the University of Illinois, and the abject collapse of a business-led initiative to reshape the north bank of the Chicago River—continue to be relevant to efforts to explain where, when, and how business power and governmental leaders collaborate and diverge. In the Chicago of 1958 unlike the Atlanta of 1962 or even 1982, the limits to a "regime" pose a critical test for our explanations of urban politics and policy. This paper constitutes an initial attempt to re-examine the realities of the Chicago policy system in the 1950s, through the eyes of the business and civic leaders who sought to develop and the "Fort Dearborn" project described by Banfield. Using the original records of the project and discussions of its promoters, the paper will present an alternative approach to explaining the project and its outcome. This analysis puts the project, and a host of subsequent efforts to renew and reshape downtown, in the context of coalition-building around geo-spatial interests.

## 70. Transportation Issues (Cottonwood I)

Moderator: Joe Grengs, University of Michigan

*Representation in Transportation: Challenging the Voting Structure of MPOs*  
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Metropolitan planning organizations (MPOs) are the bodies through which billions of federal transportation funds are distributed to state and local governments each year. The transportation services and infrastructure that these funds support serve an inherently regional public purpose, yet governance at the regional scale lacks a natural political constituency. The decision making arrangements in most MPOs are therefore aimed at reaching interlocal consensus among highly disparate political interests within a metropolitan region. The decision making apparatus within MPOs has recently been challenged by community-based movements that protest against what they claim are systematic biases in the distribution of transportation funds toward rapidly developing suburbs, toward what Myron Orfield has called "the favored quarter." A coalition in the Detroit region recently filed a lawsuit against the MPO claiming that the voting structure is unconstitutional by under representing low-income populations. This paper tests this claim by asking: (1) Does the voting structure of the Southeast Michigan Council of Governments (SEMCOG) systematically under represent jurisdictions with low-income residents? and (2) Did underrepresented jurisdictions receive a disproportionately low share of transportation funds during the past decade? To assess the degree of voting representation, I use the seats held on the governing boards of the MPO to calculate an index of deviation from proportionality based on population among municipal jurisdictions. To evaluate funding equity, I use data from the Transportation Improvement Program (TIP)

produced by SEMCOG between the years 1994 and 2003, geocoded in GIS to the municipal level of geography. If a skewed voting structure is biasing the geographic distribution of funds, I would expect to find a positive correlation between underrepresented jurisdictions and disproportionately low funding distributions. A more robust support for the claim would be provided if the finding is consistent across a variety of definitions of equity.

*Is public safety in danger? Scrutinizing Car Accidents Specificities in Spreading Cities*

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Urban sprawl is creating a landscape of dispersed employment, low-density housing and roads in construction. This urbanization pattern raises the question of future sustainability of cities. It is widely accepted that sprawl is responsible for many negative aspects of unplanned urbanization, such as the reliance on automobile travel, a multiplication of commuting trips, continual need for new roads, and an increased air pollution. An additional consequence of sprawl may be a reduction in traffic safety due to increased driving, higher vehicle speeds, fewer opportunities for safe pedestrian travel and congestion. This possibility will be investigated in this research. Urban sprawl is defined here as low population density development in an unplanned manner, and these areas will be identified for the city of Houston., Texas, using census data, (population and housing data ...) from 1990 to 2000. To identify the relationship between sprawl and traffic safety, the spatial patterns of car accidents within the city will be analyzed using a database that contains geographically coded car crashes in the Houston Metropolitan Area (MSA) for 2000. A Geographic Information System (GIS) based methodology will be used to examine the spatial patterns of these accidents and investigate the relationships between specific types of urbanization and the kind, severity, and location of vehicle accidents. The next step will be to forecast the location of sprawling areas and thus the traffic accidents associated with them. Understanding their link will help planning for safer living environments. We will explore realistic alternatives to current practices that can lead toward a sustainable urban future.

*The Impact of Light Rail Transit on Cities in the United States: An Appraisal of Salt Lake City*

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As the agenda for the 35th Annual Meeting suggested, urban areas are facing difficult policy choices as they attempt to address numerous issues. Some medium- and large-sized metropolitan areas in the United States in particular have been attempting to address the problems associated with unsustainable urban growth (read: sprawl) by trying to redevelop their public transportation system so it can potentially become a viable alternative to the automobile. This transformation usually means expanding the current mass transit operation beyond the utilization of diesel-buses meant to serve only the transit-dependent population of the community. It also means considering newer technologies that can potentially make an impact (economic, environmental, physical, etc.) on a community. In the United States, one such technology has been the reintroduction of the streetcar, now referred to as light rail transit (or LRT). In the past 25 years, approximately a dozen U.S. metropolitan areas have redeveloped their local transit system to incorporate LRT. The reasons given by public officials and transit agencies for embracing this transit mode not only include the attempt at addressing urban sprawl by giving motorists a viable alternative but also to assist in revitalizing Central Business Districts and inner-city neighborhoods. Light rail transit, just like its heavy rail companion, has also led to transit-oriented development (TOD) as an alternative to new automobile-focused development that would further perpetuate sprawl. Transit-oriented development projects often receive considerable

attention by a community, which in turn gives attention to the LRT operation that made the development possible. Is TOD a given when light rail transit is present in a metropolitan area? If a light rail transit line exists and no new development takes place (or for that matter the CBD isn't revitalized), then what impact is light rail having on that community? In order to address these questions, the author will focus on Salt Lake City, the host for the Annual Meeting and one of the dozen new LRT communities, as his case study. In addition to demonstrating how Salt Lake City's TRAX (LRT system) compares with other light rail new starts, the paper will look at transit-oriented development that has occurred in conjunction with TRAX. Additionally, we will look at the effect light rail has had on the city's CBD. Thus, the overall question is for this paper is: What impact is TRAX having on Salt Lake City?

*Depaving and Neighborhood Renewal*

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The era of urban freeway construction--from the mid 1950s through the end of the 1970s--had a devastating impact on cities throughout the United States. Indeed, urban freeways had a far more severe impact on neighborhoods than the much-maligned urban renewal program. Over a million people--disproportionately, low income residents of communities of color--were displaced by freeway construction. As many urban freeways reach the end of their design life, community based organizations around the United States are calling for the demolition or radical redesign of freeways that run through low income communities. Mitigation efforts have been spurred by the movement against environmental racism and the dramatic shift in federal transportation policies that began with the ISTEA. This paper will provide a comparative case study of projects in Oakland, Brooklyn, the South Bronx and elsewhere that are aimed at healing the wounds of past freeway construction. Mitigation strategies include demolishing (or "depaving") redundant and obsolete freeway segments, replacing elevated freeways with tunnel segments, changing freeway alignments, and developing linear parks along abandoned freeway right-of-way. The paper will be accompanied by a PowerPoint presentation.

71. Learning from the Past for the Sake of the Future: Liberalism and Urban Political Development (Cedar)

Moderator: Jeffrey Reno, College of the Holy Cross

*Self-Interest, Horizons, and Urban Policy.*

Jeffrey Reno, College of the Holy Cross

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In Chapter Three of *The Unheavenly City Revisited* Edward Banfield offers his controversial horizon theory of urban politics. Banfield argues that our "psychological orientation toward the future" determines our behavior. Future oriented people tend to see the value in planning and collective action whereas present oriented people are easily seduced into antisocial behavior. Furthermore, social classes form based on common horizons: working, middle and upper classes all share varying degrees of future orientation whereas the lower class suffers from present orientation. Thus, there is a moral difference between lower class people and everyone else in the city. This becomes the basis of Banfield's most controversial argument as he uses moral difference to diagnose the urban condition and analyze public policy—an analysis often dismissed for blaming the victims and a tendency toward fatalism.

Banfield's analysis initially appears to follow John Locke's description of self-interest. Self-interest, Locke teaches, can divide people against one another, driving them to war, or it can bring them together, allowing them to live in relative peace and prosperity. However, there is a key difference between Locke and Banfield on this

matter: Banfield simplistically attributes present oriented behavior exclusively to the lower class and never the upper classes. His argument neglects Locke's discussion of the concept of unease in *The Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, which reveals that self-interest can never be overcome. All people, should they sense that their security is threatened, will experience heightened unease. This collapses even the broadest of horizons and invites potentially anti-social behavior. Applying this insight to politics, it would seem that the task of liberal regimes is to enact policy that encourages the salutary effects of self-interest and reduces the damaging effects brought on by unease. The revised version of the theory can be useful for a reinterpretation of the urban condition rooted in human nature but free from the vices attributed to Banfield.

*National Parties and "the Footrule of Local Prejudice": The Transformation of Intra-party Relations*

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In the late nineteenth century, the major American party organizations were re-born. Between 1880 and 1900, the national party (largely through discussion of issues and interests). The overall effect of this effort was to transform the basis of party identification in the nation. From a traditional organizational mode that encouraged voters to identify along the geographical boundaries of cities and states, the parties moved to a new organizational mode that attached voter loyalties directly to the national party through horizontal connections between citizens with shared interests. This new organizational mode became the template for twentieth century connections between national, state, and local levels of the party organization.

*Local Government and the American Founding*

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There are two crucial flaws in what Elinor Ostrom termed the "polycentric" view of local government structure. In one sense, there is too much of a focus on the differences between the views of the framers of our federal system. In another sense, there is not enough attention to what they actually proposed. We offer an attempt to provide a clearer definition of the actual theoretical controversy that exists today and also a better understanding of the founders as they understood themselves.

In the theoretical literature on local government, the most prominent example being *The Political Theory of American Local Government* by Anwar Sayed, too much is made of the tension between Jeffersonian notions of local government and Madison's concept of the large republic. Such a perspective underestimates the effect that the philosophies of Hegel and Kant have had on American political theory, primarily through the vehicle of the Progressive movement. Sayed conflates the tension between Jefferson and Madison with the current tensions between those advocating local autonomy –whom Elinor Ostrom called "Polycetrnrist" –and those advocating a more centralized vision of local government power—Monocentrists. We hold that the tension between American Progressivism and American Federalism (Jefferson, Madison, Hamilton) is far more profound and important than the distinctions between the founders themselves.

On the other hand, other theorists in the contemporary local government debate tend to make a mistake that is the opposite of that made by Sayed. The writings of Elinor Ostrom, Vincent Ostrom, Robert Bish, and Daniel Elazar, among others, tend to lump the theories of Jefferson, Madison, and Tocqueville into a homogenous body of principles from which we derive a justification for the tangled web of local, state, and federal governments that defines our current system. This theoretical simplification

leads to critical mistakes, one of which is the recurrent defense by the aforementioned of special district “shadow governments” that reduce public accountability and the representative quality of our democracy.

## 10:30am - Noon Concurrent Sessions

### 72. Metropolitan Reform: The Case of Louisville (Wasatch I)

Moderator: Ronald K. Vogel, University of Louisville

*Social Capital and Urban Services After Merger: A Case Study of the Highlands Neighborhood*  
Daniel Scheller, University of Louisville

*Neighborhood Revitalization and Merger: New Opportunities?*  
Byron Gary, University of Louisville

*Metro Louisville International(? The Conceptualization of Metropolitan Government and the International Economy*  
Chris Cunningham, University of Louisville

*Studying the Development of Legislative Bodies: The Louisville Metropolitan Council*  
Matthew Arnold, University of Louisville

*The Transitional Costs of Police Consolidation in Louisville*  
Dollie Greenwell, University of Louisville

*The Impact of City-county Consolidation on Minorities*  
Kyle Melloan, University of Louisville

*The Effect of Metropolitan Government Structure on Central City and Suburban Economic Disparity*  
Diana O'Brien, University of Louisville

Within the field of urban politics there has been substantial research evaluating the economic and policy relationship between central cities and suburbs. However, while it has been proven that there is a growing economic disparity between these areas in the majority of cities within the United States, there are several divergent theories as to the role of metropolitan governance and government in influencing this inequality. The following study tests the theory of metropolitan governance that relates the fragmentation of metropolitan governments to economic disparity between central cities and their suburbs. In this analysis, the researcher created an independent variable that measured the total number of local government fragmentation within the Metropolitan Statistical Areas of the United States by calculating the total number of governments per 10,000 persons within the MSA. The dependent variables are eight indicators of socioeconomic disparity taken from Census 2000 data and aggregated by the Lewis Mumford Center for Comparative Urban and Regional Research. By using multiple regression analysis to compare the independent and dependent variables, while controlling for intervening variables such as region, size of the metropolitan population, percentage of minorities in a given area, and status as a state capital, the researcher was able to better understand the relationship between metropolitan government structure and economic disparity between central cities and their suburbs.

### 73. Community Development: Theory and Practice (Parleys I)

Moderator: Avis Vidal, Wayne State University

*Distributive Politics of Community Development Spending in US Cities*

Chris Walker, The Urban Institute

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Research strongly suggests that cities must concentrate public investments if they are to revitalize distressed neighborhoods, but urban spatial politics influences decision makers to distribute spending widely. That said, some cities have managed, if only for a time, to design and carry out neighborhood strategies for which spending concentrations are required. In fact, at least four types of resource distribution policies would appear to be available to local decision makers: needs-driven allocations to the most distressed areas; productivity-driven allocations to moderately-distressed areas; capacity-driven allocations to eligible areas with a strong nonprofit presence; and politically-driven allocations to all eligible areas. These choices are likely to be influenced by impactation, or poverty concentration, the form of local government, the types of investment being made, the depth of social and economic deprivation, local fiscal strength, and other factors. This research will examine the extent to which US cities appear to have adopted one or more of these resource distribution policies and the factors that appear to influence selection of these policies. The authors have constructed a database of federal CDBG and HOME program spending between 1997 and 2002 at the neighborhood level for 75 cities, including most of the largest central cities in the United States. The database also contains US census data on resident economic, social, and demographic characteristics, Dun and Bradstreet business establishment data, and Internal Revenue Service data on nonprofit expenditures. Logistic regression and ordinary least squares analyses will be used to model the distribution of program spending across urban neighborhoods, testing for the effects of neighborhood, city, and metropolitan area variables.

*When Do Social Investments Improve Community Development Outcomes?*

Avis C. Vidal, Wayne State University

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. Many contemporary efforts to strengthen poor communities and improve the life chances of their residents include a serious commitment to engaging community stakeholders in the neighborhood improvement process. This commitment is operationalized in many ways (e.g., resident engagement in planning, community organizing, CBO capacity building), collectively referred to as community building. Community development corporations (CDCs), comprehensive community initiatives (CCIs), and the federal Empowerment Zone and Enterprise Community program have all incorporated community building principles and activities into their community development work – all motivated by the conviction that, in addition to whatever benefits accrue to engaged individuals and organizations, community development outcomes will be stronger and more sustainable. Unfortunately, evidence about when and how community building actually yields improved physical and economic development outcomes is hard to come by. Despite 10-15 years of experience assessing community-based neighborhood improvement interventions with strong community building elements, the assumptions about what community building can reasonably be expected to accomplish in this respect remain poorly articulated and largely untested. Simply put, the field needs stronger theory to support both smarter program design and better research. This paper seeks to address that problem by (a) clearly articulating a series of respected community development strategies and (b) developing testable hypotheses about when and how various types of community building strengthens the neighborhood outcomes those strategies are intended to effect. Existing literature, interviews with seasoned practitioners and program evaluators, and the author's experience will be used to provide a preliminary "reality test" of each hypothesis.

*Attracting Investment to Inner City Areas by Correcting Market Imperfections resulting from the Urban*

Robert A. Collins, Dillard University

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Information drives urban market investment decisions. Investors act upon information at hand to decide where to invest resources in an effort to minimize costs and maximize profits. When information is either not available or not accurate, an information gap exists. Because of this information gap, many investors make decisions based either on irrational “gut instincts” or on biased information. This creates market imperfections. Since most inaccurate information tends to be biased against urban areas, these market imperfections result in investments, infrastructure and jobs being diverted away from urban areas. Also, investors miss opportunities to profit from investments in urban areas because the information gap often makes it impossible for them to locate these opportunities in an efficient and cost effective manner. This paper will demonstrate how the market imperfections caused by the information gap result in both lost profit opportunities for investors and lost job opportunities for inner city residents. It will provide specific examples of how inaccurate or unavailable information results in investors having an inaccurate view of the inner city, including: Public and private data sources that undercount urban populations, underestimate personal income, fail to quantify suburban residents who spend resources during daytime hours in urban areas, and fail to measure the amount or rate of neighborhood change to locate investment opportunities. Correcting these market imperfections would result in increased investment flow and more vibrant urban neighborhoods. This paper also discusses initiatives designed to correct these market imperfections, including the U.S. Census Bureau’s Census Information Centers and American Community Survey, The Brookings Institution’s Urban Markets Initiative, the Urban Institute’s National Neighborhood Indicator Partnership, and the efforts of a consortium of organizations to design and build a National Infrastructure for Community Statistics.

*Reinventing Downtown: Planning Strategies to Revitalize Downtown Fairfax, VA. and New Orleans, LA.*

Jane S. Brooks, University of New Orleans

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The downtowns of both large and small American cities changed dramatically in the post- WWII era as suburbs siphoned away traditional retail and office uses. In the last decades, downtowns have fought back to reclaim their central place in communities by reinventing themselves as entertainment/ sports hubs, tourism centers, and chic locations for in-town living. This paper will examine the trends in downtown growth of the recent past in the major metropolitan area of New Orleans, LA. and in the smaller, but more prosperous, community of Fairfax, VA. Both downtowns experienced a decline in their retail and office center roles, and both have embarked upon major public investment schemes to reinvigorate their central place in community life. Research on the planning undertaken by these two cities reveals a range of choices made by community leaders on how to approach the revitalization process. The paper will review these planning strategies, examine the political process behind them, determine progress to date on reaching goals, and analyze the likelihood of a successful downtown revitalization outcome

*Revitalizing Inner City America: What We Need is Balance, Not Fear*

Carroll G. Robinson, Texas Southern University

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This paper looks at redevelopment and gentrification in inner-city Houston, Texas and broadens the discussion by addressing stereotypes and myths about gentrification. By



looking at this phenomenon in terms of race and income, this paper focuses on how to equip urban residents with the knowledge, tools and resources to empower themselves in taking an active role in current and future urban redevelopment projects. Most importantly, the authors advocate for the adoption of policies that allow for a balance between inner city redevelopment, protecting current lower income residents, and promoting and maintaining the historic character of the redeveloped neighborhood. It is the authors hope that the information provided can be used to empower low-income and minority communities across the United States. The Barbara Jordan Institute is the public policy research arm of Texas Southern University's Barbara Jordan-Mickey Leland School of Public Affairs (BJ-ML SOPA). This is the first of a series of papers on issues affecting urban communities.

#### 74. Minority Location Analysis (Parleys II)

Moderator: R. Alan Walks, University of Toronto

*BLACK MIDDLE CLASS MIGRATION: A CRITICAL CASE STUDY OF METROPOLITAN DETROIT*

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Researchers have cited the out-migration of the black middle class as a cause for the rise in concentrated minority poverty over the past few decades. One of the most well known proponents of this thesis has been William Julius Wilson who claims that the civil rights movement helped advance the black middle class economically which gave them the ability to migrate out of the black community and into white neighborhoods. However, according to Mary Pattillo-McCoy, their out-migration is only temporary, and they are soon reincorporated back into the black community through racial segregation. The purpose of this paper is to test the black middle class out-migration thesis by using the metropolitan Detroit area as a critical case study. Starting with the implementation of civil rights and housing anti-discrimination legislation around 1970 and continuing until 2000, I use US Census Bureau data in conjunction with Geographic Information Systems (GIS) to examine the growth of the black middle class as well as their relation to poor blacks. My results show that the black middle class has migrated out of the black community, but only temporarily. They are soon reincorporated back into the black community, but the result of their spatial movement causes the enlargement of the community. Consequently, as the black middle class moves outward, the spatial distance between them and the black poor has increased. As a result, the metropolitan Detroit black community is becoming polarized by class as it remains segregated within the metropolitan area. Thus, my findings do not contradict Wilson; rather, they modify it and confirm the findings of Pattillo-McCoy.

*Ghettos in Canadian Cities? Racial Segregation, Ethnic Enclaves and Neighbourhood Poverty in Canada*

R. Alan Walks, University of Toronto

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Recent literature suggests a growing relationship between the clustering of certain visible minority groups in urban neighborhoods and the spatial concentration of poverty in Canadian cities, raising the spectre of ghettoisation. This article examines whether urban ghettos along the U.S. model are forming in Canadian cities, using census data for 1991 and 2001 and borrowing a neighbourhood classification system specifically designed by Ron Johnston and his collaborators for comparing ghetto formation in other countries to the U.S. situation. Ecological analysis is then performed in order to compare the importance of minority concentration, neighbourhood classification, and housing stock attributes for understanding the

spatial patterning of low-income in Canadian cities in 2001. The findings suggest not only that ghettoisation along U.S. lines is not a factor in Canadian cities, but that a high degree of racial concentration is not necessarily associated with greater neighbourhood poverty. On the other hand, the concentration of apartment housing, of visible minorities in general and a high level of racial diversity in particular, do help in explaining the neighbourhood patterning of low income. We suggest that these findings result more from growing income inequality within than between each visible minority group. This increases the odds of poor visible minorities of each group ending up in the lowest-cost, least-desirable neighbourhoods from which they cannot afford to escape, including social housing in the inner suburbs, while wealthier members of minority groups are more mobile and able to self-select into higher-status 'ethnic communities'. This paper joins with others in calling for a more nuanced interpretation of ghettoisation and neighbourhood dynamics than is common in the literature.

*Race vs. Class: Income, Occupational and Educational Profiles of Whites & Blacks in the Boston Area*

Andrea D Ryan, Boston University

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. In the race versus class debate, those who say that race is the most important factor often see residential segregation as both a cause and an effect of racial inequality. This exploratory study attempts to address this logical problem by using new models to analyze how class inequalities play out in terms of "space", i.e. where people live. Blacks and whites in Boston and its suburbs are compared using the index of dissimilarity. The analysis begins with a simple premise: if the distribution of blacks and whites in both the city and the suburbs is identical, we can say that blacks and whites are equal. Comparisons are then made between blacks and whites in both locations for each of three class variables: income, occupation and education. For each variable, a profile is created that allows us to easily see the extent and location of any difference between the two populations. For example, if the blacks and whites have similar income distributions in the city but dramatically different ones in the suburbs, the difference is spatial not racial. Similarly, if blacks in both the city and suburbs have distributions that are consistently different from those of whites in both locations, the difference is racial and not spatial. Comparing distributions of persons within and across these different variables illustrates that the race versus class debate is infinitely more complex than many argue. And continuing to create and implement policies to address any one of these variables may not actually make us more equal.

*The impact of migration on urban development and segregation*

Jeong-Dai Kim, University of Texas at Dallas

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This paper examines the impact of (domestic and international) migration on suburbanization, and race-ethnic/ income segregation in ten largest metropolitan areas – New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, Philadelphia, Detroit, Dallas, Washington, D.C., San Francisco, Houston, and Boston – in 1990s. A 'conventional' argument in existing literature states that international immigration is positively associated with race-ethnic as well as income segregation, and negatively associated with urban sprawl. There are, however, still unsettled critical questions – which this paper focuses – on regional differences, race-ethnic differences, and individual differences such as age and education. In this paper, we test the following hypotheses: 1. Immigrants with high education accelerate the suburbanization, while immigrants with low education do not, which is not specifically different from the tendency shown in native-borns; 2. Domestic migration net flow tends to expand the boundaries of racial-ethnic concentration; 3. Regional differences are mainly due to the differences in

industrial compositions in each region as well as the differences in race-ethnic - compositions of immigrants. This paper, first, identifies the geographical clusters of race-ethnic concentration and household income based on Census SF3; second, examines the changes and differences of population characteristics between the tracts within clusters, cluster boundaries, central cities and suburban tracts; third, based on individual data from 5% PUMS and their boundary files above two steps will be repeated and compared. Since Census tract data in SF3 does not provide individual level information but PUMS does, while the tract data provide information on fine scale geography while PUMS does not, the combination and comparison of those two data will allow to check the sensitivity of analyses to geographical scales. This paper will contribute to the understandings of the impact of migration on urban dynamics, which is one of under-studied critical issues for policy makers and urban planners.

*Subprime Lending: The Case of a Government Sponsored Urban Land Market Failure*  
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. Introduction In this study I present a model that illustrates the where subprime lenders went when their market was initially created. My findings include both income and risk as significant predictors. However, I also found both percentage of African Americans and historically redlined areas as significant predictors. I assert that these latter two findings as evidence of government sponsored--racially based--market failure that has had some profound ramifications.

#### 75. Neighborhood and Urban Development Planning (Millcreek)

Moderator: William M. Rohe, University of North Carolina Chapel Hill

*Minneapolis NRP -- Round Two*  
Paula Pentel, University of Minnesota  
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This paper will continue past research on Minneapolis planning. We examine the changes in neighborhood proposals and funding outcomes in the second decade of Minneapolis' well-studied Neighborhood Revitalization Program. With a much more directed focus, new plans are to be primarily about housing (production and improvement). Our paper will analyze patterns in the second round of plans to determine the extent to which the directives are being followed, and what the idiosyncrasies might be.

*Tradition in Progress: New Orleans City Planning and Neighborhoods, 1929 and Today*  
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In the 1920s, the New Orleans City Planning and Zoning Commission received its charter and finally the funding necessary to develop the city's first Master Plan. It hired Harland Bartholomew, began a massive public relations and education campaign, and held numerous public meetings over a three-year period to develop and finalize the plan in 1929. The aim then was to create a modern city from the colonial amalgam that had accumulated over two hundred years. Today in New Orleans, something of a renaissance is recurring, with the restructuring of the Mayor's Division of Housing and Neighborhood Development under newly elected Mayor C. Ray Nagin, a former vice president and regional manager of Cox Cable. The city's government is undertaking a massive revitalization effort, encouraging the city's 73 unique and distinct neighborhoods to form coalitions that will act as neighborhood planning units to create neighborhoods of, by, and for the residents. Comparing the process of the

1920s to that of today illuminates not only the paradigm shift in New Orleans, but also serves as a benchmark by which to measure neighborhood planning in other U.S. urban centers.

*A Socialist Growth Machine? The Evolution of Urban Revitalization Planning in Barcelona*

William M Rohe, University of North Carolina Chapel Hill

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Urban revitalization programs are often contentious due to conflict between the “exchange” and “use” values held by the different social groups (Castells 1977, 1983; Harvey 1973 ; Logan and Molotch 1987). Investment and business interests are concerned with achieving the “highest and best use” of land while neighborhood residents are primarily interested in preserving or enhancing local amenities. It is left up to the political process to determine whose interests are satisfied and whose are thwarted. There are relatively few examples of redevelopment projects that have been successful in balancing exchange and use interests: projects that provide an opportunity for business interests to make profits and at the same time substantially improve the quality of life for low- and moderate-income residents. The city of Barcelona, however, has been credited with having a number of these well-balanced urban redevelopment projects (Calavita and Ferrer (2000). The full set of reasons behind Barcelona’s success with its urban revitalization program, however, is not clear. Moreover, there are reasons to believe that the city’s urban revitalization programs have changed in recent years. In particular, that the role of neighborhood organizations has declined over time (Borja 1996, Calavita and Ferrer 2000) while the role of the private sector has increased. Moreover, there are reasons to believe that the conditions that were responsible for Barcelona’s success in urban revitalization are changing and that the socialist city government has given into the “growth machine.” Based on six months of field work in Barcelona – including interviews with 35 officials and community leaders -- this paper will describe the evolution of redevelopment planning in the city, describe the involvement of community organizations in each phase of revitalization and explore the new challenges that are being faced in the city. The implications for both urban theory and the practice of urban revitalization will be explored.

*Full of Emptiness*

Robin Boyle, Wayne State University

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. “A city no worse than others, a city rich and vigorous and full of pride, a city lost and beaten and full of emptiness.” Raymond Chandler (1888–1959). This paper will examine the emerging phenomenon of the ‘empty city’, using examples from the US and from Europe (where the moniker ‘shrinking city’ is more commonly used). It begins by identifying the dimensions of the issue and the impact that urban decline and emerging emptiness has on various urban audiences: residents, business, potential visitors and policy-makers. The paper will then offer a critique of the expansive literature that presents solutions to ‘emptiness’, examining in particular the concept of ‘block-filling’. The paper will argue that this concept, oft favored by New Urbanists, has achieved uncritical acceptance in planning, in urban design and in the broader realm of public policy. The paper presents a case study from a large Midwestern city that illustrates the strengths and weaknesses of the ‘block-filling’ approach in helping to counteract contemporary urban decline. It will also present models emerging from similar discussions in the European context. The paper concludes with a discussion of alternative policy solutions that may also aid in the revitalization of the empty city.

## 76. Governance Across Jurisdictions (Red Butte)

Moderator: Jered Carr, Wayne State University

*Cooperate or Die: Interlocal Contracting in Metropolitan Detroit*  
Kathy LeRoux, Wayne State University  
Jered B. Carr, Wayne State University  
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. Local government officials in Metropolitan Detroit are responding to the declining state shared revenues by expanding their use of interlocal cooperation for service delivery. State shared revenues account for nearly half of the revenues for the typical local government in Michigan, and these revenues have declined in each of the last three years. Given the state's ongoing structural deficit, state shared revenues will likely continue to be a target for state budget cutters for the foreseeable future. Arrangements for joint service delivery can take a variety of forms, but many communities are increasingly turning to interlocal contracting for a wide variety of local services. Nationally, the expanded use of interlocal contracting is a response to two major forces currently affecting metropolitan areas. The first is the constant push toward arrangements that encourage cooperation on transjurisdictional issues. For years, public administration scholars have advocated consolidating strategies, such as annexation, functional consolidation, and governmental consolidation to ensure regional cooperation on the many varied transjurisdictional issues in urban areas. These approaches have proved extremely unpopular and local electorates have regularly rejected proposals for governmental consolidation and large scale annexation. In this climate, the use of special district governments and interlocal contracting have become attractive alternatives to formal consolidation. The second force encouraging interlocal cooperation on service delivery is the unrelenting fiscal pressures on local governments in recent years. State governments, flush with cash a decade ago, have been steadily reducing the amount of state revenues shared with local governments. Exacerbating this problem are the tax limitations placed on local governments in many states, which leave these governments unable to raise sufficient own-source revenues, and make these local units heavily dependent on state revenues. For example, Michigan enacted Proposition A in 1994, which heavily restricted the growth of taxable property values, and consequently local property tax revenues, in the state. Restricting local government revenues was supposed to have been fully offset by state shared revenues. This is no longer the case, as these revenues have been cut sharply each of the last three years. This has left many of the older, inner-ring suburbs surrounding Detroit in a severe fiscal crunch. For many of these local governments, their ability to maintain basic services is in jeopardy. This paper reports findings from a study of interlocal cooperation among the 127 general purpose local governments in Southeast Michigan. The large number of fairly small governments in this three county area creates many opportunities for cooperation, but the local governments in this region historically have not done so. Michigan has a long history of strong home rule cities and the people in these communities have become accustomed to receiving a full range of services from their municipal governments. The fact that Michigan is a township state has also worked against the development of strong county governments which act as "semi-regional" service providers in much of the southern U.S. Finally, SE Michigan has a long history of racial segregation, and along with it, of fiscal disparities across communities. The electorates within many of these communities have been reluctant to support shared service delivery and any arrangements that might lead to their tax revenues leaving their jurisdiction for another. Among the many questions addressed through this study are: Which local units are engaged in cooperative efforts at service delivery and what tasks are performed cooperatively? What are the factors that were important in encouraging this cooperative activity, and what factors served as obstacles to these efforts? Finally, what have been the results of these joint service delivery agreements? Is this an effective strategy for maintaining service levels at a lower cost, or have there been unexpected, negative consequences of these activities?

*Growing inter-municipal disparities and prospects for tax base sharing in the Israeli post-welfare*  
Eran Razin, The Hebrew University  
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Equality considerations became rather marginal in the local government reform agenda in Israel during the 1980s and 1990s, when the focus shifted to competition, entrepreneurialism and privatization. At the background of the severe security and economic crisis, the Israeli government initiated in 2003-2004 unprecedented changes in Israel's local government system. These included imposed amalgamations, expropriation of powers from elected local leaders, and a large cut in central government transfers. Implementation was made possible in the context of crisis that created a window of opportunity for the implementation of far-reaching reforms that follow Thatcherian approaches of privatization that bypasses bloated and inefficient local government. The steps undertaken by the Treasury in the name of efficiency and good government imply risks, a major one being the widening of gaps between local authorities that depend on grants and those that do not depend on them. The former even benefit from steps such as an increase in the local property tax and an imposed reduction in the salaries of public sector employees. Paradoxically, the neo-conservative driven reforms have brought back equity issues into the agenda. Mechanisms for municipal cooperation in the development of industrial parks, including tax base sharing, evolved in Israel since 1992, as a tool to control sprawl and promote economic development. These agreements are increasingly viewed as a tool to reduce disparities between adjacent municipalities. Proposals for nationwide sharing of a portion of the local non-residential property tax, or even for a British type nationalization and redistribution of the property tax on businesses are also being raised. The paper reports results of a study that first assesses the impact of grant reduction and erosion of welfare state mechanisms on fiscal disparities among local authorities. It then sums up experience with tax base sharing at the local level. Finally it presents alternatives for broader tax sharing mechanisms; the risks embedded in each alternative, winners, losers, political obstacles, and the likely outcomes on metropolitan processes in the context of the post-welfare state.

*The Future of Township Government in Urban Areas*  
David Hamilton, Roosevelt University

Township government was developed for a rural society in which transportation was slow and difficult. Illinois is one of only 20 states that have township government. Even in Illinois, 17 rural counties and the city of Chicago do not have operating townships. However, townships in suburban Chicago continue to thrive and spend more than half of the \$500 million spent by all townships in the state. The author conducted an in-depth analysis of budgets of townships in Cook County. The study revealed that township administrative costs are high, and many social services offered by the township are also offered by other governments. Comparisons of similar services offered by other governments showed that township costs were substantially higher. Moreover, township employment had no relationship to the population or the programs offered by the township. The author concluded that at least half of the township taxes could be saved by eliminating townships and transferring their few services to other governments.

## 77. Governance and Urban Performance (Wasatch II)

Moderator: Hal Wolman, George Washington University

### *Community Benchmarks*

Susan J Daluddung, Community Development Department, City of Ventura, California  
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Community Benchmarks A Community Benchmark measures progress towards performance objectives and outcomes stated in adapted community plans. New public management practices in the U.S. call for governmental accountability, performance measures and benchmarks. Community benchmarks research provides a basis for current information and further research for planners and educators in the urban planning profession. A benchmark is simply a standard for performance or targeted level of service delivery aspired to by the city. Community benchmarks, as defined by the researcher, are tied to an adopted community plan. Community plans take many shapes including the General Plan, the city's budget document, or a variety of strategic planning documents. The results of the Community Benchmarks research are based on the input of 153 mid-size cities. The sample population was 381 cities selected from the National League of Cities database. This represents a 40% response rate—the survey was conducted in 2001. Additional web-based and professional research was continued from 2000 to 2004 to supplement survey results. Responses were collected from throughout the United States § Responses indicated that 58% of the cities surveyed were practicing benchmarks. § The primary method of linking planning progress to a city document is the budget however; the second most popular method is the Comprehensive, or General Plan. § Performance Indicators are primarily used are rather than outcome indicators and benchmark targets. § A high degree of involvement of elected and appointed officials is critical to the existence of a benchmark program. § Cities with benchmark programs are likely to have a strong city manager form of government and the manager, or director, is generally experienced, and in the prime of their tenure. § The top five commonly measured community development services are: development review process, permit issuance, housing programs and services, long-range planning and economic development.

### *Defining Housing Submarkets for Urban Revitalization Planning: Improving Policy Targeting*

Lisa K. Bates, University of North Carolina  
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When attempting to revitalize urban neighborhoods, policymakers are often met with unanticipated results such as rapid gentrification and displacement, social conflict, or failure to generate private development. One possible cause of unanticipated outcomes is that policymakers and planning departments have often targeted resources toward neighborhoods, codifying historical convention or residential perceptions into administrative boundaries. Socially defined neighborhoods may not be the best geographic scale for the prediction and analysis of policies that affect the housing market. In contrast, economists define housing submarkets as the spatial unit for analysis and potential intervention. Submarkets consist of housing that are evaluated as being of similar quality; consumers choose among submarkets based on supply and demand conditions. When predefined neighborhoods do not align with the submarket choice behavior of consumers in the housing market, it will be difficult to accurately predict their response to policies that change the quality and supply of housing in a neighborhood. To best predict changes, planners should consider that neighborhood revitalization is an intervention into the housing market that has an impact on the consumption of housing and on household mobility. Such an analysis requires an understanding of the spatial distribution of housing submarkets in the city. Using indicators of housing and neighborhood quality, planners can segment the housing market into submarket areas in the city that will allow for prediction of housing market responses to revitalization policy. This research offers a set of quality constructs that can be used for housing market segmentation. Using data from the Philadelphia Board of Revision of Taxes and the 2000 Census, submarket areas are mapped and compared to the Philadelphia City Planning Commission's administrative

boundaries and to recognized neighborhoods that are currently targeted for revitalization funding. The statistically constructed submarkets explain significantly more of the variation in housing quality than do planner-defined administrative areas. Furthermore, mapping the submarket areas in relation to neighborhood targets, we find that revitalization planning efforts are not well focused to particular submarkets, with possible impacts throughout the housing market.

*State Policy Effects on Urban Performance*

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In this paper we intend to examine the effect of state policy on urban performance. Examining all central cities with populations of more than 50,000 in 1990, we calculate city performance between 1990 and 2000 for each of a series of 20 indicators of urban resident well-being, city vitality, and city competitiveness. We then apply factor analysis to produce an overall city performance index. Using non-policy city-level variables, we then build a model to predict changes in this index and in other relevant performance variables between 1990 and 2000. This model includes city economic and labor market characteristics, but does not include explicit public policy variables. In order to isolate the portion of city performance that could be attributed to state or city policy, we identify outliers – those cities that have performed much better or worse than the model would have predicted. To isolate the potential effect of state policy we proceed to regress the residuals on state level characteristics and state dummy variables. This procedure will isolate states whose cities have performed better (or worse) than the model incorporating non-policy variables would have predicted. Case studies will then be necessary to explore whether this unexplained performance is due to state policy and, if so, the nature of that policy.

*E-Government Impacts at the Grassroots: An Initial Assessment*

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Considerable hype surrounds the potential for governments to use of the World Wide Web to deliver information and services electronically (a.k.a., electronic or e-government). For example, Fountain (2001) argues that the web will literally transform government, especially by integrating governmental information and services in ways hitherto unimaginable. It will also reduce paperwork, decrease costs, and promote greater governmental efficiency and effectiveness. These and other claims about e-government are often made with great enthusiasm and optimism but with scant empirical data to back them up. In this paper, I critically appraise the impacts of e-government in US local governments by examining findings from three surveys of American local governments conducted in 2000, 2002 and 2004 (Norris, Fletcher and Holden, 2000; Holden, Norris and Fletcher, 2003; Norris and Moon, 2005; Norris and Moon, 2006, in preparation) and data from focus groups that I conducted in late 2002 with COIs and other top officials of 37 city and county governments from across the U. S. (Norris 2003, 2004, 2005 forthcoming). My principal findings are that to date relatively few governments are reporting many impacts at all. Second, most local governments' web offerings are mainly informational, with few governments supporting online transactions. Third, e-government is producing some positive impacts and not all of the predicted negative impacts have occurred. Finally, however, at least among US local governments, there is no credible evidence that e-government is transformative. In the future, U. S. local will continue to evolve away from being primarily informational. Local web sites will expand the number of transactions that they provide and will continue develop greater sophistication and integration. However, this evolution can be expected to be slow and incremental.